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HISTORY
OF THE
CITY OF NEW YORK:

ITS ORIGIN, RISE, AND PROGRESS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I. EMBRACING THE PERIOD PRIOR TO THE REVOLUTION, CLOSING IN 1774.

VOL. II. EMBRACING THE CENTURY OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, CLOSING IN 1880.

HISTORY
OF THE
CITY OF NEW YORK:
ITS ORIGIN, RISE AND PROGRESS.

BY
MRS. MARTHA J. LAMB.

Illustrated.

VOL. II.



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P R E F A C E.

THESE volumes form a distinct work in themselves. The immense wealth of interesting material, necessarily excluded from their strictly prescribed limits, suggests other volumes in the future. Elaboration of special subjects, and the picture of the last half-century illumined with the electric light of detail, are among the possibilities. Such a series would form a natural sequel, but in no wise affect the individuality of this work.

The career of New York is irresistibly attractive during the century embraced in the second volume, now complete in uniform size with its predecessor. Had it been otherwise my enthusiasm must have waned under the severity of application needful for the perfect drilling and disciplining of raw material into unity and felicity of arrangement. The issue of my first volume two years since, and the unqualified approval it elicited from all sources, inspired me with fresh courage; but the inherent magnetism and vitality of the subject itself has been the secret of my success. The pressure to complete the undertaking has never for a moment been lifted since its inception. Had I foreseen its magnitude I should have been appalled. Its importance justified comprehensive research at every step. Thus the structure became a matter of growth instead of architecture. I have done what I could to learn the truth. No one authority has been accepted and followed in any instance without further evidence; and where accounts have conflicted I have sought and secured every book and document relating to the subject, of which I could obtain any knowledge, even if no more than one of my paragraphs was involved in the issue.

It has been my intention to collect under one view the almost countless authorities from which I have derived aid. But the extreme difficulty of assigning a proper measure to such catalogue, and the absolute want of space for its insertion, deprive me of the coveted pleasure. It would be useful to the student; and yet it would give a totally inadequate notion of the vast extent of the field in which I have been glean- ing. Some of the choicest links in my chain have been found in the most out-of-the-way places — among seared and yellow letters written by actors in the great events narrated, in old sermons, records of trials, wills, genealogical manuscripts, documents, and pamphlets; while concerning certain matters tinged with ambiguity and uncertainty, I have discovered extraordinary and unique sources of authentic information outside of the city and State.

To the various New York families who have constantly and courteously given me access to private-libraries and valuable family manuscripts — more precious than diamonds; to the historians and scholars who have kindly and uniformly extended assistance whenever I have sought information; to the learned and courteous librarians of the Congressional Library at Washington, the Library of the Department of State, the Library of Yale College in New Haven, and of the New York Society, the Astor, the Mercantile, and the Historical Libraries of our own city, I cannot express too warmly my grateful acknowledgments. The extensive historical knowledge of Mr. William Kelby of the Library of the New York Historical Society deserves special mention; and his prompt, untiring, and priceless services in making investigations and in suggesting new and various sources of information, courteously rendered on all desired occasions, through a period covering fourteen years, command my cordial recognition.

In closing my second volume I can reiterate with emphasis the sentiment expressed in the final paragraph of my former and more general preface — in the full confidence that this contribution to the intelligence of the people of one of the most interesting cities in the world will be generously appreciated.

MARTHA J. LAMB

NEW YORK CITY, December, 15, 1880.

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HISTORY OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

CHAPTER I.

1775.

THE THRESHOLD OF THE REVOLUTION.

VARIOUS CURRENTS OF HUMAN THOUGHT. — CONFLICTING OPINIONS IN ENGLAND. — PETITION OF THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS. — CHATHAM'S ARGUMENT. — THE MINISTRY COURTING NEW YORK. — DEATH OF SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON. — INDIAN WAR ON THE OHIO RIVER. — ACTION OF THE NEW YORK ASSEMBLY. — NEW YORK REPUBLICAN IN SENTIMENT. — ACTION OF THE COMMITTEE OF SIXTY. — THE REVOLUTIONARY CONVENTION. — DELEGATES TO THE SECOND CONTINENTAL CONGRESS. — THE TREE OF FREEDOM. — NEWS OF THE BATTLE OF LEXINGTON. — THE ROYAL GOVERNMENT POWERLESS IN NEW YORK. — THE COMMITTEE OF ONE HUNDRED. — REPUBLICANISM. — PRESIDENT MYLES COOPER OF KING'S COLLEGE. — JOHN HOLT, THE PRINTER. — CAPTURE OF TICONDEROGA. — THE NEW YORK CONGRESS. — THE BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL. — WASHINGTON IN NEW YORK. — THE "ASIA." — CONDITION OF THE CITY. — EXPLOIT OF ISAAC SEARS. — GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER. — GENERAL RICHARD MONTGOMERY. — THE INVASION OF CANADA.

AS we enter upon a conflict which wrought one of the greatest triumphs in history,—the founding of a powerful nation,—it is interesting to trace the various currents of human thought in regions widely remote from each other which stamped their influence upon coming events. We have noted the high sense of political justice which prevailed in New York, and the intelligence and energy with which her citizens in every decade asserted hereditary rights. A certain vital force, gathered unconsciously through the sharp discussion of knotty questions and the resolute sitting in judgment upon the edicts of the royal government, with roots far in the past, and a long genealogy, needed only signal occasion to ignite and become purely Roman and regal. But, with all her ceaseless internal agitations, New York was scarcely more divided in opinion than England herself. And nearly in the same ratio with New York, whose extensive frontier was at the mercy of innumerable tribes of

war-loving Indians, loyal to the crown, the higher intelligence of Great Britain was appalled at the prospect of an armed struggle.

In the House of Lords one peer pronounced the military coercion of America impracticable. Another recommended the cutting of the colonies adrift, "to perish in anarchy and repentance." Many ridiculed the idea of open rebellion in America. "How can a people without arms, ammunition, money, or navy, dare to brave the foremost among the great powers of the earth?" they asked. Camden exclaimed, "Were I an American, I would resist to the last drop of my blood." Sandwich, then at the head of the Admiralty, answered with clever witticisms concerning American cowardice, causing uproarious laughter. "I tell you," he said, "that Americans are neither disciplined nor capable of discipline." George III., to all suggestions, scornfully replied, "Blows must decide whether the Colonists are to be subject to this country or to be independent."

The new Parliament spent the entire month of December in profitless discussions. Just before its adjournment for the holidays, the
1774. proceedings of the first Continental Congress reached England. The petition to the king was dignified in tone and forcible in expression; even the crowned head was filled with surprise! The Colonies asked only security in their ancient condition! The appeal was simply for justice. For equal rights with British subjects who dwelt upon home soil. One passage, as an illustration:—

"You have been told that we are impatient of government and desirous of independency. These are calumnies. Permit us to be as free as yourselves, and we shall ever esteem a union with you to be our greatest glory and our greatest happiness. But if you are determined that your ministers shall wantonly sport with the rights of mankind; if neither the voice of justice, the dictates of law, the principles of the Constitution, or the suggestions of humanity, can restrain your hands from shedding human blood in such an impious cause, we must then tell you that we will never submit to any ministry or nation in the world."

George III. read, and shrugged his shoulders. He did not lose sight of the fact that he had on his side the block and the gallows. He had never loved the Colonies. He had no sympathy with the lofty spirit which inspired such significant language. He could not or would not see that the suspension of trade was the most disinterested expression of a deep sense of wrong. British commerce would be distressed to a certain degree, but England could seek other markets; while the American merchant sacrificed nearly his whole business. Neither did the blind king reflect upon the weak condition of his own war department. British industry at that

epoch rendered every able-bodied man of value ; hence enlistments in the army were rare. Rank was bestowed by favor, or sold for money. Boys at school not infrequently held commissions. The corrupt system prevailed to such an extent that scarcely a general officer of the day had gained a great name.

Barrington, the military secretary, knowing all this, remonstrated warmly against war. "The contest will cost more than we can gain by success ; we have not military strength enough to levy taxes on America," he said. With masterly eloquence, he advised that the troops be at once removed from Boston. A conference was finally arranged between Lord Howe and Franklin, the agent of the Colonies, to learn the best terms of reconciliation with America. Franklin, true to his principles and faithful to Congress, declared, as the only basis of possible harmony, that certain specified obnoxious acts be repealed, and Boston freed from her ignominy. Lord Howe repeated his words to Dartmouth and North, who agreed in the opinion that neither the king nor Parliament would concede so much.

At the opening of Parliament after the holidays the aged Chatham rose, and moved to address the king for "immediate orders to re-
move the forces from the town of Boston." He was keenly alive ^{1775.}
^{Jan. 20.} to the imminence of the crisis, and his argument teemed with sound logic. He said : —

"My Lords, the means of enforcing thralldom are as weak in practice as they are unjust in principle. General Gage and the troops under his command are penned up, pining in inglorious inactivity. You may call them an army of safety and of guard, but they are in truth an army of impotence ; and to make the folly equal to the disgrace, they are an army of irritation. But this tameness, however contemptible, cannot be censured ; for the first drop of blood, shed in civil and unnatural war, will make a wound that years, perhaps ages, may not heal. Their force would be most disproportionately exerted against a brave, generous, and united people, with arms in their hands, and courage in their hearts, — three millions of people, the genuine descendants of a valiant and pious ancestry, driven to those deserts by the narrow maxims of a superstitious tyranny. And is the spirit of persecution never to be appeased ? Are the brave sons of these brave forefathers to inherit their sufferings as they have inherited their virtues ? Are they to sustain the infliction of the most oppressive and unexampled severity ? They have been condemned unheard. The indiscriminate hand of vengeance has lumped together innocent and guilty ; with all the formalities of hostility, has blocked up the town of Boston, and reduced to beggary and famine thirty thousand inhabitants. . . . This resistance to your arbitrary system of taxation might have been foreseen from the very nature of things and from mankind ; above all, from the Whiggish spirit flourishing in that country. The spirit which now resists your taxation in America is the same which

formerly opposed loans, benevolence, and ship-money in England ; the same which, by the Bill of Rights, vindicated the English Constitution ; the same which established the essential maxim of your liberties, that no subject of England shall be taxed but by his own consent. . . . For myself, I must avow, that in all my reading, — and I have read Thucydides and have studied and admired the master-states of the world, — for solidity of reason, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion under a complication of difficult circumstances, no nation or body of men can stand in preference to the General Congress at Philadelphia: The histories of Greece and Rome give us nothing equal to it, and all attempts to impose servitude upon such a mighty continental nation must be in vain."

Many of the English statesmen besides Chatham believed that every motive of justice and policy, of dignity and prudence, urged the removal of the troops from Boston ; that haughty England would be forced ultimately to retract. The illustrious nobleman's words made a profound impression upon the crowd of Americans who were listening with breathless attention, particularly when he added :—

" If the ministers persevere in thus misadvising and misleading the king, I will not say that the king is betrayed, but I will pronounce that the kingdom is undone ; I will not say, that they can alienate the affections of his subjects from his crown, but I will affirm that, the American jewel out of it, they will make the crown not worth his wearing."

Suffolk replied with angry vehemence, boasting that he was one of the first to advise coercive measures, and that the government was resolved to bring the Americans to obedience. Shelburne signified his approval of the sentiments of Chatham "because of their wisdom, justice, and propriety." Camden exclaimed :—

" This I will say, not only as a statesman, politician, and philosopher, but as a common lawyer : My Lords, you have no right to tax America ; the natural rights of man and the immutable laws of nature are all with that people. Kings, lords, and commons are fine sounding names ; but kings, lords, and commons may become tyrants as well as others ; it is as lawful to resist the tyranny of many as of one."

Lord Gower, with a torrent of sneers, declared himself in favor of enforcing every measure. Rochford and others followed, each attacking Chatham with biting sarcasm, and reproaching him with "seeking to spread the fire of sedition." But the greatest statesman of the realm closed the debate, as he had opened it, by insisting on the right of Americans to hold themselves exempt from taxation save by their own consent. His reasoning, the essence of the true spirit of English opinion, availed nothing. His motion was lost by a vote of sixty-eight against eighteen. And the king was well pleased.

Attention was at once turned towards severing the chain of union in the Colonies which Chatham had proclaimed as "solid, permanent, and effectual." The ministry fixed their eyes upon New York, which was the central point, geographically, commercially, and financially. New York won over to a separate negotiation, and the backbone of the "rebellion" was broken. Every device was resorted to, and every exertion made to accomplish the desired result. Very little doubt of ultimate success existed in the minds of the king and his influential courtiers. New York had acquired individual strength and stood out alone, a distinct character, as it were, among the colonies. Having no charter, and being the seat of a royal government which dispensed commissions, offices, and immense grants of land, New York was alive for them with signs of promise. A corrupt influence had grown out of contracts for the army; the New York Assembly had been continued from session to session by the king's prerogative for a series of years; New York City was the seat of a chartered college which taught that Christians should be subject to the higher powers, and of the Church of England, whose ministers were strictly loyal; and over and above all, the shadow of a great terror might be turned to account, for the widely scattered and defenseless population of the province shuddered at the possibility of the countless savages being let loose from the north in case of war. It would seem as if New York would accept the olive-branch, and welcome almost any plan of accommodation.

The recent death of Sir William Johnson (July 11, 1774) had created fresh apprehensions in regard to the movements of the Indians. On the very day of his death a congress of six hundred braves were assembled at his baronial hall, and he had spoken two hours with the fire and vivacity of an Iroquois orator, endeavoring to persuade the great sachems of the Six Nations from participating in the bloody war which was then raging fiercely along the savage borders of Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, a war which involved their own blood — for Logan was a Mingo chief — and which was marked by atrocities so awful that history recoils from their recital.¹ Sir William was succeeded in his title and estates by his son Sir

¹ This Indian war broke out in February, 1774. Michael Cresap (a young Maryland trader) was at the time clearing an extensive tract of land which he had purchased in that region, with a large force of laborers in his employ. He was considered the bravest man west of the Alleghanies. When hostilities became a fixed fact, he was chosen captain of the militia, and became a terror to the men of the forest. He was young, not over thirty-three years of age; his name has been made familiar to every school-boy for many generations, through the famous speech of Logan, the tall, straight, lithe, athletic, sentimental Indian chief, who, reeking with his own bloody cruelties, defeated, despairing, and for once thoroughly afraid of his resolute foe, burst into a strain of accusation which has been pronounced

John Johnson, then thirty-two years of age, who, in 1773, had married Mary, daughter of Hon. John Watts of New York City; but the control of Indian affairs fell into the hands of Colonel Guy Johnson, who was less powerful as well as less popular than his father, and whose efficiency in managing the uneasy savages remained to be proven.

This succession of butcheries which crimsoned the Alleghany and Monongahela Rivers, was virtually brought to an end through the action of the old Seneca warriors in preventing their bloodthirsty young men from rushing to the assistance of the defeated tribes in that extensive wild; but these same suspicious and treacherous beings were now sniffing the rumors of possible civil war among their white brethren, and any prophecy concerning their probable conduct in such an event was idle in the extreme.

Dartmouth quickly ordered the governors of the colonies "to use their utmost endeavors" to prevent the appointment of delegates to the contemplated Congress. Tryon was in England, and the aged Lieutenant-Governor Colden at the head of affairs in New York during his absence. Colden had never swerved for an instant from his allegiance to the crown; he esteemed it a religious duty to obey the instructions of his superiors to the letter. In reply to Dartmouth's communication he wrote, under date of January 4, 1775:—

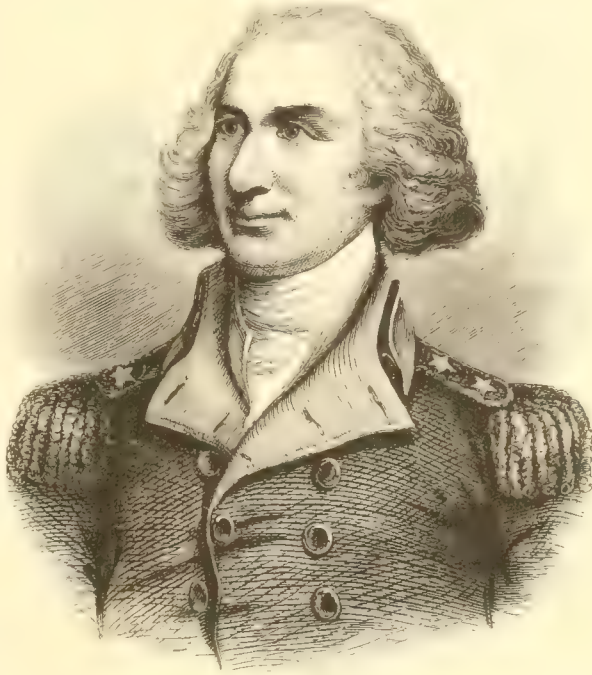
"Enthusiasm is ever contagious; and when propagated by every artifice becomes almost irresistible. The Assembly of this Province, as I formerly informed your Lordship, are to meet next Tuesday. If I find that there will not be a Majority for prudent measures, I shall incline to prorogue them for a short time, that the Plan of the New Parliament may be known here before the Assembly do anything."

This legislative body was slow in coming together. It was the 26th of Jan. 26. January before twenty-one out of thirty members were in their seats. Abraham Ten Broeck immediately moved to take into consideration the acts of the Congress held at Philadelphia in the preceding autumn. He was ably seconded by George Clinton (afterwards

the finest specimen of Indian rhetoric and eloquence in the history of the race. It is believed, however, that Captain Cresap, although so notably accused, was in no way responsible for the massacre of the chieftain's family, as he was many hundred miles away at the time of its occurrence. He traveled over the mountains and through the vales of Pennsylvania to the seat of government for instructions, and receiving a royal commission, was one of the efficient officers in Lord Dunmore's expedition against the Western savages in the summer of 1774. A tombstone in Trinity Churchyard marks his resting-place, he having died in New York in the autumn of 1775, while on his way from Boston (where he was captain of a company of riflemen under Washington) to his home in Maryland, his journey from the seat of war having been occasioned by sudden and severe illness.

governor of the State of New York), by the brave Philip Schuyler, by Simon Boerum, who had represented King's County since 1761, by the afterwards famous Colonel Woodhull, by Philip Livingston, and, indeed, by nearly all the members who were of Dutch descent. A most intensely exciting debate ensued. The motion, however, was rejected by a vote of eleven against ten.

The news reaching England, George III. and his ministers became infatuated with their courting scheme. Henceforth no pains must be spared. The game must be well played. Not a trick lost. New York must be secured. Favors and indulgences to the loyal. Praise accorded the



Portrait of General Philip Schuyler.

good disposition towards reconciliation as shown by the vote of the Assembly. "Ah," said Garnier to Rochford, "that one vote was worth a million sterling." But his tone changed when he was in company with Vergennes, and he explained how that one "insignificant" vote was not worth the counting by the Ministry, for New York was sure to act with the rest of the continent, — she only differed in the modes.

Governor Tryon was ordered to return to New York without delay, and empowered to give "every reasonable satisfaction to England's faithful subjects in New York." Diplomats were to convey promises to the landed gentry; the chronic disputes in the land department, and boundary difficulties, were to be settled in favor of New York; the claims of New York speculators to Vermont territory, under which populous villages had grown up, were to be supported against the New Hampshire grants; in short, all claims or pretensions were to be honored where the

petitioners would pledge themselves not to obstruct the importation or exportation of goods to and from Great Britain. New York was to be excepted from the restraints imposed on the trade and fisheries of the other colonies.

There were hot debates in the New York Assembly, particularly when the question was argued whether delegates should be appointed to the second Congress. It was claimed that the proceedings of the first Congress were violent and treasonable, and, instead of healing the unnatural breach with the mother country, had the effect to widen it immeasurably; that "to repeat the experiment in the present emergency was to be guilty of open treason in the broad light of day." Against a very determined minority the House refused to appoint delegates.

This action was extensively quoted by the hopeful on the other side of the water; and it subjected New York to all manner of unmerited aspersions from the neighboring colonies. But its weight was of little account in the general balance of sentiment. Never was a pivot of the policy of ministers more grievously misunderstood than New York. Never was the character of a community more blunderingly misinterpreted. The foundation of the structure was moderation, inflexibility, and an inherited predilection for republicanism. An ancestry of which New York was proud had proven to the world that a small people under great discouragements could found a republic. The results of the daring and heroism which distinguished the long period of the contest between Holland and Spain were fresh in the public mind; and men reminded each other in their daily walks and conversation how Great Britain herself owed the renovation of her own political system in 1689 to Holland. The New-Yorkers who were actually in sympathy with the British system of ministerial oppression were much fewer than has been generally supposed; and they were found chiefly on the surface. The landed aristocracy were divided; they naturally dreaded the confiscation of their vast estates. But we shall see presently that it was no insignificant proportion of them who nobly risked their wide possessions, whether inherited or accumulated, in the cause of liberty. The mechanics of the city were almost to a man enthusiasts for resistance. They were excitable and headstrong; and men of means and broader intelligence feared that through the very fact that this class had nothing personally to lose, and little care for or conception of possible future events, irreparable mischief might be wrought through their rash perversity.

Notwithstanding the conservative element, and the generally established belief to the contrary, in no American colony was English dominion less welcome than in New York. The reader will observe that with all

the corrupting influences which the ingenuity of a corrupt Ministry could devise bearing down upon her, without any legally constituted body as a rallying point, with perils menacing her on every side, and in defiance of the logic which had been a part of every man's education — that an established government must be sustained — we find New York proceeding exclusively by the methods of revolution, and under circumstances of difficulty which had no parallel in any of the other Colonies. At the critical moment when the king was most obstinately and serenely confident in regard to the future conduct of New York, the Committee of Sixty were laughing at the vote of the Assembly, which by a majority of four refused to forbid importations, and in the very face of this counter-legislative action strictly enforced the non-importation agreement of the condemned Congress. While the smiling monarch was lavishing flattery upon his "well-disposed subjects in New York" and issuing orders that they should be "gratified in every reasonable request," the self-directing Committee of Sixty, wishing to test the real mind of New York concerning the Assembly's refusal to appoint delegates to another Congress, caused a poll to be taken throughout the city, and against one hundred and sixty-three, eight hundred and twenty-five declared in favor of representation. A convention was unhesitatingly summoned to elect the delegates, in which the counties co-operated with the city. On the 20th of April, under the direct gaze of the "supreme legislative government ^{April 20.} of New York," forty-five undaunted electors chose from among their ranks fourteen delegates for the second Continental Congress. Colden wrote despairingly to Dartmouth: "It is not in the power of government to prevent such measures; they are supported by individuals in their private characters, and do not come within the energy of the laws."

Several of these newly elected delegates will be recognized as members of the Assembly. Philip Livingston, the great merchant — president of the convention — was the first choice; John Alsop, with immense mercantile interests at stake; Francis Lewis, also a merchant, a man of liberal education and extensive foreign travel; James Duane, a lawyer of large practice and universally conceded abilities; John Jay, already in the front rank among lawyers, scholars, and political economists, despite his brief twenty-nine years; Philip Schuyler, the valiant champion of popular rights in the Assembly; Robert R. Livingston, versatile, brilliant, and influential; George Clinton, as wise in council as he was afterwards gallant in warfare; Henry Wisner, from Orange County, the chief manufacturer of powder for the American army at a later date; Simon Boerum, the assemblyman from King's County during fourteen consecu-

tive years¹; William Floyd, intelligent, active, and discreet²; and Lewis Morris, the worthy scion of a powerful family whose influence for more



Clinton Arms.

than a century had been arrayed against the arbitrary encroachments of the crown. Thus were the varied interests of New York represented in this important movement towards independence. Men of high moral dignity, of sound discretion, of wealth and position, of active business habits, and cultivated intelligence, men well known and in whom the community trusted, and who were in no humor to shirk responsibility or hasten war, were to take their seats in the second Continental Congress which England had tried in vain to suppress.

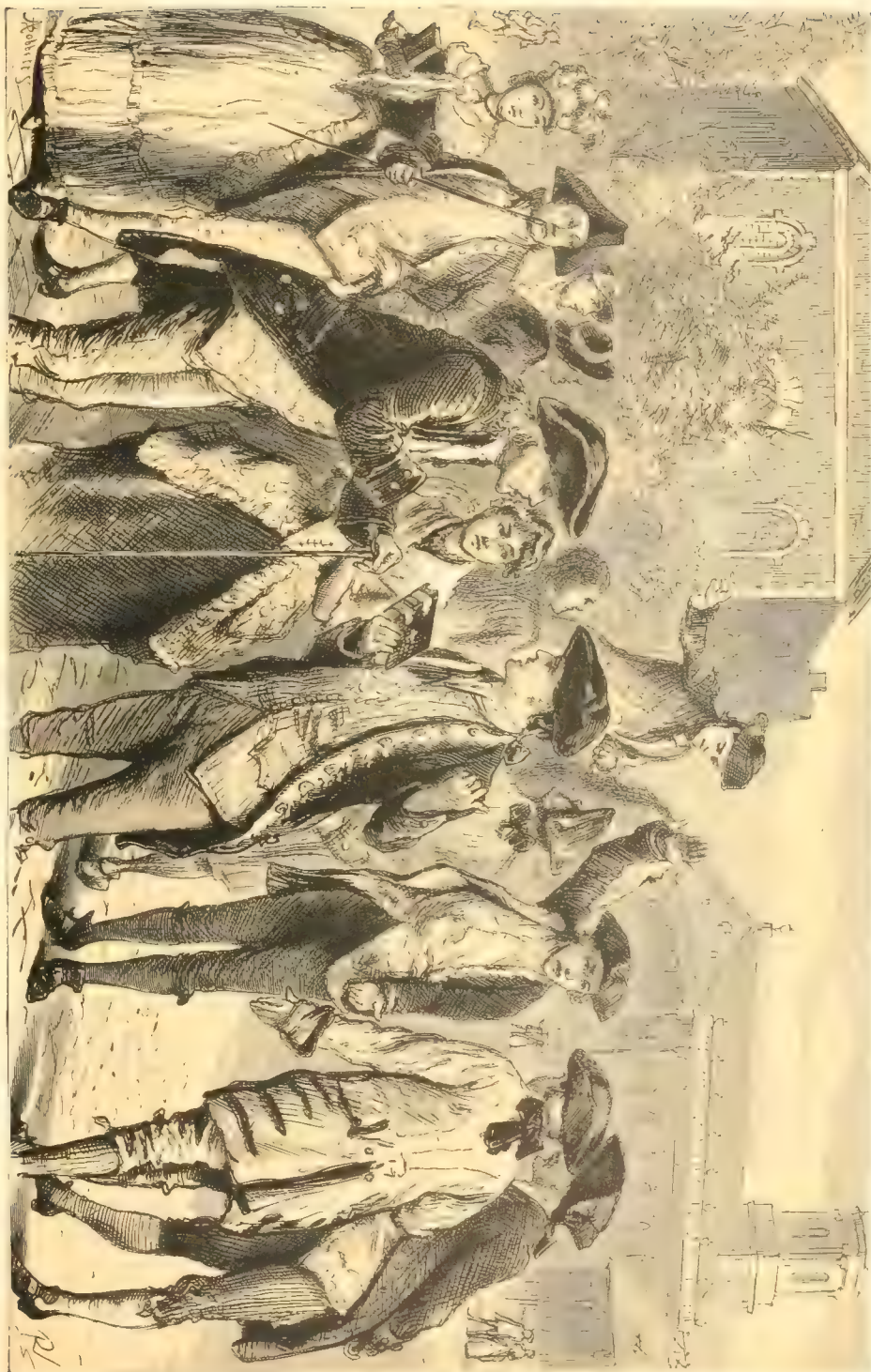
Their real as well as professed object was to "concert measures for the preservation of American rights, and for the restoration of harmony between Great Britain and the Colonies."

New York had as much more at stake than either New England or Virginia, as she was better prepared through generations of schooling in the methods of government to cope with the adversaries of liberty. For upwards of three fourths of a century New York had been steadily advancing upon arbitrary power, while the neighboring colonies were compara-

¹ Simon Boerum was born in Holland in 1724, and came to this country with his parents when quite young. He married Maria Martense Schenck of Flatlands. He was clerk of King's County from 1750 until his death in 1775, and also clerk of the Board of Supervisors some twenty-three years. He owned a considerable tract of land in Brooklyn.

² William Floyd was the eldest son of Nicoll Floyd, who was the youngest son of Richard Floyd and Margaret, daughter of Secretary Matthias Nicoll and sister of the famous William Nicoll, patentee of the Islip estate. (Vol. I. pp. 208, 374, 507.) He was born December, 1734. He was major-general of the militia of Suffolk County; member of both the first and second Continental Congresses; signed the Declaration of Independence; and served in the Congress of 1779, and again in 1788, the first Congress which convened in New York after the adoption of the Federal Constitution. He was, in 1777, a member of the first Constitutional Legislature of the State; in 1800 he was one of the Electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, and on several subsequent occasions acted in the same capacity. For a period of more than fifty years he was honored by his fellow-citizens with offices of trust and responsibility. During the war he was driven with his family for shelter to Connecticut, and his elegant mansion was appropriated by the enemy, his produce seized, and his woods cut down. At the end of seven years the soil was nearly all that remained to him. His first wife was Isabella, daughter of William Jones of Southampton, Long Island. His second wife was Joanna, daughter of Benajah Strong of Setauket. His children were Nicoll, who was the father of Hon. John G. Floyd, member of Congress from Oneida; Mary, who married Benjamin Tallmadge of Litchfield, Connecticut,—the mother of Frederick A. and Henry Floyd Tallmadge of New York; Catharine, who married Dr. Samuel Clarkson; Ann, who married George W. Clinton, son of the vice-president, and for her second husband Abraham Varick; and Eliza, who married James Platt of Utica, New York. *Thompson's Long Island*, Vol. II. 431.

level of signs to which groups of "deviating" respondents" have 21



tively at rest under well-defined chartered rights. The question whether English or French civilization should control in the development of the American continent had been chiefly determined by New York; and the principles which underlie our republican institutions had first found expression in New York. In short, the tree of freedom had been planted in the Empire State long before the little plantation of a Dutch mercantile company had come under kingly rule; it had taken firm root; it had grown rank despite the frosts of severe displeasure, sometimes shooting forth its branches in one direction and sometimes in another, putting out a leaf here and a leaf there, and finally budding and blooming under the stray sunbeams of a living affection for liberty even while constantly assailed by storms of foreign wrath; and now its ripening fruit is falling—into its neighbors' fields, indeed, who, with their baskets ready, hasten to gather it in.

The New York Convention adjourned on Saturday. The quiet of the next morning (Sunday) was broken by the startling news of the battle of Lexington. As the people were assembling for morning ^{April 22} service in the various churches of the metropolis, a horseman, riding furiously down the Bowery Road into Broadway, reined in his ^{April 23} steed here and there to recite the events of Wednesday, the 19th of April, to little groups of Sunday worshipers on the street. Written documents, authenticated by the chief men of all the prominent towns he had passed through from Boston to New York, confirmed his every statement. Amazement, alarm, and indignation took possession of the public mind. The British army had attempted to seize and destroy the military supplies at Concord; an ill-advised and inglorious expedition had resulted in a chapter of horrors with which the world is familiar, and in the ignominious flight of well-trained troops before an outraged people! The king's army at this moment were closely beleaguered in Boston with no mode of exit except by the sea!

New York was aflame with excitement. The news traveled with the speed of a whirlwind, and the whole city before noon seemed to have risen in resentment. Men hurried to and fro, women were met weeping on the sidewalks, the churches were deserted in the great feverish impulse to learn the miserable truth, and the dinner-hour was forgotten. Although it was the Sabbath, men in a body took possession of the City Hall, and armed themselves with the munitions it contained. Two vessels laden with flour and supplies for the British troops at Boston, just upon the eve of sailing, were at once boarded by an impromptu force, headed by Isaac Sears and John Lamb, and the cargoes, to the value of eighty thousand pounds, swiftly unloaded. All vessels about to sail for any of the British

possessions were detained. The royal government was powerless in New York; the people ruled the hour. The keys of the custom-house were demanded and the officers dismissed.

On Monday, while volunteer companies paraded Broadway in defiance of the administration, the Committee of Sixty met in earnest consultation; being invested with no special power except in regard to the non-importation agreement, a new committee with wider authority seemed indispensable. Hence the following call was issued:—

NEW-YORK, COMMITTEE-CHAMBER,
WEDNESDAY, 26th April, 1775.

THE Committee having taken into Consideration the Commotions occasioned by the sanguinary Measures pursued by the British Ministry, and that the Powers with which this Committee is invested, respect only the Association, are unanimously of Opinion, That a new Committee be elected by the Freeholders and Freemen of this City and County, for the present unhappy Exigency of Affairs, as well as to observe the Conduct of all Persons touching the Association; That the said Committee consist of 100 Persons; that 33 be a Quorum, and that they dissolve within a Fortnight next after the End of the next Sessions of the Continental Congress. And that the Sense of the Freeholders and Freemen of this City and County, upon this Subject, may be better procured and ascertained, the Committee are further unanimously of Opinion, That the Polls be taken on Friday Morning next, at 9 o'Clock, at the usual Places of Election in each Ward, under the Inspection of the two Vestrymen of each Ward, and two of this Committee, or any two of the four; and that at the said Elections the Votes of the Freemen and Freeholders, be taken on the following Questions, viz. Whether such New Committee shall be constituted; and if *Yea*, of whom it shall consist. And this Committee is further unanimously of Opinion, That at the present alarming Juncture, it is highly adviseable that a Provincial Congress be immediately summoned; and that it be recommended to the Freeholders and Freemen of this City and County, to choose at the same Time that they vote for the New Committee aforesaid, Twenty Deputies to represent them at the said Congress. And that a Letter be forthwith prepared and dispatched to all the Counties, requesting them to unite with us in forming a Provincial Congress, and to appoint their Deputies without Delay, to meet at New-York, on Monday the 22d of May next.

By Order of the Committee,

ISAAC LOW, *Chairman.*

The counties of New York had many of them prior to this call assured the public through the press of their willingness to stand or fall with American liberty.¹ Hitherto there had been no occasion for the appointment of a Provincial Congress in New York. It was supposed that such a movement would obstruct all business, prevent the collection of debts, destroy the liberty of the press, and involve the country in distress. But with the shifting scenes minor considerations were overlooked, and one grand impulse seemed to inspire action. While the war-message was speeding from village to village through New England, and the population responding in a manner which has found no parallel in history, New York unhesitatingly took another firm, unfaltering step in the direction of Independence.

Through the length and breadth of New England no time was consumed in asking if resistance were practicable; no delay for the want of a union formed or leaders proclaimed. Men hurried from the fields, the work-shops, and the barns, and ministers came from their studies,² every one with a gun, and a bit of lunch in his hat or pocket; possibly a few necessities packed in a pillow-case by wife or daughter. In some towns, companies were organized after a fashion on the village green. For the most part the enlistments were on the prime condition of individual convenience or pleasure. Thus the volunteer was as free to go away as to

¹ A humorous writer of the day, after recording the action of the inhabitants of Dutchess County in refusing to subscribe to the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance, thus ridicules the "advocates of ministerial oppression" who were at the same time assembled in Convention: "After business, then a dinner, which is to consist of many dishes, but I cannot pretend to express the sumptuousness nor variety of them; there is, however, to be good English roast-beef, ewe mutton, and lamb, both roast and boiled, and all well seasoned with certain spices brought from the East Indies; next is to come a pompous pye, on one side of which is to be seen a viper, and on the other a pigeon, both curiously formed in paste, denoting the wisdom of the serpent and the innocence of the dove, and on the top a cormorant, with a ministerial mandate in his mouth; the salad is to consist entirely of *celery* and *penny-royal*, which it is expected the guests will devour very greedily. But how vain would it be to attempt a description of the whole entertainment; all will be elegant, sumptuous, and polite, though there will be no dessert; as for the wines, they are to be particularly such as have been lately imported from Maderia or the Western Islands, if such are to be had; for you must know that they intend to eat and drink what they please, consistent with the laws of the land; notwithstanding the Association entered into by the Continental Congress. Towards evening the TEA-table, with all its equippages and appurtenances, is to be brought in; the landlady will be confoundedly puzzled to suit the company, as there's no India Company's TEA to be had, and TEA they will have, notwithstanding this meeting is to be after the first day of March. What then is to be done? Why, give us Dutch TEA, if you have no other. . . . How comfortable to the more ignorant part of the Convention, who have been drawn in to sign the creed, to see their leaders indulge in diversions and pleasures, which is a sure sign that the ship is safe, and in a calm." *New York Gazette*, March 20, 1775.

² In Danvers, Asa Putnam, a deacon of the church, was chosen Captain of the minute-men and Rev. Mr. Wadsworth, the pastor, was made his First Lieutenant.

rush into the fray. There were no uniforms, and no equipments. On the soldiers' rapid march to the seat of the disturbance the inhabitants along the route gladly spread their tables, and all things were in common. The British officers were confounded when they saw the besiegers perched in Cambridge as a central camp, with wide-spread wings stretching from Chelsea on the left, almost round to Dorchester on the right, covering about three quarters of a circle of headlands, slopes, peninsulas, and eminences, themselves thus hemmed in by an unorganized, fluctuating mass of humanity filled with the spirit and intent of a military host. The bitter mortification of the proud and most experienced soldiers of the English realm, freshly laureled in recent wars, was only equaled by the sufferings which came with their confinement, since their magazines were unfilled, and supplies of every description were cut off, rendering their diet unwholesome and meager. They were rich in every form of water-craft, ships of war, gun-boats, transports, floats, and barges; but even with these they could not venture near the shore of main or island. The tide-soaked marshes between the two combating forces then doubled the present width of the rivers; and there were no bridges in the region, save on the side of Cambridge towards Brighton. The salt flats had no causeways over them, and the only route between any two places was by a long detour. The chief roads and all the high points were cautiously guarded. Hence the humiliated generals of England's monarch saw no way out of their disgraceful dilemma, until reinforcements should reach them from the other side of the Atlantic. General Gage, at the solicitation of some of the leading citizens of Boston assembled in Faneuil Hall, agreed to allow such of the people as desired, to remove from the city, if they would leave their arms behind them and covenant to abstain altogether from hostilities. Many of the suffering and frightened families, whose means of procuring food were made precarious by the seige, availed themselves of the permission. But their effects were subjected to a rigid examination; and presently the devoted loyalists, of whom there were not a few, objected to the liberty afforded their neighbors of removal, under whatever circumstances, as it would furnish the provincials more excuse for violence should they attack the city. There were timid neutrals, and there were spies, who remained quietly in Boston. These latter watched all movements and communicated with their friends outside. The population of Boston, independent of the military, was then about eighteen thousand. The town of Charlestown, which lay under the British guns, contained some two or three thousand souls. The interruption of employment brought poverty, and the people fled from Charlestown in every direction, until there were less than two hundred remaining.

The colonial forces were loosely officered, and under no national authority whatsoever. No war had been declared, and there was no nation to declare war. The Continental Congress had not as yet decided upon the need of an army. They had no munitions of war nor the means with which to procure them. A self-constituted Provincial Congress discharged legislative functions in Massachusetts, and a Committee of Safety directed in military affairs. A Council of War was also instituted, with an undefined range as to advice and authority, sometimes mischievously interfering with or confusing the arrangements and measures of the Committee of Safety. The field officers held place and rank according to the inclination and partialities of the privates, and were liable to be superseded or disobeyed at any moment.¹ Indeed, the fighting elements, drawn together by the excitement of the hour, were subject to discord and disintegration, and could act in concert only by yielding themselves to the influence of the spirit which had wrenched them from their various occupations at the busiest season of the year. They did not feel their lack of discipline nor realize its probable consequences. They were restless under restraint, and eager for action. In the Committee of Safety and in the Council of War there were directing minds, and a wide difference of opinion, as to the safe and expedient course to be pursued. Daring enterprises were discussed, but little could be attempted while there was hardly powder enough in the camp for a successful target expedition.²

In accordance with the call, New York city and county elected, on May 1, a new Committee of One Hundred to control in all general affairs³; and as the powers of the Convention (so recently in session) had expired with the choice of delegates to the Continental Con-

May 1.

¹ *History of the Battle of Bunker's (Breed's) Hill*, by George E. Ellis.

² Lord Mahon's *History of England*, 64, 65, 66.

³ The following are the names of the Committee of One Hundred chosen in this emergency :

1. Isaac Low.	15. Gabriel H. Ludlow.	29. John Anthony.
2. Philip Livingston.	16. Nicholas Hoffman.	30. Francis Bassett.
3. James Duane.	17. Abraham Walton.	31. Victor Bicker.
4. John Alsop.	18. Peter Van Schaack.	32. John White.
5. John Jay.	19. Henry Remsen.	33. Theophilus Anthony.
6. Peter V. B. Livingston.	20. Peter T. Curtenius.	34. William Goforth.
7. Isaac Sears.	21. Abraham Brasher.	35. William Denning.
8. David Johnson.	22. Abraham P. Lott.	36. Isaac Roosevelt.
9. Alexander McDougall.	23. Abraham Duryee.	37. Jacob Van Voorhees.
10. Thomas Randall.	24. Joseph Bull.	38. Jeremiah Platt.
11. Leonard Lispenard.	25. Francis Lewis.	39. Comfort Sands.
12. William Walton.	26. Joseph Totten.	40. Robert Benson.
13. John Broom.	27. Thomas Ivers.	41. William W. Gilbert.
14. Joseph Hallett.	28. Hercules Mulligan.	42. John Berrien.

gress,¹ all parts of the colony of New York had been summoned, and at the same time (May 1) elected delegates to represent them in a Provincial Congress.

Eighty-three members of the new Committee of One Hundred met as soon as chosen; and on the motion of John Morin Scott, seconded by Alexander MacDougall, an association was projected, engaging under all the ties of religion, honor, and love of country, to submit to committees and to Congress, to withhold supplies from British troops, and at the risk of lives and fortunes to repel every attempt at enforcing taxation by Parliament. Colden described in a letter to Dartmouth, under date of May 3, how the people of New York had "entirely prostrated the powers of Government, and produced an association by which this Province has solemnly united with the others in resisting the Acts of Parliament."

On the 5th of May a packet sailed for England. Among the passengers were two agents sent by the counselors of the disabled government of New York, to represent to the Ministry how severely the rash conduct of the army at Boston had injured the cause of the king. The Committee of One Hundred addressed by the same vessel the mayor and corporation of London, and through them the capital of the British Empire and people of Great Britain, saying:—

"This country will not be deceived by measures conciliatory in appearance. . . . America is grown so irritable by oppression, that the least shock, in any part, is, by the most powerful sympathetic affection, instantaneously felt through

43. Gabriel W. Ludlow.	63. Augustus Van Horn.	82. Benjamin Helme.
44. Nicholas Roosevelt.	64. Garrat Keteltas.	83. Walter Franklin.
45. Edward Fleming.	65. Eleazer Miller.	84. David Beekman.
46. Lawrence Embree.	66. Benjamin Kissam.	85. William Seton.
47. Samuel Jones.	67. John Morin Scott.	86. Evert Banker.
48. John DeLancey.	68. Cornelius Clopper.	87. Robert Ray.
49. Frederic Jay.	69. John Read.	88. Mich ^{ls} Bogert (Broadway).
50. William W. Ludlow.	70. John Van Cortlandt.	89. William Laight.
51. John B. Moore.	71. Jacobus Van Zandt.	90. Samuel Broom.
52. Rudolphus Ritzind.	72. Gerardus Duyckinck.	91. John Lamb.
53. Lindley Murray.	73. Peter Goelet.	92. Daniel Phoenix.
54. Lancaster Burling.	74. John Marston.	93. Anthony Van Dam.
55. John Lasher.	75. Thomas Marston.	94. Daniel Dunscomb.
56. George Janaway.	76. John Morton.	95. John Imlay.
57. James Beekman.	77. George Folliot.	96. Oliver Templeton.
58. Samuel Verplanck.	78. Jacobus Lefferts.	97. Lewis Pintard.
59. Richard Yates.	79. Richard Sharp.	98. Cornelius P. Low.
60. David Clarkson.	80. Hamilton Young.	99. Thomas Buchannan.
61. Thomas Smith.	81. Abraham Brinkerhoff.	100. Petrus Byvank.
62. James Desbrosses.		

¹ *Journal of the Provincial Convention, New York Hist. Soc.*

the whole continent. The city (of New York) are as one man in the cause of liberty ; our inhabitants are resolutely bent on supporting their committee, and the intended Provincial and Continental Congresses ; there is not the least doubt of the efficacy of their example in the other counties. In short, while the whole continent ardently wishes for peace upon such terms as can be acceded to by Englishmen, they are indefatigable in preparing for the last appeal.

“ We speak the real sentiments of the confederated Colonies, from Nova Scotia to Georgia, when we declare that all the horrors of civil war will never compel America to submit to taxation by authority of Parliament.”

These brave words were written in the full light of the knowledge that there were not five hundred pounds of powder in the length and breadth of the metropolis, that British troops were already ordered to New York, that it was commanded by Brooklyn Heights, and that the deep water of its harbor exposed it on both sides to ships of war. The letter was signed by eighty-nine of the One Hundred, of whom the first was John Jay.

The following day the delegates from Massachusetts and Connecticut to the Continental Congress at Philadelphia drew near ; they were met on Murray Hill, three miles from the city, by a company of May 6. grenadiers, and a regiment of the city militia under arms, and by carriages and a cavalcade, and many thousands of persons on foot ; and along roads which were crowded as if the whole city had turned out to do them honor, and amid shouts and huzzas, the ringing of bells and every demonstration of joy, they made their entry into New York, where they spent the Sabbath.

On Monday, two days later, they were joined by several of the New York delegates, and with great ceremony escorted by several hundred of the militia under arms, and by a much larger number of May 8. patriotic citizens, across the water on their way to Philadelphia, pausing in Newark and Elizabethtown, where triumphal honors awaited them.

Events followed each other with the swiftness of the whirlwind. Rev. Myles Cooper, the second President of King's College, who had been elected to that honorable position in 1763, while only twenty-eight years of age, had been writing for the press with great force and elegance of diction, on the subject of colonial relation to England. A tract had recently appeared from his pen entitled “A Friendly Address to all Reasonable Americans on the Subject of our Political Confusions.” His habits and opinions had been fashioned from the old Oxford pattern, and the popular party were not in any humor to tolerate his scholarly arguments against opposing the king's troops. On the night of the 10th of May 10. May a mob forcibly entered his lodging in the college with mur-

der intent. A student warning him in time, he escaped, half-dressed, by jumping over the college fence, and found shelter in the house of one of the Stuyvesants until he could reach a vessel bound for England.¹

John Holt, who edited the *New York Journal*, was one of the most fearless of printers; having in 1774 discarded the arms of the king as an ornamental heading for his paper, and substituted the device of a snake cut into parts, with "Unite or die" for a motto, he about this time issued the snake joined and coiled, with the tail in its mouth, forming a double ring; within the coil was a pillar standing on Magna Carta, surmounted with the cap of Liberty.



Holt's Snake Device.

As the delegates of New England and New York were traveling through New Jersey and bearing with them to their goal the sense of the population as well as the declaration of the New Jersey Assembly "to abide by the united voice of the Continental Congress," a scheme, discussed in private by Adams and Hancock with the governor and council of Connecticut while in Hartford a few days before, was taking effect in a master stroke of military policy. A party of volunteers under the command of Ethan Allen were on the march towards Ticonderoga. They were chiefly from Salisbury, Berkshire, and Bennington, having been fitted out from the funds in the Connecticut treasury. In the gray of the morning of that eventful 10th of May which inaugurated the opening of the second Continental Congress, the fortress of Ticonderoga, which cost England

May 10. eight million pounds sterling, a succession of campaigns, and an immense amount of human life, fell into the hands of the Americans after a siege of ten minutes, without the loss of a single man.

Allen's party numbered eighty-three; they broke through the closed gate of the fort, disarmed the guards, raising at the same instant the Indian war-whoop, — such an unnatural yell as had not been heard in all that region since the days of Montcalm, — and formed on the parade in hollow square so as to face each of the barracks. One of the sentries, after receiving a slight wound, cried for quarter, and guided Allen to the apartment of the commanding officer.

"Come forth instantly, or I will sacrifice the whole garrison!" Allen shouted through the door.

¹ Rev. Myles Cooper, LL. D., was born in England in 1735. He was educated at Oxford, and afterwards made a Fellow of Queen's College. He published an octavo volume of poems in 1761. He enjoyed a distinguished reputation for scholarship. After his escape to England he was made pastor of the First Episcopal Chapel in Edinburgh, where he died in 1785. His portrait is preserved in Columbia College; he is said to have borne a striking resemblance to the poet Dryden.

Delaplace, the commander, appeared undressed, with his garments in his hand.

"Deliver to me the fort instantly!" was the salutation with which he was welcomed.

"By what authority?" he asked in amazement.

"In the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress!" was the quick response.

Delaplace attempted to speak again, but was peremptorily interrupted by Allen, who flourished a drawn sword over his head. Seeing no alternative, Delaplace surrendered the garrison, and ordered his men to be paraded without arms.

With the fortress were captured fifty prisoners, more than a hundred pieces of cannon, one thirteen-inch mortar, and a number of swivels, stores and small arms. Crown Point was taken a little later by a detachment under Seth Warner, the garrison of twelve men surrendering upon the first summons. And furthermore, the only British vessel on Lake Champlain yielded to the bravery of Benedict Arnold. Alas! Great Britain was actually at war with herself.

And now all eyes were turned towards the Congress at Philadelphia. A more doubtful body of men was probably never convened since the world was made. They could copy nothing past, be guided by no precedent, proceed not after the manner of great inventors, but depend entirely upon the gradual unfolding of the internal necessity of the community. They had no place of meeting, but were indebted to the courtesy of the carpenters of the Quaker City for the use of the hall wherein they held their sessions; they had no treasury; they had no authority to levy taxes or to borrow money; they had no soldiers enlisted, and not one civil or military officer to carry out their orders; they were not an executive government, they were not even a legislative body; they had no powers save those of counsel. They represented simply the unformed opinions of an unformed people.

The thirteen American provinces were inhabited by men of French, Dutch, Swedish, and German ancestry, as well as English. This new directing intelligence must respect the masses, one fifth of whom had for their mother tongue some other language than the Anglo-Saxon. They must not ignore the Quakers, who considered it wicked to fight; nor yet the Calvinists, whose religious creed encouraged resistance to tyranny. They must remember the freeholders, whose pride in their liberties and confidence in their power to defend the lands which their own hands had subdued rendered them impatient and headstrong; and also the merchants, whose ships and treasures were afloat, and who dreaded war as the

foreshadowing of their own bankruptcy. The immediate declaration of independence was an impossibility. Massachusetts, almost exclusively of British origin, might reach a result with short time for reflection. Congress must take a broader view. Not only the various nationalities, but the religious creeds, numerous as embraced by all Europe, must be molded into something like unity before the American mind could be liberated from allegiance to the past and enlisted in the formation of one great state. A creative impulse waited for the just solution of an intricate problem. Time and circumstances were to foster a sublime sentiment superior to race or language. Meantime it was the sense of oppression rather than exalted love for country which now ruled the multitude. The members of Congress saw with fatal clearness the total want of any preparation for war. The narrow powers with which they were intrusted by their constituents argued forcibly against any change, where change was not demanded by instant necessity. They were divided and undecided. They resisted every forward movement, and made none but by compulsion. And yet it was their glorious office, through the natural succession of inevitable events, to cement a union and constitute a nation.

On the following day the New York Committee of One Hundred addressed lieutenant-governor Colden in a carefully worded and dignified document, setting forth how the city and county, as well as the rest of the Colony of New York, had waited with patience, in vain, for "a redress of the many unconstitutional burdens under which the whole continent had groaned for many years," and that at this most interesting crisis, when their all was at stake, and the sword drawn by the administration against the people of Massachusetts for asserting their invaluable rights, the common inheritance of all Britons, whether in England or America, they had proceeded to associate in the common cause, and claimed as their birthright a total exemption from all taxes, internal or external, by authority of Parliament. At the same time they were deeply concerned in regard to the mischief and bloodshed which would ensue from the encampment of British troops in the city of New York, and besought Colden to apply to General Gage for orders to prevent the landing of such as were on the sea bound for this port, and daily expected.

The final paragraph of the communication was as follows:—

"Give us leave, Sir, to conclude by assuring you, that we are determined to improve that confidence with which the People have honored us, in strengthening the hand of the civil Magistrate in every lawfull measure calculated to promote the Peace and just Rule of this metropolis, and consistent with that jealous attention which above all things we are bound to pay to the violated Rights of America."

Colden replied May 13, saying, he could not conceive upon what grounds a suspicion was entertained that the city of New York was to be reduced to the present state of Boston. He denied having had the least intimation that any "regular troops were destined for this province." And he specially exhorted the committee to carry into effect their assurances of strengthening the hands of the civil magistrates, adding: "Let this be done immediately, and with impartial firmness on every occasion; that the houses, persons, and property of your fellow-citizens may not be attacked with impunity, and every degree of domestic security and happiness sapped to its foundation."

The Provincial Congress assembled in the city May 23. Colden wrote to Dartmouth shortly afterward:—

"You will not be surprised to hear that congresses and committees are established in this government and acting with all the confidence and authority of a legal government. The Provincial Congress of this province, now setting, consists of upwards of one hundred members. The city committee and sub-committees in the country places are likewise kept up; that the new plan of government may be complete for the carrying into execution the determination of the Continental and Provincial Congresses."

The names of those who organized themselves into a legislative body at this critical juncture reveal much more of the real republican spirit which pervaded New York, than shining narrations of riotous outbreaks from gifted pens.¹ Many of them are already associated in the reader's mind with the most important events of colonial New York. Others

¹ Members of the First Provincial Congress which met in New York City, May 23, 1775.

Isaac Low,	George Folliot,	Zephaniah Platt,
Peter Van Brugh Livingston,	Walter Franklin,	Richard Montgomery,
Alexander McDougall,	<i>For City & County of N. Y.</i>	Ephraim Paine,
Leonard Lispenard,		Gilbert Livingston,
Joseph Hallett,	Robert Yates,	Jonathan Landon,
Abraham Walton,	Abraham Yates,	Gysbert Schenck,
Abraham Brasier,	Volkert P. Douw,	Melancton Smith,
Isaac Roosevelt,	Jacob Cuyler,	Nathaniel Sackett,
John De Lancey,	Peter Silvester,	<i>For Dutchess County.</i>
James Beekman,	Direk Swart,	
Samuel Verplanck,	Walter Livingston,	Colonel Johannes Hardenburgh,
Richard Yates,	Robert Van Rensselaer,	Colonel James Clinton,
David Clarkson,	Henry Glen,	Christopher Tappan,
Thomas Smith,	Abraham Ten Broeck,	John Nicholson,
Benjamin Kissam,	Francis Nicoll,	Jacob Hoornbeck,
John Morin Scott,	<i>For Dutchess County of Albany.</i>	<i>For Ulster County.</i>
John Van Cortlandt,		
Jacobus Van Zandt,	Direk Brinckerhoff,	John Coe,
John Marston,	Anthony Hoffman,	David Pye,
		<i>For Orange County.</i>

were borne by influential private citizens and wealthy business men, who, although indisposed to hasten acts of violence, coolly imperiled their all by such unusual proceedings. Benjamin Kissam, for instance, was an educated and able lawyer, in whose office John Jay and Lindley Murray had been law-students together. He was a man of sterling qualities, and one who commanded universal respect. His wife was Catharine Rutgers. He and his family were on terms of special social intimacy with William Livingston; and he was one of the famous coterie of lawyers—the “Moot”¹—which met to discuss legal questions only, of which Livingston was president, and such men as James Duane, Robert R. Livingston, Egbert Benson, Whitehead Hicks, William Wickham, Gouverneur Morris, John Jay, William Smith, Richard Morris, Samuel Jones, Stephen De Lancey, John Morin Scott, and John Watts, Jr., regular attendants. His brother, Daniel Kissam, was also an eminent lawyer and a judge in Queen’s County, where he married Mary Betts. The Kissams were of purely English origin, the first of the name having early settled in Flushing,² and in the various generations since have perhaps contributed more valuable men to the legal and medical professions than any other of the old New York families.

Michael Jackson, Benjamin Tusteen, Peter Clowes, William Allison, <i>For Goshen County.</i>	Selah Strong, <i>For Suffolk County.</i> Gouverneur Morris, Lewis Graham, James Van Cortlandt, Stephen Ward, Joseph Drake, Philip Van Cortlandt, James Holmes, David Dayton, John Thomas, Jr., Robert Graham,	William Paulding, <i>For Westchester County.</i> Henry Williams, Jeremiah Remsen, <i>For Brooklyn, King’s County.</i> Paul Michean, John Journey, Aaron Cortelyou, Richard Conner, Richard Lawrence, <i>For Richmond County.</i>
Colonel Nathaniel Woodhull, John Sloss Hobart, Thomas Tredwell, John Foster, Ezra L’Hommedieu, Thomas Wickham, James Havens,		

¹ See Vol. I., 644 (note). The discussions were conducted with great gravity; and it is traditionary that the conclusions reached were considered as settling the law on those points, thus giving to the “Moot” the character of a court of the last resort.

² John Kissam, the common ancestor of the family in America, married Susannah Thorne, and settled in Flushing, Long Island. Daniel, his son, married Elizabeth Combs; their children were, Daniel, Joseph, Elizabeth, Hannah, and Martha. Daniel (2d) married Ann Mott, and Joseph (1st) married Deborah Whitehead; the children of the latter were, Daniel Whitehead (who married Ann Duryea), Joseph (2d), Benjamin (the lawyer referred to above), Phœbe, and Hewlett. Benjamin Kissam and Catharine Rutgers had five sons (two of whom, Benjamin and Richard S., were educated at Edinburgh, and became distinguished physicians in New York, Dr. Benjamin being “Professor of the Institute of Medicine” in Columbia College from 1785 to 1792, a trustee of the college, vestryman of Trinity Church, etc.), and one daughter, Helena, who married Philip Hoffman, and was the great-grandmother of ex-Governor John T. Hoffman. Samuel Kissam, a brother of Benjamin and Daniel, received the first degree of M. D. conferred in this country by King’s College (in 1769), and became a celebrated physician in the West Indies.

Jacobus Van Zandt represented an opulent family of as purely Holland origin, the ancestors of whom were men of note on the Continent. Wynant Van Zandt, styled "gentleman" in the records, held important trusts under Charles I. In 1638 he was commissioned by that monarch as agent for England of the city of Amsterdam, to act in connection with the British minister in regard to certain matters of



Portrait of Wynant Van Zandt.
From an original painting in possession of the family.

moment. The first of the name settled in New York about 1682.¹ His son Wynant, educated in Europe, married a Dutch lady; their home in William Street for a decade was one of refinement and luxury, many relics of which in old and elaborately wrought silver, a carved chair of state, etc., are still preserved, as well as the portraits from which the above sketches are copied. They had six sons, of whom Jacobus,² the elder, occupied the old homestead in 1775. Fired with the true Dutch spirit in which he had been bred, he was quickly ranked among those who declared for resistance, and was a most useful member of this Congress.

¹ Johannes Van Zandt married Margareta Van der Voel in 1681, and emigrated from the city of Anheim, Holland, to New York, in 1682. His son, Wynant (of the sketch), was born in New York in 1683, and died in 1763. Wynant's son Wynant was born in 1730, and died in 1814. And Wynant, son of Wynant (2d), was born in 1767, and died in 1831. Thus there were three Wynant Van Zandts in Old New York, all men of wealth and worth in their generation. Also Wynant, grandson of Wynant (3d), and his son Wynant of to-day. The full-length portraits of Wynant Van Zandt and his beautiful wife (painted holding a tulip in her hand) were on exhibition at Peale's Museum at the time of the great fire.

² Jacobus was surgeon in the army under Washington at Valley Forge and Trenton, and

David Clarkson, second son of Hon. David Clarkson, so long active in



Portrait of Mrs. Wynant Van Zandt.

From an original painting in possession of the family.

New York city affairs, was a grandson of the Matthew Clarkson, notable as Secretary of the Province, whose father was an eminent English divine and whose mother was of royal descent.¹ David (2d) was one of the substantial men of the city at this period,—widely known and widely honored, middle-aged, rich without pride, and liberal without os-

tentation. He, like his father before him, had been educated in Europe

served honorably his country throughout the Revolution. His wife and beautiful daughter, Catharine (born in 1760), fled to Morristown, New Jersey, during the occupation of New York by the English. It was this Miss Van Zandt who was one of the leading belles at the Inauguration Ball of our first President, and married, in 1788, James Homer Maxwell, son of the founder of the first banking establishment in New York. In 1796, Louis Philippe, while in New York, was entertained by Wynant Van Zandt (3d), and after his return to France wrote an autograph letter of thanks for the hospitality shown him, sending at the same time to Van Zandt a beautiful watch-seal as a token of appreciation and remembrance, of which the sketch is a careful copy.

¹ Rev. David Clarkson was born at Bradford, England, in 1622, and completed his studies at Cambridge University about 1642. He



Watch Seal.

A Gift from Louis Philippe d'Orleans to Wynant Van Zandt in 1796.

and seen much of the world. He married, in 1749, Elizabeth French, the sister of Mrs. William Livingston and Mrs. David Van Horne. Shortly afterward he built upon the Clarkson property, corner of Whitehall and Pearl streets, an elegant mansion, which was considered at the time an "ornament" to the metropolis, but which was swept away by the great fire of 1776. It was sumptuously furnished, some of the European importations consisting of beautiful curtains, and stuffed sofas and easy-chairs (made in London), "mirrors in carved gold frames," works of art, portraits, ancient relics, fine table-service in costly porcelain, cut glass, and silver plate, and a library embracing the popular novels and standard works of the day.¹ The household servants, as in many other of the New

married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Henry Holcraft, Knight, M. P., etc., and Lettice, daughter of Francis, Lord Aungier, who was of the same family as the sovereigns of England. Their son, Matthew Clarkson, was appointed Secretary of the Province of New York under William and Mary, and in 1692, January 19, married Catharine, daughter of Hon. Goosen Gerritse Van Schaick of Albany. (Vol. I. 370. *The Clarksons of New York*, Vol. I. 126.) The Van Schaicks were one of the important Dutch families of New York. One of Mrs. Clarkson's sisters, Gerritje, born 1658, married Andries Drayer, Rear-Admiral in the Danish navy, and their daughter, Anna Dorothea, married the Rev. Thomas Barclay, and they were the ancestors of the Barclays of New York. Another sister, Engeltje, born in 1659, married the famous Colonel Peter Schuyler, first Mayor of Albany. Another sister, Margreta, born in 1665, married in 1705 the Rev. Bernardus Freeman, whose only child became the wife of her cousin, the Hon. David Clarkson. And still another sister, Anna Maria, married John Van Cortlandt, son of the Hon. Stephanus Van Cortlandt, and their daughter Gertrude married Philip Verplanck.

Secretary Matthew Clarkson's children were : 1, Elizabeth, died in infancy ; 2, DAVID, born in 1694, married Ann Margaret Freeman in 1724, and died April 7, 1751 ; 3, Levinus, born 1696, died in Holland, unmarried, October 6, 1769 ; 4, Matthew, born 1699, married in 1718 to Cornelia De Peyster, daughter of Johannes De Peyster ; among their descendants have been many eminent personages, as, for instance, Matthew Clarkson, Mayor of Philadelphia and Member of Congress ; Gerardus Clarkson, a prominent physician ; Rev. Dr. Howard Crosby, Chancellor of the University of New York ; Rev. Dr. Robert Harper Clarkson of the Episcopate of Nebraska ; and Anna, who died in Holland unmarried. In 1718 the three brothers mentioned, David, Levinus, and Matthew, were established as merchants in London, Amsterdam, and New York respectively. David in the course of six years returned, married as above, and settled in New York. He was in five successive Assemblies (1739-1751), and was one of the most tenacious in his constantly expressed opinion that the colonists were entitled to *all* the privileges of Englishmen, and was in every instance on the side of resistance when the liberties of the people came in question. His children were : 1, Freeman, died in 1770, unmarried ; 2, DAVID, born 1726, married Elizabeth French, died 1782 ; 3, Matthew, died young ; 4, Streatfield, died young ; 5, Matthew, born 1733, married Elizabeth De Peyster, daughter of Treasurer Abraham De Peyster, in 1758, died in 1772 ; 6, Levinus, born 1737, died young ; 7, Levinus, born 1740, married Mary Van Horne, died 1798.

¹ In one of the private letters of Mr. Clarkson to a friend in England in 1767, he requests the gentleman's wife to buy for Mrs. Clarkson "twenty-four yards of best bright blue satin, and a fashionable winter cloak of crimson satin for her own use" ; also, "a handsome silver bread-basket, openwork, light and thin, with the crest, a griffin's head, upon it" ; a carpet was at the same time ordered with a green ground. David Clarkson and his wife, Elizabeth

York families of the time, were chiefly negro slaves. The summer residence of the family was at Flatbush, Long Island. David Clarkson was one of those who advanced money to the state and city for revolutionary purposes, and his two sons, David and Matthew (the former twenty-four and the latter nineteen), were among the foremost to offer their lives in fighting the battles of the country; Matthew was early appointed an aide-de-camp to General Arnold.

A more peculiar condition of human affairs was never chronicled than at this juncture. In defiance of kingly authority a Continental Congress was in session which recognized the existing royal government of New York, tolerated its governor, and all naval and military officers, contractors, and Indian agents, and instructed the city and county not
 May 15. to oppose the landing of troops, but to prevent the erection of fortifications for their benefit; and under any circumstances to act simply on the defensive. It also recommended the provision of warlike stores and a safe retreat for the women and children; in accordance with which latter clause, though in direct conflict with preceding directions, John Lamb—afterwards general—obtained a vessel from Connecticut, and with a resolute band of men passed up in the night to Turtle Bay, surprising the guard and capturing a quantity of the king's military stores there deposited, a portion of which were at once forwarded to the army at Cambridge, an exploit of signal service to the country.

The Provincial Congress of New York came together after these rules
 May 22. had been laid down for their province, and voted obedience to the Continental Congress so far as the general regulation of the associated colonies were concerned, but declared themselves competent to “freely deliberate and determine all matters relative to the internal police of New York.” They made no effort to interfere with the royal officers, while their own edicts were executed to the letter. The *Asia*, a British war vessel, was allowed to obtain provisions from the city; but intercourse between the ship and shore was restrained. When a little later one of the *Asia's* boats was destroyed by some rash and irritated citizens, it was restored at the expense of the city.

“Why such scrupulous timidity? Why suffer the king's forces to possess themselves of the most important post in America?” asked Edmund Burke in passionate indignation.

French, had eight children, as follows: 1, David, born 1750, died in infancy; 2, David, born 1751, married Jane Mettick, was an officer in the Revolution, died 1825; 3, Philip, born 1754, died in infancy; 4, Freeman, born 1756, married Henrietta Clarkson, died 1810; 5, MATTHEW, born 1758, served in army through the war, married 1st, Mary Rutherford, 2d, Sarah Cornell, died 1825; 6, Ann Margaret, born 1761, married Garrit Van Horne in 1784, died 1824; 7, Thomas Streatfield, born 1763, married Elizabeth Van Horne in 1790, died 1844; 8, and Levinus, born 1765, married Ann Mary Van Horne, died 1845.

"Because there is no effective military organization, no artillery, no ammunition, no means of protection for New York," was the reply of one who saw the madness of hastening hostilities before the semblance of preparation had been effected.

The formation of the American Republic must ever be a theme of wonder, and constitute one of the most novel chapters in the history of mankind. The hazard of attempting self-government, of which internal anarchy is quite as much to be apprehended as the fate of those concerned in case of failure, is clear to every intelligent mind. But it will be observed that wherever the power of Great Britain was disavowed in the colonies it passed naturally into the hands of the people, and in the methods of election, whether of committees or congresses, there was judicious, uniform, and systematic management. The leaders were so cautious that the power should actually and visibly come from the people, that there was no instance of a member of any elective body on the continent taking his seat without exhibiting a well-authenticated certificate that he was duly chosen. In New York City the certificate was signed by the vestrymen of the wards; in some parts of the State, by the chairman of committees, moderators and clerks of town-meetings, or by judges and justices. Thus confidence was established and union cemented. In no colony was there more perfect harmony between the elected and the electors than in New York; and the wisdom of moderation was nowhere else more pronounced and praiseworthy.

The New York Congress was opened and closed with prayer each day of the session, the clergymen of the Episcopal Church officiating as well as those of the Presbyterian, Dutch Reformed, and other denominations.¹ The first act was to decide upon rules of procedure; then arose the question of the emission of paper currency, which it was argued would create a common interest among the associated Colonies in the property of the circulating medium, and a common responsibility for its final redemption; and the report forwarded to the Continental Congress contained the main features of the plan finally adopted by the nation. Other subjects crowded rapidly upon notice. There were threatened troubles with the Indians, and it was understood that Colonel Guy Johnson was acting in accordance with orders from England, and actually engaged in the work

¹ On May 26, Rev. Dr. Auchmuty of Trinity officiated; May 27, Rev. Dr. Rodgers of the Brick Church; May 30, Rev. Mr. Gano of the Baptist Church; May 31, Rev. Charles Inglis, Assistant Rector of Trinity; June 1, Rev. Dr. Laidlie of the Middle Dutch Church; June 2, Rev. Dr. John Mason of the Cedar Street (Scotch Presbyterian) Church; June 6, Rev. Dr. John Henry Livingston of the North Dutch Church; and so on, alternating as convenience dictated through the entire summer of 1775.

of trying to influence the Six Nations to take up the hatchet against the "king's rebellious subjects in America." Affairs at Ticonderoga demanded attention, but as no troops had yet been raised in New York, Connecticut was requested to send forces to hold the post, and responded promptly. The Continental Congress was inclined to abandon the conquest, being yet so unprepared for war, and rejected a proposition from Ethan Allen and Benedict Arnold to invade Canada. But New York was alive to the importance of holding the fortress, and took the matter in charge. Such means of defense as time and circumstances would allow were devised; a bounty of five pounds was offered for every hundred pounds of powder manufactured in the colony, and twenty pounds for every hundred muskets, over and above the regular market price. Resolutions were passed for fortifying the Highlands and the positions about Kingsbridge; new regulations for the militia were instituted, and General Wooster, who was in command of the Connecticut forces at Greenwich, was requested to take up his quarters at Harlem, as a security against a possible invasion. This he did, remaining there several weeks. Philip Schuyler and Richard Montgomery were unanimously nominated, the first as a Major-General and the second as a Brigadier in the army of the continent, and shortly confirmed by the Continental Congress. At the same time every attempt upon the part of the impatient to provoke hostilities was sternly discountenanced.

On the morning of May 25, the great British generals, Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne, reached Boston with reinforcements, and were obliged
May 25. to land upon a narrow peninsula with no available outlet save by the sea. The nearer and more imminent the danger, the more the New England heroes displayed their courage; they stripped every island between Chelsea and Point Alderton of sheep, cows, and horses, and burned the lighthouse at the entrance to Boston Harbor. They were confident that if gunpowder could be obtained they could effectually drive the British from any foothold on their coasts.

An order came for the few British troops in the barracks at Chamber Street in New York to join the army in Boston. They accordingly marched
June 6. towards the point of embarkation on the morning of the 6th of June. A whisper ran through the city that the committee had not given them permission to take their arms with them. Marinus Willett accidentally came in front of the party on the corner of Beaver Street in Broad, and without any preconcerted plan caught the horse of the foremost cart of arms by the bridle, which brought the whole procession to a standstill; while he was having sharp words with the commander a crowd collected. Gouverneur Morris reached the scene and declared with

warmth that the troops should be allowed to depart unmolested; but John Morin Scott came upon a run, exclaiming, "You are right, Willett, the committee have not given them permission to carry off any spare arms." The front cart was immediately turned and the cartman directed to drive up Beaver Street, all the other carts being compelled to follow. They were conducted amid the deafening cheers of the people to Broadway, corner of John Street, and their contents deposited in the yard of Abraham Van Dyck, a prominent Whig; these were afterwards distributed among the troops raised in New York.¹

June was a memorable month for America. While Congress at Philadelphia was groping irresolutely in the dark, the very air was exhilarant with aggressive progress all the way from the hills of New Hampshire to the remote forest wilds of Kentucky; far beyond the Alleghanies a few men had organized themselves into a convention on the 25th of May, and founded that commonwealth. Virginia had been peopled by the average cavaliers of the day, under the direction of higher grades of intellect, and now a large array of men of education, property, and condition were revolving the new notions and ideas which were to make us a free and independent people. Maryland, from the beginning, rose upon the shoulders of persons of high birth moved to their destination by the best thought at home, but taking in the vagaries of a larger freedom under a new sky. The county of Mechlenburg, North Carolina, had already been the scene of political meetings which were in tune with the urgency of the times; the inhabitants were chiefly Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, of the race who early emigrated from Scotland to the North of Ireland.² The little town of Charlotte was the centre of the culture of the western and most populous portion of North Carolina, and the Royal governor

¹ *Lieutenant-Governor Colden to Earl of Dartmouth*, June 7, 1775: *Colden Mss.* Colonel Marinus Willett's Narrative, *New York in the Revolution*, 53-65. Colonel Willett was born in Jamaica, L. I., July 31, 1740. He had been an officer under General Abercrombie, in Colonel De Lancey's regiment, in 1758; and accompanied Bradstreet in his expedition against Fort Frontenac. He was one of the earliest Sons of Liberty in New York; afterwards joined the army, and subsequently became a brigadier-general. He was mayor of the city of New York in 1807. He died on the 22d of August, 1830, aged 90.

² The Scotch-Irish brought to this country the creed and the courage of the Covenanters, as well as their thrift, integrity, and morality; with ideas eminently republican, they exerted no little influence in molding the American mind. Some settled in New England and New York, but the greater portion passed into the upper regions of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and the Carolinas. From this stock have sprung some of the most prominent families in the South and West. Of eminent men might be mentioned five of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, Read, Thornton, Smith, Taylor, and Rutledge; also General George Clinton, General Richard Montgomery, and Lord Stirling; three Presidents of the Union, Jackson, Polk, and Buchanan; and John Caldwell, John C. Calhoun, Horace Greeley, General McClellan, Charles Johnson McCurdy, and many other well-known public characters.

was dazed when he read the resolutions of those whom he had hitherto supposed he might command in an emergency; he said, "They most traitorously declare the entire dissolution of the laws and Constitution, and set up a system of rule and regulation subversive of his Majesty's government." The settlement of the Colonies had been but the removal of ripening European minds in European bodies to another country. As good came here as were left behind, and the heads of these Colonies had ever since been in intercourse with the best talent and wisdom of Europe. Fast-sailing packets brought to our shores Parliamentary discussions, which were scattered broadcast by the press, and repeated from mouth to mouth. The lofty sentiment which was taking shape was constantly fed and fostered by words of sympathy and encouragement from the home continent. It was a period of greater significance than mere development; it was that of interpretation. Nowhere was the conduct of Gage more severely criticised than in England. Lord Effingham retired from military service as soon as he learned his regiment was destined for America. Many other gallant officers did likewise. The king's own brother, the amiable Duke of Gloucester, through genuine admiration for the men of Lexington and Concord, expressed himself so forcibly in his descriptions of the uprising of New England, at a banquet of Louis XVI. given in his honor while in France, that he won a champion for American Independence in the youthful Lafayette, who was present.

All eyes were turned expectantly upon the movements at Boston. On the 12th, General Gage established martial law in Massachusetts, and sent vessels to Sandy Hook to turn the transports to Boston, which were bound to New York with four regiments of soldiers. About the same time Thomas Wickham, the member of the New York Congress from Easthampton, and one of the trustees in charge of Gardiner's Island for the children of the late David Gardiner (the 6th Lord) reported that the British had taken off all the stock from this defenseless point, and desired to know whether pay should be taken for the same.¹

¹ *Journal of the Provincial Congress; New York Historical Society.* The manor of Gardiner's Island was the first English settlement within the present limits of the State of New York; its founder, Lion Gardiner, having purchased it of Wyandanch, the great sachem of Long Island in 1639, and taken up his residence there during the same year. He was an educated Englishman, whose family has been traced to the Gardiner who was connected by marriage with the Ancient Barony of Fitz Walter; and from an engineer in the English army had been made "Master of Works of Fortifications" in the camp of Frederick Henry, Prince of Orange. He came to America in the employ of a company of English noblemen, to build a city at the mouth of the Connecticut River (a project afterwards abandoned), and commanded the Saybrook Fort through the perils of the great Pequot War with signal ability. He also built the first fort in Boston. He married Mary Willemsen, a Holland lady. His

The Continental Congress having at last created a continental army, elected Washington its commander-in-chief. On the following day he accepted the position, refusing all compensation beyond ^{June 15.} his expenses; and with the full knowledge that he was appointed by the feeblest of all possible governments, prepared for his departure for the seat of war. Four major-generals and eight brigadiers were likewise appointed. At the same moment events were transpiring in Boston which were to electrify all Christendom. Spies, swimming under the very bows of the British war-vessels unseen, communicated to the army of besiegers that the enemy were about to extend their lines over Charlestown. The question was quickly debated of fortifying the Heights of Charlestown (Bunker Hill). But if such step were taken the post must be held against a constant cannonade, and probably a direct assault, and where was the powder to be obtained? General Ward knew that he was hardly commander-in-chief, although in chief command, for in reality there was no New England army; Massachusetts had an army, New Hampshire had an army, Connecticut had an army, and Rhode Island had an army, but there was no association formed and no common authority. They had met under one common impulse and purpose, that was all. The moment, however, was a critical one, and demanded decisive action. Joseph Warren, President of the Massachusetts Congress, and chairman of the Committee of Safety, was in favor of taking the risks for the possible issue. The vote accorded with his judgment, and Ward executed the instructions of his superiors. The next day (the 16th) William Prescott was chosen to lead a detachment to intrench Bunker Hill, and a thousand men were placed under his command. It was one of the most daring enterprises of

eldest son, David, was the first white child born in Connecticut. His daughter, Elizabeth, was the first child of English parentage born in New York.

The manor was in a highly prosperous condition at the time of the death of David, the 6th Lord, in the autumn of 1774; and as his two children, John Lyon and David, were quite young, the estate was in charge of three trustees, Colonel Abraham Gardiner, of Easthampton, Thomas Wickham, and David Mulford whose wife was Colonel Gardiner's daughter. It was one of the most exposed portions of the Province; as was also the thriving territory of Easthampton, of which the inhabitants had been among the earliest to come forward in a body and sign an association "never to become slaves." They petitioned for troops to be added to the number they were raising among themselves to enable them to withhold support from the enemy, who, it was predicted, would swoop down upon them for provisions; and, after some deliberation, General Wooster was sent from Harlem with a detachment for the protection of this eastern region. But before operations were perfected, — on August 8, — a fleet of thirteen sail anchored in Gardiner's Bay, and not being able to effect the purchase of stock and other supplies from Colonel Gardiner, plundered the island of nearly twelve hundred sheep, upwards of sixty head of cattle, and hogs, fowls, cheese, and hay, to the value of some four thousand dollars. Henceforward Gardiner's Island was a foraging field for the British.

modern warfare. The work must be done in the night, and in such near proximity to the enemy that ordinary conversation might be heard. The men with their wagons and tools were in readiness as the shades of evening settled upon Cambridge. They were drawn up in front of the parsonage, General Ward's headquarters, not knowing whither they were bound, and prayer was offered by the Reverend President of Harvard College, Dr. Langdon. Prescott, with two sergeants carrying dark lanterns open in the rear, gave the order of march at nine o'clock, himself leading the way. With hushed voices and silent tread they passed the narrow isthmus. Then they halted, and Prescott conferred with Colonel Richard Gridley, a competent engineer, and other officers, in relation to the exact spot suitable for their earthworks. The order designated "Bunker Hill," the highest of the two eminences which constituted what was then known as Charlestown Heights. But with scanty military appliances it was quite apparent that both hills could not be fortified in one night, and that the lower, or "Breed's Hill" (as it was afterwards called), was a superior position. Bunker Hill would have been altogether untenable except in connection with Breed's Hill. The British would certainly have occupied the latter summit if the Americans had not, and thus have become masters of the situation.

The Boston bells announced the midnight hour before the sod was broken, and the remnant of a waning moon disappeared. The stars shone with mocking brilliancy. Morning was just beyond the horizon, approaching swiftly. How precious each second of time! Every man was conscious of the risks, and every muscle was strained to the utmost in the rapid work of raising the protecting shield of loose earth. A guard was stationed at the water's edge to note any movement of the British. Five or more armed vessels were moored so close that it seemed almost impossible but that the sentries, if awake, would hear something of the operations. Twice Prescott ran down to the shore to satisfy himself that they had discovered nothing, and was reassured by the drowsy cry from the decks, "All is well." During the night General Putnam appeared for a few moments among the Connecticut men on the Hill, but his hands were full elsewhere. Officers sprang from point to point, putting their own shoulders to the wheel, and men worked as men can only work in the presence of a fearful necessity. Thus minutes yielded the fruits of ordinary hours.

The sun rose upon a scene which foretold serious events. A redoubt had sprung into existence while Boston was sleeping, the earthwork of which was already between six and seven feet high. Cannon from the vessels greeted it with a hot fire without any seeming effect. The British

generals repaired to Copp's Hill, twelve hundred yards from it, to study its strength and character. Hurrying its completion, Prescott's one thousand looked like a hive of bees. Untiring, with perspiration streaming from every pore, without food or water,¹ the intense heat of the coming day bearing down upon them with fatal force, they labored with an intrepidity which delayed the measures of the enemy through sheer amazement. Prescott was full of bounding energy, and his words fell like fire-balls of inspiration about him. He was in his fiftieth year, tall, of fine, commanding presence, with frank, open, handsome face, blue eyes and brown hair; he was bald on the top of his head, and later in life wore a wig. He was in a simple and appropriate military costume, — wearing a three-cornered hat, a blue coat with a single row of buttons, lapped and faced, and a well-proven sword.² Expecting warm service, he had with him a linen coat or banyan which he wore in the engagement. As he mounted the works with his hat in his hand, and walked leisurely backwards and forwards giving directions, his magnificent figure attracted the attention of Gage on Copp's Hill, who asked of Counselor Willard, at his side, "Who is that officer commanding?"

Willard, recognizing his own brother-in-law, named Colonel Prescott.

"Will he fight?" asked Gage.

"Yes, indeed, depend upon it, to the last drop of blood in him; though I cannot answer for his men."

But Prescott could answer for his men, as the sequel proved.

The story of this battle has been told again and again. Who does not know with what admirable coolness and self-possession, such as would have done credit to the greatest hero of antiquity, Colonel Prescott deliberately gave orders and compelled their obedience. He despatched repeated messengers for reinforcements and provisions, but none came. Without sleep, without breakfast, without dinner, without even a cup of cold water, he and his men prepared for a desperate encounter with a vastly superior force. General Ward, at Cambridge, apprehending that the main attack of the British would be at headquarters, dared not impair his strength by sending more men to Bunker Hill. Even when he was told by Brooks — afterwards governor of Massachusetts, one of Prescott's messengers, who, denied a horse because the roads were raked by the cannon of the gunboats, had made the long detour to headquarters on foot — that

¹ Two barrels of water were knocked in pieces by a shot from one of the vessels. Jacob Nash, the grandfather of the author, witnessed the scene, to whom he often described it while the latter was a child.

² This account differs somewhat from the notions obtained from the ideal pictures, where Prescott is represented in the working garb of a farmer, wearing a slouched hat and carrying a musket; but the above description is well authenticated.

the British were landing at Charlestown, he refused to change his plan. He simply ordered the New Hampshire regiments of Stark and Reed, then at Medford, to march to Prescott's support. Some two hundred yards in the rear of the redoubt, a low stone-wall crowned by a rail-fence extended towards the Mystic. A few apple-trees were upon either side of it. The meadow, just mown the day before, was rich with half-cured hay in piles. Prescott sent the brave Knowlton with a detachment of Connecticut troops to improvise a fortification by throwing up another rail-fence along the route of this, filling the few feet of space between the two with the fresh-mown hay. The work was done, and proved of great service. But it was only about seven hundred feet long, and there was an opening of nearly the same length between it and the redoubt which there was no time to secure, and no means of defending save behind a few scattered trees.

Thousands of persons from hill-top, steeple, and roof, almost disbelieving their own eyes, regarded every movement with intensest anxiety. Ere the clock struck nine the bustle in Boston indicated that the British would presently attempt to dislodge the bold patriots. But they moved with moderation; they took refreshments by the way; they halted on the grass and sent back for reinforcements; and finally, about half past two o'clock in the afternoon, marched up the hill in their glittering uniforms.

Prescott was undismayed by the thinned ranks of his fighting corps, some of those detailed expressly for the night work having departed. Warren arrived just before the action, saying he came as a volunteer, and asked for a place where the onset would be most furious. It was absolutely necessary, with the small amount of powder in hand, that every charge should take effect, hence the men were ordered to withhold their fire until they could see the whites of the assaulters' eyes. Prescott vowed instant death to any one who disobeyed him in this respect, and when the word was given and the deadly flashes burst forth, the enemy fell like the tall grass before the practiced sweep of the mower. General Pigott, who commanded the British left wing, was obliged to give the order for retreat. General Howe, meanwhile, with the British right wing, made for the rail-fence where Putnam had posted the artillery, and threatened to cut down any of his men who risked the waste of a musket discharge without orders. The word was given when the enemy were within eight rods, and a lane was mown through the advancing column. The assailants retreated in confusion. Our troops and our cause suffered from want of discipline and imperfect preparation; and an almost insuperable barrier to the bringing on of reinforcements was the plowing of the neck of land by the incessant volleys from the ships, which kept a cloud of dust darkening

the air. At this crisis fresh troops came over from Boston, and the enemy rallied for a second attack. Again were the British fairly and completely driven from the hill. It was during this assault that Charlestown was set on fire by order of Howe, and its church and over two hundred dwellings were falling in one great blaze. The few remaining rounds of powder were distributed by Prescott himself to the less than two hundred men left in the redoubt, and there were not fifty bayonets in his party. The British made the third desperate assault, and hand to hand and face to face were exchanged the last savage hostilities of that day. It was only when the redoubt was crowded by the enemy and its defenders in a dense promiscuous throng, and fresh assailants were on every side pouring into it, that Prescott conducted an orderly but still resisting retreat. The chivalrous Warren was among the last to leave the redoubt, and fell a few rods from it. Putnam, with Knowlton and Stark, made a vigorous stand at the rail-fence, which was of the utmost service to the retreating party, but were also compelled to retire. The enemy were in no condition to pursue, and remained apparently content with the little patch of ground which had cost them so many lives. They had brought their last forces into the field; more than a third of those engaged lay dead or bleeding, and the survivors were exhausted by the courage of their adversaries. All that night and the next day boats, drays, and stretchers were conveying the wounded and dying to Boston. Seventy commissioned officers were wounded and thirteen slain. Even the battle of Quebec, which won half a continent, did not cost the lives of as many officers. Gage estimated his loss at one thousand fifty-four. Of the Americans, one hundred and forty-five were killed. This battle put an end to all offensive operations on the part of Gage.

The news reached Philadelphia on the 22d, and the next day Washington, accompanied by two of the newly appointed major-generals, Lee and Schuyler, and a volunteer corps of light horse, started for the seat of war. As the brilliant cavalcade clattered through the country, it was the delight and wonder of every town and village. The New York Congress were in a dilemma when a message came that Washington would arrive in the city on the 25th, and another to say that Governor Tryon, just from Europe, was on a vessel in the harbor, and would probably land about the same time. Tryon was still held to be the legal governor by order of the Continental Congress, although the only allegiance shown him by the New York Congress was outward respect, and a vigilant caution that his person should not be molested. It was not desirable that the two distinguished officials should meet, and it was incumbent on the self-constituted authorities to

pay military honors to both. In the embarrassment of the moment they ordered one company of militia to meet Washington, and another to be ready at the ferry to welcome whichever dignitary should first arrive "as well as circumstances would allow." A committee consisting of John Sloss Hobart, Melancton Smith, Richard Montgomery, and Gouverneur Morris met Washington in Newark, and attended him to New York. It was a lovely afternoon, bells were rung joyfully, militia paraded in their gayest trim, and the handsome, courtly commander-in-chief, in a uniform of blue, with purple sash, and long plume of feathers in his hat, was drawn in an open phaeton by a pair of white horses, up Broadway, which was lined by multitudes to the very house-tops. A letter from Gilbert Livingston to Dr. Peter Tappan gives an account of the affair in all its freshness.

NEW YORK, June 29, 1775.

"DEAR BROTHER, — You will see by the warrants who are nominated officers for your County, it is very likely we shall raise an additional number of troops besides the 3,000 now Raised. We expect all dilligence will be used in Recruiting, that the Regiments may be formed immediately. Last Saturday about two o'clock the Generals Washington Lee and Schuyler arrived here, they crossed the North River at Hoback¹ and landed at Coll Lisenards.² There were 8 or 10 Companies under Arms all in Uniforms who marched out to Lisenards, the procession began from there thus, the Companies first, Congress next, two of Continental Congress next, General Officers next, & a Company of horse from Philadelphia who came with the General brought up the rear, there were an innumerable Company of people Men Women and Children present. In the evening Governor Tryon landed as in the newspapers. I walked with my friend George Clinton, all the way to Lisenards — who is now gone home.³ I am very well hope all Friends so, the Torys Catey⁴ writes are as violent as ever! poor insignificant souls, Who think themselves of great importance. The Times will soon show. I fancy that they must quit their Wicked Tenets at least in pretense and show fair, Let their Hearts be Black as Hell. Go on be spirited & I doubt not success will Crown our Honest endeavours for the Support of our Just Rights and Privaledges."

Governor Tryon landed about eight o'clock the same evening, and was met and escorted by a delegation of magistrates, and the militia in full dress, to the residence of the Hon. Hugh Wallace. He wrote to Dartmouth shortly after, that he was only in the exercise of such feeble executive powers as suited the convenience or caprice of the country, and he felt most keenly his ignoble situation. He said every traveler on the

¹ Hoboken.

² In the vicinity of Laight Street, near Greenwich.

³ The wife of George Clinton was Cornelia, sister of Dr. Tappan.

⁴ "Catey" was the wife of Gilbert Livingston and sister of Dr. Tappan.

continent must have a pass from some committee or some congress, in order to proceed from one point to another.

Washington met the New York Congress on the day following his reception, exchanged addresses and civilities, and discussed military questions of moment, chiefly concerning the formidable power June 26. which threatened from the interior of this province; then hastened towards Cambridge, where he was much needed. Schuyler was left in command of the militia of New York. The Continental Congress had already ordered New York to contribute three thousand men as her quota to the army of the country. Four regiments were soon raised and placed under Colonels McDougal, Van Schaick, James Clinton, and Holmes. John Lamb was appointed captain of a company of artillery. He was shortly instructed by the New York Congress to remove the guns on the battery to the fortifications in the Highlands. Aug. 23. While accomplishing this feat, on the night of August 23, he was fired upon by a party from the *Asia*, who were in a barge close under the fort, evidently to watch proceedings, and returned a volley which sent the hostile craft swiftly to the shelter of the ship, with one man killed and several wounded. A broadside was at once opened upon the city by the *Asia*, wounding three of Lamb's men and injuring some of the houses in the vicinity of Whitehall. In the mean time the cannon, in all twenty-one pieces, were taken hence with great deliberation. The panic was such that many families hurriedly removed from the city the next day. The captain of the *Asia* wrote to the Mayor, Whitehead Hicks, in the early morning, demanding Aug. 24. satisfaction for the murder of one of his men in the skirmish. The public functionaries were summoned to the council-room of the City Hall, including the Mayor and Common Council, Governor Tryon, and of his counselors Daniel Horsemanden, Oliver De Lancey, Charles Ward Apthorpe, Henry White, and Hugh Wallace, together with the members of the New York Congress who were in town, to consult in regard to the alarming condition of affairs. It was agreed, after considerable discussion, that as the *Asia* had seen fit to cannonade the city, she must henceforward receive no more supplies from it directly, but fresh provisions might be delivered on Governor's Island for her benefit. Thus there would Aug. 29 be no communication between the vessel and the town. Orders to this effect were issued on the 29th. A week later Tryon wrote to Dartmouth:—

“The city has remained quiet since, but a boat which carried only some milk to the ship was burnt on her return to shore, as was last Sunday a country sloop for having put some provisions on board the man-of-war. Such is the rage of the present animosity. At least one third of the citizens have moved with their

effects out of town, and many of the inhabitants will shortly experience the distresses of necessity and want."

It may be observed that the ablest and best-informed of those who have censured the New York Congress for permitting any supplies whatever to reach the *Asia* are scarcely consistent with themselves. On what principle of generalship could an engagement have been provoked with an adversary of such strength without as yet the slightest means of defense? It is hardly conceivable that men of genius and judgment, as the majority of this Congress unquestionably were, should commit so great a blunder as to throw the firebrands which would have certainly laid the city in ashes, to the great risk of life and destruction of property. There were other and broader objects and aims than the punishment of one war vessel which manifestly had the advantage at the present moment. Despite the clamor of the short-sighted and impatient, less diplomacy and discretion at this crisis would have done irreparable injury to the American cause. "We had better be dubbed cowards and Tories than to beat our heads against a wall," said Gouverneur Morris.

Tryon wrote to Dartmouth in an hour of deep dejection :—

"Every day produces fresh proof of a determined spirit of resistance in the Confederate Colonies. The Americans from politicians are becoming soldiers, and however problematical it once was, there can be no doubt now of their intention to persevere to great extremity, unless they are called back by some liberal and conciliatory assurances."¹

Tryon was privately informed by General Montgomery that measures were being matured by Congress for his arrest and imprisonment,
 Oct. 30. and after suffering much uneasiness and mortification, he retired, on the 30th of October, to the ship *Duchess of Gordon*, under protection of the guns of the *Asia* in the harbor.

John Morin Scott wrote to Richard Varick on the 15th of November following :—

"Every office shut up almost, but Sam Jones's who will work for 6/ a day & live accordingly — All Business stagnated, the City half deserted for fear of a Bombardment — a new Congress elected — Those for New York you will see by the papers are changed for the better — All staunch Whigs now. How it is with the Convention I know not. We have [not rec^d] Returns. Yesterday the new Congress was to meet but I believe they did not make a house. My Doctors say I must not attend it nor any other Business in some Weeks ; but I hope they will be mistaken. Nothing from t'other side of the Water but a fearful looking for of wrath. Our continental petition most probably condemned the Bulk of

¹ *Tryon to Dartmouth*, September 5, 1775. *N. Y. Coll. Ms.* VIII. 633.

the Nation (it is said ag^t US) and a bloody campaign next summer. But let us be prepared for the worst. Who can prize life without Liberty? It is a Bauble only fit to be thrown away."¹

The limit of the first New York Congress having expired, an election took place at the usual time in the autumn; the second Congress, chosen for six months, was to have met November 14, but a quorum was not present until December 6.² There has ever been in the public mind a very natural confusion concerning the committees and congresses of New York in this exciting period. But the careful reader of preceding pages will note the sequence unbroken from the birth of the famous Fifty-One in the spring of 1774; and the gradual unfolding of the subtle forces inherent in the community which were soon to assume majestic place and meaning. Whenever the Provincial Congress adjourned, for however short a time, a Committee of Safety was delegated from their own numbers to manage affairs in the interim; therefore a responsible body representing the people was at all times in session. No colony had acquired more dexterity in the performance of public business than New York; and one of the strongly marked features in the complicated machinery of the new government, which was already beginning its movements, was the special care taken by all men in office not to wield more power than had been distinctly delegated to them by the united voice of their constituents.

Isaac Sears, so conspicuous for his zeal in the earlier New York committees, without any particular fitness for leadership in any direction, and wholly deficient in judgment, had removed to New ^{Nov 23.} Haven, where he raised a company of cavalry. Becoming incensed with James Rivington,³ the editor of the *New York Gazetteer* (published since

¹ *New York in the Revolution*, 84, 85. John Morin Scott was born in New York in 1730, and graduated at Yale College in 1746; he afterwards studied law and became one of the leading members of the New York bar, where many of the ablest minds of America were then practicing. He was appointed a Brigadier-General in June, 1776, and was engaged in the battle of Long Island. In March, 1777, he left the military service to become Secretary of the State of New York. In 1782 and 1783 he served in the Continental Congress. He died in 1784 in New York.

² *Journal of the Provincial Congress of New York*, 197.

³ James Rivington, printer and bookseller in New York during the Revolution, was a man of fifty (born in London, 1724), possessing talent, fine manners, and much general information. In May, 1775, he was placed in confinement by order of Congress for his attacks upon the patriots, to which body he applied for release, declaring "that, however wrong and mistaken he may have been in his opinions, he always meant openly and honestly to do his duty as a servant of the public." In 1777 he resumed the publication of his paper; but in 1781, when British success looked doubtful, he turned spy, and furnished Washington important information; thus, when New York was evacuated he remained in the city, where he died in 1802.

1773), for his severe strictures upon the conduct of the Americans, he, unannounced, swooped down upon New York City with seventy-five mounted men armed to the teeth, and destroyed Rivington's printing-press and other apparatus, carrying off the types, which were converted into bullets. It was a riotous proceeding, universally condemned by the citizens of the city, and met the rank disapproval of the Committee of Safety, who declared it unworthy of an enlightened people to attempt "to restrain the freedom of the Press."

With the approach of winter, New York grew more and more cheerless. Scarcely a third of its residents had returned to their homes. An ominous apprehension of calamity hung over the city. Governor Tryon was visited by his counselors from time to time on the *Duchess of Gordon*, but they were impotent to exercise the powers conferred upon them by the king of England even in the smallest particulars. Help was daily expected, and they smiled among themselves as they contemplated the easy conquest of the metropolis with the arrival of Britain's army. Why it should be so long in coming was a problem.

One glance across the water, and we shall see that Barrington's estimate of England's military strength was correct. When the tidings of the battle of Bunker Hill were discussed at Whitehall the lords were startled by the loss of so many officers; the king remarked, with arrogant composure, that he would have twenty thousand soldiers in America before spring. Barrington suggested to the Secretary of State that no such number could be raised. George III. at once made efforts to secure troops from the continent of Europe, sending agents to Hanover, Holland, Germany, and Russia. The astute Vergennes could hardly convince himself that England's statesman would miss the means, so apparent to him, of pacifying America, although he unhesitatingly pronounced George III. the most obstinate king alive, and as weak as Charles I. But he was forced to give up his doubts when he read the king's proclamation against the Colonies, which reached America in November. The Empress of Russia returned a sarcastic negative answer when invited to ship twenty thousand men across the Atlantic to serve under British command; and the king was obliged to turn for aid to the smaller princes of Germany.

While England was quivering from center to circumference with the heat of the discussions over the injudicious and apparently impracticable schemes of her monarch, which half the kingdom believed fraught with disgrace, Washington, acting under a promiscuous executive, was making a herculean endeavor to organize a regular army and a military system from the disconnected material around Boston. Ere long it was

discovered that Carleton, the British governor of Canada, was enlisting the French peasantry in an expedition to recover Ticonderoga, and also instigating the northern savages to take up the hatchet against New York and New England. These movements decided the Continental Congress to occupy that Province as an act of self-defense. The command of the perilous enterprise was assigned to the two New York generals, Schuyler and Montgomery.

Philip Schuyler was forty-two years of age when he thus appeared conspicuously before the world. He was born to opulence, inherited the masterly traits of an ancestry which for three generations had been foremost in promoting the welfare and development of New York, was a natural as well as a trained mathematician, was familiar with military engineering, having served in an important department of the army during the French War, was well versed in finance and political economy, and was a thorough scholar in the French language; he was personally proud, self-poised, high-spirited, impatient of undeserved criticism, but superior to envy of any description, and one of the most unpretentious and generous of men. His mother was the beautiful Cornelia Van Cortlandt, a lady of great force of character, the youngest daughter of Hon. Stephanus Van Cortlandt and Gertrude Schuyler, so interesting from their political consequence and social consideration in an earlier decade of our history. He had been one of the most earnest advocates of liberty in the New York Assembly; his well-balanced mind had acted a faithful part in the Continental Congress, and in the later councils of the Province; and from the first he liberally pledged his own personal credit for the public wants. He repaired at once to his charming home on the banks of the Upper Hudson,¹ a great, elegant, old-fashioned family mansion, half hidden among ancestral trees, and surrounded by gardens, fruit-orchards, and broad, highly cultivated acres, and after a brief visit turned his face warward. At Ticonderoga his duty was the same as that of Washington at Cambridge, — the raising, organizing, equipping, provisioning, and paying of men from an uncertain and scarcely founded treasury; and the obstacles and the dangers were much greater, from his proximity to the hostile element hovering about Johnson Hall, and the totally unprotected condition of the region of the Hudson; and the New England soldiers at the post, as well as those that came afterwards, were volunteers mostly from the farms, undisciplined, and holding themselves on an equality with the subordinate officers, and quite as much inclined to dictate as to obey.

Richard Montgomery, from the old Scotch-Irish nobility, born at Con-

¹ A noble estate at Saratoga, inherited from an uncle.

way House, near Raphoe, Ireland, was a laureled warrior, although but thirty-eight years of age. He entered the English army while quite young, and distinguished himself with Wolfe in the brilliant conquests of the French War. He was an intimate friend of Barré, and well known personally to Edmund Burke, Fox, and other English statesmen, and he



Portrait of Richard Montgomery.

had stood shoulder to shoulder with the colonists in five important military campaigns. He had retired from the service and some time since taken up his abode in New York, purchasing a large property on the Hudson. He married Janet Livingston, daughter of Judge Robert R. Livingston—who was accustomed to say that if American liberty failed to be maintained, he would remove with his family to Switzerland, as the only free country in

the world—and sister of the future chancellor, then one of the important members of the Continental Congress. It was this lady's great-grandfather, Robert Livingston, who figured so prominently for half a century in the public affairs of New York, and her grandfather, Robert Livingston, who prophesied for years the coming conflict with England, and on his death-bed, in 1775, at the age of eighty-seven, watching with keen interest the results of the battle of Bunker Hill, confidently predicted America's independence; and in her veins also coursed the republican blood of the Schuylers and Beekmans. From a domestic circle which had for its inheritance an infusion of lofty sentiment in harmony with the appeals for justice from a Parliamentary minority of the choicest and greatest of the realm of England, Montgomery had been summoned to represent Dutchess County in the New York Congress. His great moral and intellectual qualities instantly found recognition. His sound judgment was valued as it deserved,

and his promptness in action and decision of character inspired heroic confidence.

He was regarded with pride and affection as, bidding adieu to his lovely home and recently wedded joys, he turned his face toward the uninviting northern frontiers. His figure even now stands out through the mists of a century in living colors, — tall, of fine military presence, of graceful address, with a bright magnetic face, winning manners, and the bearing of a prince. His wife accompanied him to Saratoga, where they parted — forever.

Events soon proved the wisdom of attempting the conquest of Canada as a safeguard against Indian hostilities, and preparations were pushed with vigor. Schuyler, who knew all the country and its inhabitants, civilized and savage, went to Albany to use his influence with some of the warriors of the Six Nations there assembled ; but a despatch from Washington hurried him again to Ticonderoga. He found Montgomery, who had also caught the warning note from the commander-in-chief, already *en route* over Lake Champlain. Schuyler was stricken down with a bilious fever, which did not, however, prevent his journeying three days in a covered batteau, overtaking Montgomery and party. But his illness became so serious that he was compelled to relinquish the chief command to Montgomery and return to Ticonderoga.

The details of this expedition are among the most remarkable and romantic of the Revolutionary contest. The way bristled with difficulties, roads and bridges were among the modern conveniences of the future, the munitions of war were insufficient, food was scarce and of the poorest quality, and the common troops were full of the inquisitiveness and self-direction of civil life. Montgomery was much better able to manage the New York than the New England soldiers, as his authority depended chiefly upon his personal influence and powers of persuasion ; of the latter he said, " They are the worst stuff imaginable for fighting ; there is so much equality among them that the privates are all generals, but not soldiers." And yet with a force of one thousand men Montgomery captured the fort at Chamblée and the post of St. John's,¹ proceeded to Montreal,² and leaving General Wooster in command of that town, led his gallant little army to the very walls of Quebec.

¹ Colonel Marinus Willett of New York was left in command of the fort of St. John's.

² Montgomery wrote to his wife, November 24 : " The other-day General Prescott was so obliging as to surrender himself and fourteen or fifteen land officers, with above one hundred men, besides sea officers and sailors, prisoners of war. I blush for His Majesty's troops ! Such an instance of base poltroonery I never met with ! And all because we had a half a dozen cannon on the bank of the river to annoy him in his retreat. The Governor [Carleton] escaped — more 's the pity ! Prescott, nevertheless, is a prize."

During his triumphal progress Benedict Arnold, with rare boldness and persistence, conducted a detachment of Washington's army through a trackless wilderness of nearly three hundred miles, where for thirty-two days they saw no trace of the presence of human beings. Their provisions fell short towards the last, so that it is said some of the men ate their dogs, cartouch-boxes, breeches, and shoes. They appeared, after losing about half their number, at Point Lévi, opposite Quebec; an apparition which so startled the Canadians that, had boats been obtainable, it is more than probable that Quebec would have capitulated at the first demand without a struggle. Aaron Burr, a mere stripling, was of this party, and was chosen by Arnold to communicate his presence to Montgomery, one hundred and twenty miles distant, in Montreal. In the garb of a priest, and making use of his Latin and French, Burr obtained a trusty guide and one of the rude wagons of the country, and from one religious family to another was conveyed in safety to his destination. Montgomery was so charmed with his successful daring, that he at once made him his aide-de-camp, with the rank of captain.

It was on the 3d of December that Montgomery made a junction with Arnold,¹ and soon decided to carry Quebec by storm. His reasons
Dec. 3. were twofold: he was unprovided with the means for a siege, and the term of the enlistment of the greater portion of his troops would expire with the year. Whatever was done must be concentrated within the month of December.

It was on the 30th, while but a few more hours of the old year remained, that the order was given. The principal attacks were
Dec. 30. conducted by Montgomery and Arnold in person. Colonel James Livingston, a New-Yorker who had for some time lived in Canada, was at the head of a regiment of Canadian auxiliaries which he had himself raised, and was sent, with his command, to St. John's Gate to distract attention, while another party under Brown was to feign a movement on Cape Diamond. Arnold, leading twice as many men as Montgomery, reached the Palace Gate, where in the first fierce encounter he was disabled by a wound in the leg and carried from the field. Captain Lamb, with his New York artillery, fought in this division, Lamb himself being

¹ Montgomery's last letter to his wife was written December 5. He says: "I suppose long ere this we have furnished the folks of the United Colonies with subject-matter of conversation. I should like to see the long faces of my Tory friends. I fancy that they look a little cast down, and that the Whig ladies triumph most unmercifully."

"The weather continues so gentle that we have been able, at this late season, to get down [the St. Lawrence] by water with our artillery. They are a good deal alarmed in town [Quebec], and with some reason. . . . I wish it were well over with all my heart, and sigh for home like a New Englander."

wounded and taken prisoner. Montgomery reserved for his own party New York men, and in the blackness of the night, and through a blinding storm of wind, snow, and hail, led them, Indian file, to Wolfe's Cove, from which they were seen in full march at early dawn. And ever by the side of the princely commander was the diminutive and boyish Aaron Burr. They passed the first barrier, and were about to storm the second, when within fifty yards of the cannon, Montgomery exclaimed, "Men of New York, you will not fear to follow where your general leads; push on, brave boys, Quebec is ours!" and almost instantly fell. And with his life the soul of the expedition departed.

Foes and friends alike paid a tribute to his worth. Barré wept profusely when he heard of his death. Burke proclaimed him a hero who in one campaign had conquered two thirds of Canada. "Curse on his virtues," said North; "they've undone his country!" Governor Carleton, with all his officers, civil and military, in Quebec, buried him with the honors of war.¹ Congress passed resolutions of sorrow and grateful remembrance; and all America was in tears.

Quebec, the strongest fortified city in America, with a garrison of twice the number of the besiegers, was not conquered, but the heroic endeavor created an impression throughout the world that America was in earnest.

¹ The remains of Montgomery were removed forty-three years afterward, in compliance with a special act of the Legislature, and placed beneath the portico in St. Paul's Chapel, New York City, where a monument had been erected to his memory by order of Congress. By request of Mrs. Montgomery, the Governor of the State of New York, DeWitt Clinton, commissioned Lewis Livingston, the son of Edward Livingston, to conduct the ceremonies of removal, which were on a most brilliant scale, such voluntary honors indeed as were never before paid to the memory of an individual by a republic.

The only original portrait of Montgomery (of which the sketch is a copy) is at Montgomery Place on the Hudson. It was sent to Mrs. Montgomery by Lady Ranelagh, the sister of the General, shortly after his death, having been painted in Europe when the young hero was about twenty-five. He left no descendants. His will, made at Crown Point, August 30, 1775, is still in existence, though the paper is yellow and worn with its hundred years, and it bears the well-known signature of Benedict Arnold.



CHAPTER II.

1776.

January - July.

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

THE NEW YEAR. — NEW YORK ACTIVE, BUT CAUTIOUS. — GOVERNOR FRANKLIN OF NEW JERSEY IN CUSTODY. — BURNING OF PORTLAND, MAINE. — BURNING OF NORFOLK, VIRGINIA. — FAMILIES DIVIDED AND FRIENDS AT ENMITY. — NEW YORK DISARMS THE TORIES ON LONG ISLAND. — THE PAMPHLET "COMMON SENSE." — SIR JOHN JOHNSON SURRENDERS TO SCHUYLER. — LEE'S ARRIVAL IN NEW YORK. — GENERAL CLINTON'S ARRIVAL IN NEW YORK. — THE PANIC. — LORD STIRLING IN COMMAND OF NEW YORK. — GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM. — ESCAPE OF HON. JOHN WATTS. — FORTIFICATIONS. — THE BRITISH ARMY DRIVEN FROM BOSTON. — WASHINGTON TRANSFERS THE AMERICAN ARMY TO NEW YORK. — SILAS DEANE SENT TO THE FRENCH KING FOR HELP. — CANADA'S COMMISSIONERS. — THE THIRD NEW YORK CONGRESS. — ALEXANDER HAMILTON. THE CONSPIRACY. — RIOTS AND DISTURBANCES. — BRITISH FLEET OFF SANDY HOOK. — GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON. — LIBERTY HALL. — THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS. — DECLARATION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

THE opening of the year 1776, one of the most romantic and remarkable years for its sequence of civil wonders in the history of the world, was depressing in the extreme. The social observances of New Year's day in New York City for the first time in a century and a half were omitted, save in a few isolated cases where the ladies of the household welcomed family friends without ceremony. A storm of wind, sleet, and rain terminated towards evening in a light fall of snow. The streets were deserted, and the portentous clouds seemed to close about the very roofs and chimneys. The mind of the people was strained and apprehensive, the more so because of the undefined nature of the new life upon which they were entering. There was nothing fictitious or deceptive in the freshly awakened impulses and activities, but the step from the past into the untried future was creative of the most extraordinary sensations.

Clinton was confidently expected from Boston. The metropolis was barren of defenses. The Bay of New York was already controlled by the British men-of-war; also the East River, and the Hudson River below

the Highlands. And neither Long Island nor Staten Island could prevent the landing of British troops upon their soil. The possession of Long Island was virtually the command of Manhattan Island.

The proceedings of the New York Congress were with closed doors; none but members, all of whom were pledged to secrecy, were permitted to take copies of the minutes. The intention was to publish at the close of each session such of the acts as were not voted by the counties to be of a secret or unimportant nature, but the journal was not printed until 1842. In the gathering together of war materials this body was industrious from the first. They advised Washington from time to time of things taken from the king's stores, as, for instance:

“In a private room in the lower barracks some twenty cart loads of soldiers' sheets, blankets, shirts, and a box of fine lint; in John Gilbert's store ten hogsheads of empty cartridges, and some twenty-four-pounders; in a private room in upper barracks near Liberty-Pole about six cart-loads of different kinds of medicines; and in Isaac Sears' old store one hundred and thirty boxes of tallow candles, and a lot of soldiers' sheets and blankets.”¹

And they were frequently under orders from the Continental Congress to procure flour and other necessities “in the most private manner possible” for the various divisions of the army.

In New Jersey a self-organized government acted, as in New York, side by side with that of the king during the greater part of 1775. Governor Franklin, who had for a dozen years been useful and honored as an executive,² sympathized with the power which had given and could take away his means of living. In September he suspended Lord Stirling from his Council for having accepted a military appointment under the Continental Congress. He prorogued the Legislature which convened December 6, until January 3, 1776, and it never reassembled; thus terminated the Provincial Legislature of New Jersey. He wrote to Dartmouth:—

“My situation is indeed particular and not a little difficult, having no more than one among the principal officers of government to whom I can, even now, speak confidently on public affairs.”

This communication was intercepted January 6, by Lord Stirling, which resulted in a guard being placed at the gate of his residence to prevent his escape from the province; and his subsequent arrest and imprisonment.³

¹ *Washington's Correspondence in Congressional Library.* Washington, D. C.

² See Vol. I. p. 705.

³ Governor Franklin was confined in Connecticut in charge of Governor Trumbull. In November, 1778, he was exchanged, and came to New York, where he resided four years, and founded and presided over a Refugee Club. He retired to England at the close of the war.

Dr. Franklin felt most keenly the defection of his son. It was a strange coincidence that William Temple Franklin,¹ the only son of Governor Franklin, adhering to the cause of America, should also have been lost to his father.

Family histories disclose many painful characteristics of the great struggle. Fathers and mothers were doomed to see their children at open variance. Wives beheld in agony their husbands armed with weapons that were to be used against their own blood. Friends, between whom no shadow of dissension had ever existed, ranged themselves under different banners. New Jersey, with less of foreign commerce and inland traffic to employ her youth than many of the other Colonies, had courted government offices and the naval and military service of England. Ever since the time of the original Lords Proprietors, many of her sons had been educated in Europe, involving associations which often resulted in marriages into foreign families; while similar unions had occurred between the officers of the royal regiments sent to America and the daughters of New Jersey. Thus, independent of pecuniary considerations and conscientious adherence to the oaths of office and dependence, personal and domestic happiness were jeopardized on every hand. The wonder is, not that so many valuable men became distinguished as Tories, but that their number should have been so far exceeded by the resolute spirits pushed to the front by the concussion of ethereal forces.

The impending invasion of New York City caused its inhabitants to seek asylums in the country in every direction, particularly in New Jersey, which aroused the New Jersey Congress into the passing of an ordinance to repress the influx, "it being unknown upon what principles such removals were occasioned," — whether to escape ministerial oppression or the resentment of an injured community, — and all persons coming from New York with the design of residing in New Jersey were required to produce a permit from the committee of their precinct; in case of refusal, to be themselves returned immediately from whence they came. The whole power of the Province of New Jersey was exercised by this self-constituted body, which assumed control over its funds and directed its physical energies.

The animosity which burst into a blaze between those for and against kingly rule was of the most serious character. Language was ransacked for forms of speech with which to express the abhorrence each felt for the other. The old saying became current, "though we are commanded to forgive our enemies, we are nowhere commanded to forgive our friends."

¹ William Temple Franklin resided in France, became the biographer of his grandfather, and died at Paris, May 25, 1823.

Every week brought news which intensified the bitterness. The rumor that general orders had been issued by the British Ministry to burn all the seaport towns of America (though without foundation) was believed by thousands; and, as if in confirmation of the startling story, Norfolk, the best town in Virginia, the oldest and most loyal colony of England, was burned and laid waste by Lord Dunmore, the Royal governor who had been driven from that province. This following in the immediate wake of the wanton bombardment and burning of Portland, Maine, by a British man-of-war, lashed the American heart into a fury of antipathy which it required two entire generations to eradicate. "I can no longer join in the petitions of our worthy pastor for reconciliation," wrote Mrs. Adams, the most gifted woman of the period. Franklin, returning from Cambridge, where he had been sent on an important mission to Washington, appeared before Congress in a stern mood. He had recently written to Dr. Priestley that humorous summing of the grand result of the first campaign which was a standing paragraph in the newspapers for years: "Britain, at the expense of three millions, has killed one hundred and fifty Yankees this campaign, which is twenty thousand pounds a head, and at Bunker Hill she gained a mile of ground, half of which she lost again by taking post on Ploughed Hill. During the same time sixty thousand children have been born in America. From these *data* Dr. Price's mathematical head will easily calculate the time and expense necessary to kill us all, and conquer our whole territory." But it was a long time before Franklin could pen any more jokes upon the war. He was fully prepared now to go to all lengths in opposition to England.

The New York Congress appealed to the Continental Congress for a military force to disarm every man on Long Island who voted adversely to their existence as a body, and a committee consisting of William Livingston, John Jay, and Samuel Adams reported promptly and favorably. Full authority was invested in the New York Congress to direct and control the troops employed in this delicate service, which was assigned to Jerseymen under Colonel (afterwards General) Nathaniel Heard, assisted by Lord Stirling's battalion, and which was accomplished before the end of January.

Meanwhile a little pamphlet of thirty pages, penned by a literary adventurer unknown to fame, who had been but a year in this country, and entitled "Common Sense" by Dr. Rush of Philadelphia, Jan. 2. electrified the whole continent. Thomas Paine had the genius to condense into vivid expression the political doctrines of George Fox, William Penn, Turgot, Adam Smith, Franklin, and Jefferson, and the press of Pennsylvania placed it before the people. It was a startling success.

It fell into everybody's hands. Edition after edition was sold. It is not dull reading even now. Of the grave point at issue it said :—

“The sun never shone on a cause of greater worth. 'Tis not the affair of a city, a country, a province, or a kingdom, but of a continent, of at least one eighth part of the habitable globe. 'Tis not the concern of a day, a year, an age ; posterity are virtually involved in it even to the end of time.”

Its reasoning was that Europe and not England was the parent country of America. This idea struck deep into the heart of New York, where the majority of the inhabitants were not of English descent. Its claim was that this continent could not reap a single advantage by connection with Great Britain ; that its business could not be managed with any degree of convenience by a power so distant, and so very ignorant of its geography and resources.

“There is something absurd in supposing a continent to be perpetually governed by an island ; in no instance hath nature made the satellite larger than the primary planet.”

During the same memorable month of January General Schuyler performed a service for the country, without bloodshed, which was of the first importance in its bearing upon coming events. New York, Jan. 19. the central and all-important link in the confederacy, contained an element of savage power which occasioned the utmost solicitude. Arms and ammunition were said to be concealed in Tryon County, and it was well understood that Sir John Johnson had fortified Johnson Hall, and gathered about him his Scotch Highland tenants and Indian allies, intending to carry fire and sword along the valley of the Mohawk. While Schuyler was deploring the condition of the army in Canada, and entreating for three thousand men to reinforce Arnold at Quebec, the Continental Congress, acting from the advice of the New York Congress, ordered him to take measures for disarming these hostile forces in the interior of New York. He forthwith hastened from Albany at the head of a body of soldiers, defying the wintry storms and deep drifts of snow, and joined by Colonel Herkimer with the militia of Tryon County, marched over the frozen bosom of the Mohawk River and suddenly appeared before Sir John's stronghold on the 19th of January. Resistance was hopeless, and

Sir John capitulated, surrendering all weapons of war and military stores in his possession, and giving his parole not to take up arms against America. Jan. 20. On these conditions he was granted a permit to go as far westward in Tryon County as the German Flats and Kingsland districts, and to every part of the colony southward and eastward of these districts ; provided he did not go into any seaport town. On the following day, all

things being adjusted, Schuyler with his troops in line, and his officers and men instructed to preserve respectful silence, conducted the surrender with gentlemanly regard to the feelings of Sir John and his Scottish adherents; Sir John himself was allowed to retain a few favorite family side-arms, making a list of them. The whole party marched to the front, grounded their arms, and were dismissed with timely advice as to their conduct towards America. For his discreet management of the whole affair, Schuyler was warmly applauded by Congress, and congratulated by Washington.

It is impossible to regard the wise and effective movements of New York at this critical juncture but with admiration. The adverse influences within her own territory were being overcome gradually, but with a high hand. Governor Tryon, castled on a British ship in the harbor, was keeping up a suspicious intercourse with the citizens, and the commercial classes had little faith in the success of what was termed the "rebellion." Everybody suspected everybody; even the strongest assurances of attachment to either side in the controversy were often doubted. The scholarly training of the men who were conspicuous in the New York Congress is apparent through their intolerance of injustice in any form. They were hopeful amid the network of difficulties which surrounded them, and displayed a breadth of vision which the rash and narrow-minded had not the ability to perceive. They empowered county committees in every part of the province to apprehend all persons notoriously disaffected, and by judicious examinations ascertain if they were guilty of any hostile act or machination. Imprisonment or banishment was the penalty. Committees thus appointed could call upon the militia at any moment to aid them in the discharge of their functions.

Isaac Sears, for his meddling propensities and unjustifiable and riotous conduct, had been completely dropped out of the New York councils, and soured with chagrin proceeded to the camp at Cambridge, where he industriously labored to convince the generals of the army that New York was a "nest of tories," and in imminent danger from them. He so misrepresented the chief men in the popular movement that many of the New-Englanders regarded New York as but a step removed from monarchical alliance. He obtained the ear of General Charles Lee, a highly cultivated production of European warfare, who, having lost the favor of the British ministry and all chance of promotion, been distinguished in the battles of Poland, and led a restless life generally, had taken up his abode in Virginia, and espoused the American cause. Prior to his appointment by Congress as major-general he had been intimate with Horatio Gates, and a frequent visitor at Mount Vernon; he was whimsical, careless and slovenly in person and dress, — for although he had associated with kings and princes

he had also campaigned with the Mohawks and Cossacks, — and was always attended by a legion of dogs that shared his affections with his horses, and took their seats by him at table. “I must have some object to embrace,” he said, misanthropically. “When I can be convinced that men are as worthy as dogs, I shall transfer my benevolence, and become as stanch a philanthropist as the cantling Addison affected to be.”¹ He was a general fault-finder with those in authority, and catching the notion from Sears, applied at once to Washington for an order to proceed to New York “and expel the Tories.”

Washington had not yet been apprised of the vigorous measures adopted by New York, and yielded to what seemed a necessity. He charged Lee to communicate with and act in concert with the New York Congress, and himself wrote asking their co-operation. A military force would have been gladly welcomed had it been in command of an officer who respected civil authority; but when the tidings reached the metropolis that Lee, with Sears as his adjutant-general, was advancing at the head of fifteen hundred Connecticut men, without so much as intimating his design, the New York authorities were filled with just indignation. Washington scrupulously respected the civil government of each Colony as well as of congresses. Lee scoffed at it all. The Committee of Safety

Jan. 21. sent a messenger to Stamford to ask Lee that the troops of Connecticut might not pass the border until the purpose of their coming should be explained, arguing that it was impolitic to provoke hostilities from the ships of war until the city was in a better condition of defense.

Lee wrote to Washington making a jest of the letters received, calling them “wofully hysterical”; and he was careful not to soothe New York in his reply. The Committee immediately wrote to the Continental Congress, who dispatched a special committee at once to harmonize matters. Lee entered New York, February 4, on a litter, having been attacked with the gout while travelling over the rough winter roads of Connecticut, and was irritable, arrogant, and unreasonable. He conveyed the impression that his office was to conquer New York rather than offer the city protection from a foreign foe. It was a cold stormy Sunday, and by a singular coincidence, Sir Henry Clinton’s squadron, which had recently sailed mysteriously from Boston, appeared in the harbor about the same hour.

Feb. 14.

Two hostile forces thus facing each other over her bulwarks threw the city into convulsions; it was supposed the crisis had come, and that the streets of the metropolis would shortly be deluged with blood. Citizens

¹ *Letters of Lee to Adams*

fled in wild dismay. Every wagon and cart that could be found was employed in transporting valuable effects into the country; boats were swiftly laden, and men, women, and children ran through the streets with white, scared faces. Whole families made their escape as best they could, taking little or much with them as the circumstances allowed. The weather was so severe that travel in every direction was attended with peculiar peril and distress. The rich knew not where to go, and the poor, thrown upon the charity of interior towns, suffered from a complication of ills. The floating cakes of ice in the rivers compelled the *Asia* and other war vessels to hug the wharves, which added greatly to the terror and confusion.¹ Never had New York seen a time of such agonized alarm, such a breaking up of homes, or such a series of business misfortunes. Hundreds of men were suddenly deprived of the means of supporting their families. Garish Harsin wrote to Mr. William Radclift,² concerning a rumor that fifteen sail were in the lower bay; and said that for four days, although nothing material happened, the people scattered as fast as possible. He also said new life was given to the moving, "as if it was the Last Day," on the 7th and 8th by the arrival of Lord Stirling with one thousand men from New Jersey, and the anchoring of another British ship in full view of the city.

General Lee aspired to supreme military power, and was charmed with the opportunity of exercising a separate command from his chief; he grew amiable as the danger increased, and patronizingly conferred with the New York Committee of Safety in regard to defensive measures. He went out with Lord Stirling to "view the landscape o'er," and determine upon points where fortifications would be desirable, after which he wrote to Washington: "What to do with the city, I own, puzzles me. It is so encircled with deep navigable waters, that whoever commands the sea must command the town." He told the New York Committee that "it was impossible to make the place absolutely secure," using, perhaps unconsciously, the precise language addressed him when remonstrated with so earnestly against the introduction of New England soldiers into New York.

It was no time now to waste words. The Committee, in their anxiety to delay the bombardment of the metropolis until their ships, sent privately for powder, unmolested by the men-of-war, should have returned, and suitable preparations made for decisive action, used every argument and took every precaution to prevent the provocation of hostilities prematurely; the situation required prudent management. No representative

¹ *Troy to Dartmouth*, February 8, 1776.

² *New York in the Revolution*, 86.

body of men on the continent were more thoroughly true to the country than the New York Congress and Committee of Safety, a statement no one will question after reading the simple and clear record of their daily proceedings. Their policy, so much criticised by their neighbors, was dictated by a shrewd regard for the public cause as well as their undoubted duty to care for a defenseless city; and it proved the wisest in the end. They bore the despicable abuse of Isaac Sears, who executed Lee's orders with vicious ferocity; the revilings of Waterbury, who declared that "things would never go well unless the city of New York was crushed down by the Connecticut people"; and the inconvenience of harboring so many troops from other States, who seemed impressed with the notion that they had come to chastise a stiff-necked city rather than to aid in repelling an invasion; while at the same time they were calling out the citizens to assist in fortifying the island, who responded with wonderful alacrity, — the whole people, men and boys of all ages, working with cheerful and untiring zeal.¹

Meanwhile Clinton sent for the Mayor, and expressed much surprise and concern at the distress caused by his arrival; which was merely, he said, a short visit to his friend Tryon. He professed a juvenile love for the place, said no more troops were coming, and that he should go away as soon as possible.² "If this is but a visit to his friend Tryon," writes Lee, "it is the most whimsical piece of civility I ever heard of." It was a sore trial for Lee to be obliged to consult committees at every step, and he took not a few on his own responsibility; one of these was to terminate the supplying of British ships in the harbor with eatables. He wrote to Washington, February 17: "Governor Tryon and the Asia continue between Nutten and Bedlow's Islands. It has pleased his Excellency, in violation of his compact, to seize several vessels from Jersey laden with flour. It has in return pleased my Excellency to stop all provisions from the city, and cut off all intercourse with him, — a measure which has thrown the Mayor, Council, and Tories into agonies." Lee's course confirmed the notions of Congress in regard to his superior military ability, and in the midst of his schemes for New York they appointed him to the command of the newly created Department of the South. He left the city, March 7, in the same critically caustic humor as when he came, the

Committee, and even Washington himself, falling under the lash of
 March 7. his disrespect. Reaching Virginia, he wrote to Washington that the members of the Congress of New York were "angels of decision when

¹ *Bancroft's Hist. U. S.*

² Sir Henry Clinton was on his way to join Admiral Parker in his movements on South Carolina.

compared with the Committee of Safety assembled at Williamsburg." He wrote furthermore in regard to the situation of affairs, which illustrates forcibly the difficulties encountered in every part of America during this period of suspense: "I am like a dog in a dancing-school; I know not where to turn myself, where to fix myself. The circumstances of the country intersected with navigable rivers, the uncertainty of the enemy's designs and motions, who can fly in an instant to any spot they choose with their canvas wings, throw me, or would throw Julius Cæsar, into this inevitable dilemma; I may possibly be in the North, when, as Richard says, I should serve my sovereign in the West. I can only act from surmise, and have a very good chance of surmising wrong."

Lee's predictions that New York would go "into hysterics" at his departure were not realized. Lord Stirling remained in temporary command, and pushed the defenses of the city already projected as rapidly as resources permitted. He was an energetic and conspicuous officer, and with family interests and connections on every side, was stimulated to the utmost effort. A letter written on the 12th furnishes a faint glimmer of light as to what was going on in the way of preparation aside from earth-works and the sinking of batteries into cellars:—

"At New York we have a founder who has already cast 14 or 15 excellent brass field pieces. We have a foundry for iron ordnance, from 24-pounders to swivels. As to iron shot, we have plenty, and, on a pinch, could supply the whole world; and as for small arms, we are not at the least loss, except for the locks, in which branch there will soon be a great number of hands employed. The means made use of to introduce the manufacture of saltpetre has met with the desired success; so that the women make it in various parts of the country. From the various accounts, we shall by midsummer have 30 or 40 tons, or more, of our own manufacture. In one manufactory they make 50 cwt. per week. At Newbury in New England they make at least 100 lbs. per day. In short, it is now as easy to make saltpetre as it is to make soft soap. As to brimstone and lead, the bowels of our country produce more than sufficient for a war of 1000 years. In a short time we shall have at least thirty ships of war, from thirty-eight guns downwards, besides (if the ministry carry on their piratical war) a great number of privateers. When you return you will be surprised to see what the mother of invention has done for us. . . . I wish I could convey to you a small idea of the ardor which inflames our young men, who turn out with more alacrity on the least alarm than they would to a ball."

On the 14th Washington wrote to Stirling that the enemy appeared to be on the eve of evacuating Boston, and he presumed their destination was New York. Stirling immediately sent urgent appeals for troops in every direction. Colonel Samuel Drake was already here with minute-

men from Westchester County, and Colonel Swartwout and Colonel Van Ness each with a command from Dutchess County. He ordered over the Third New Jersey Regiment; and wrote to six of the nearest counties of that State for three hundred men each; while Congress sent forward five or six Pennsylvania regiments. The Connecticut men were impatient to return home to attend to their spring farming, but many of them were induced to remain two weeks beyond their term of enlistment under Waterbury and Ward, until Governor Trumbull could supply their places with troops commanded by Silliman and Talcott. In case of an alarm, they were to parade immediately at the Battery, on the Common, and in front of Trinity Church. On Long Island a guard was posted at the Narrows and another at Rockaway, to report the approach of ships, and the Sandy Hook Light was dismantled. In the city cannon were mounted in the batteries as fast as completed; and all the male inhabitants, black and white, worked by order of the Committee on the fortifications, the blacks every day, the whites every other day.¹ F. Rhinelandt wrote to a friend: "To see the vast number of houses shut up, one would think the city almost evacuated. Women and children are scarcely to be seen in the streets. Troops are daily coming in; they break open and quarter themselves in any houses they find shut up. Necessity knows no law."

With the first April sunshine came General Israel Putnam, the redoubtable hero of Indian and French adventure in the old Colonial wars, having been sent forward by Washington to command New York until
 April 4. his own arrival. He took up his abode in the Kennedy mansion, No. 1 Broadway, which had been vacated by the family, now in New Jersey.² Some of his officers quartered themselves temporarily in the Watts mansion adjoining, the former city residence of the notable counselor.³ An authentic incident is related of the manner in which Hon. John Watts, Sen., left the country. Some of his letters had been intercepted

¹ Advertisements which illustrate the extent of slavery in the New York of that period are found in all of the newspapers of the day, of which the following is a specimen: "March 12, 1776. Run away from the subscriber, a yellow wench, named Sim; about five feet ten inches high, had on when she went away a narrow-striped homespun short gown, a wide-striped homespun petticoat, speaks good English, walks very much parrot-toed, has Indian hair, a middling likely wench. Whoever brings her to John Rutter, in Cherry Street, shall receive a handsome reward." — *Constitutional Gazette*.

² See Vol. I. 655. Captain Kennedy was superseded in the Royal Navy in 1766, for refusing to receive the stamp papers on board his vessel. He was placed under arrest at Morristown, New Jersey, in 1776, by the Colonial authorities, — at which time he was on half pay from the English government, — but was afterwards released on parole; the next year he was suspected of giving aid to the enemy through his wife. His situation on the fence between the two powers was precarious in the extreme.

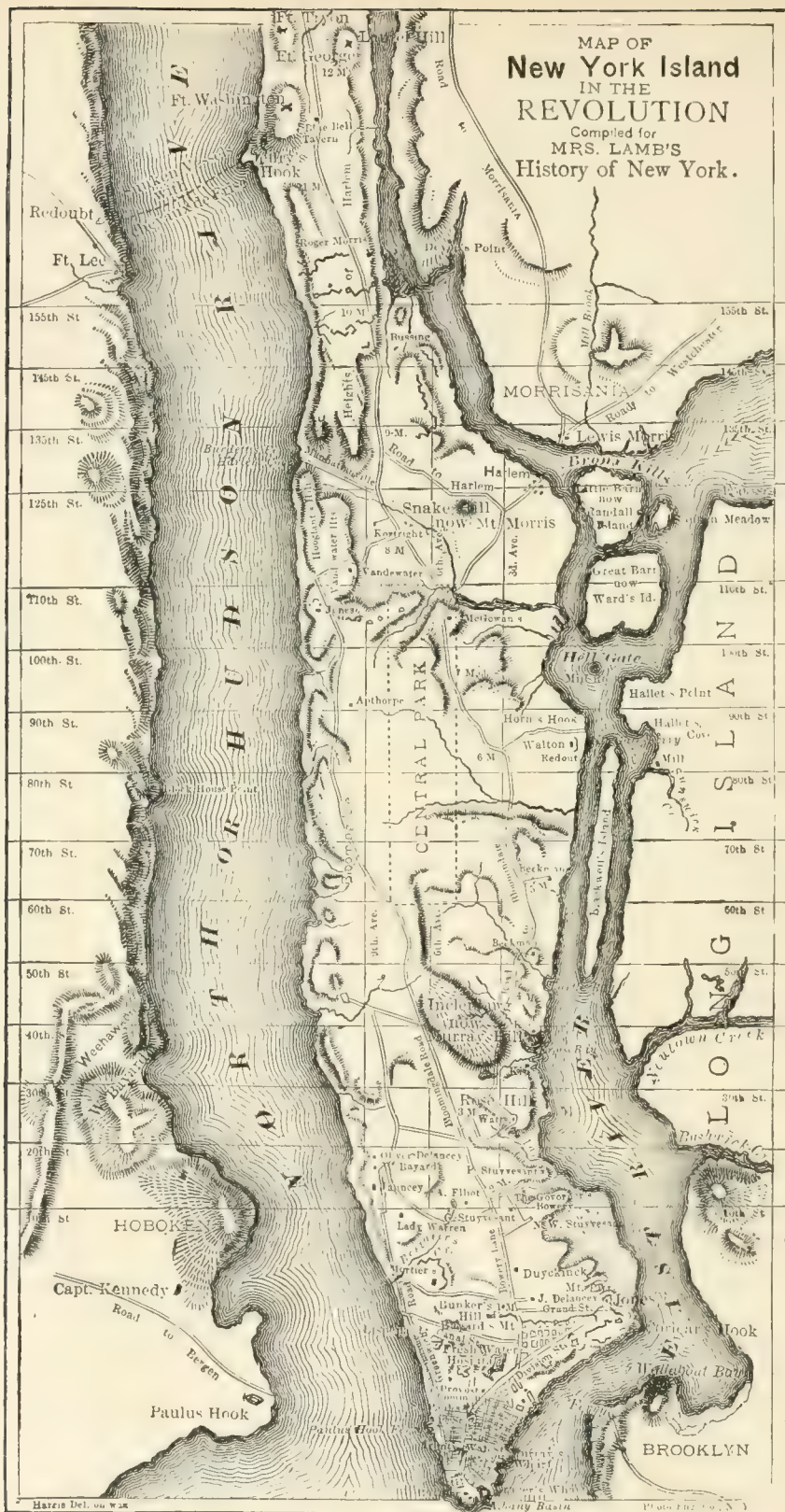
³ See Vol. I. 501, 654, 732.

on their way to England, and read at a New York coffee-house, before a crowd of excited people, who became infuriated on the instant and surged about his dwelling, threatening violence and destruction. Judge Robert R. Livingston (the father of the Chancellor), who lived just above, on Broadway, was returning from court, dressed in his scarlet robes, and seeing the danger to his friend,—for however opposed politically, the two great leaders of opposing principles were at heart warmly attached to each other,—he mounted the steps of the Watts mansion at the peril of his life, and waved his hand to the angry multitude, commanding silence; he was gifted in oratory, and held the crowd spell-bound with his eloquence, taking the opportunity unseen to whisper directions for hiding Watts in a back building; and continued to speak until the rescue was complete, when he was escorted by the rioters to his own door with many cheers. That night Counselor Watts retired on board a man-of-war and shortly sailed for Europe. Before his departure, however, he clasped Judge Livingston in his arms, exclaiming, with passionate warmth, “God Almighty bless you, Robert; I do not believe you have an enemy in the world.” Mrs. Watts accompanied her husband, but died two months after her arrival in Europe; and the death of Watts himself was announced from Wales within a brief period. Judge Livingston’s own death was recorded shortly after the scene above described.

Rigorous military rule was established over the city; soldiers and inhabitants were all subjected to strict discipline. Nobody was permitted to pass a sentry without the countersign, furnished on application to a brigademajor; and any person caught in the act of holding communication with the ships in the bay was treated as an enemy. The work of intrenching went on with spirit. The batteries planned for both sides of the East River were intended to secure safe transit between Long Island and New York; there was one sunk in a cellar on Coenties Slip, near foot of Wall Street; Waterbury’s Battery was located at the foot of Catherine Street, where the river was narrowest; another battery on the Rutgers’ lower hill; forts were being erected on Jones’, Bayard’s, and Lispenard’s hills, north of the town, to cover the approach by land in that direction; and still another at the foot of East Eighty-eighth Street to blockade the passage at Hell Gate. That part of Fort George which faced Broadway was dismantled to prevent its being converted into a citadel; and batteries were projected along the west side of the island at various points, although it was agreed that the Hudson was so extremely wide and deep that all attempts to obstruct the passage of ships would be fruitless; works of considerable strength were in progress at Kingsbridge. The map of New York Island, on the following page, has been compiled from authentic

MAP OF New York Island IN THE REVOLUTION

Compiled for
MRS. LAMB'S
History of New York.



sources with direct reference to the convenience of the reader in tracing the course of events and armies during this rarely interesting period of American history. It serves also with its truthful lines to illustrate the wonderful growth of New York City in a century.

During the month of March, while George III. was exulting over the acquisition of twenty thousand German soldiers, and Joseph Brant, a Mohawk sachem, was standing among the courtiers at Whitehall, promising assistance from the Six Nations to chastise those "bad children, the New England people," and the ministry were strengthening their impetuous arrogance with the near prospect of victory, Washington, through a series of skillful maneuvers, in which he hazarded comparatively nothing, was actually putting the British army to flight from the city of Boston. Never before was so important a result obtained at so small a cost of human life.

Howe's orders for the instant evacuation of Boston fell upon the inhabitants who had rallied round the standard of the king like a bolt of thunder from a clear sky. They had never once dreamed of such a contingency. They had regarded the gibbet as the inevitable destination of the American patriots. Their faith was pinned to the potency of the British arms, and they laughed at fear while under such protection. Now they were stricken with horror and despair. The best that England could do for their safety was to offer a crowded passage to the shores of bleak and dismal Nova Scotia, where they must remain in exile indefinitely, dependent on monarchical charity grudgingly doled from a pinched treasury. Many of these loyalists, as in New York, were among the wealthiest and most upright people of the Colony, who acted from a principle of honor in adhering to the cause of their sovereign; others were time-servers, desperate of character, or governed in their conduct by their confidence in the strength and success of the crown. Their anguish in bidding adieu to homes and comforts and estates, as they ran wildly to and fro in the dead of night, preparing for embarkation, can easily be imagined. Eleven hundred of these "wretched beings" (so styled by Washington in his dispatches), with eight thousand valiant troops, were precipitately hustled on board one hundred and twenty transports, between the hours of

March 17.

four and half past nine in the morning. At ten o'clock A. M. sails were fluttering in the breeze, and the gallant forces of King George III. were scudding from the town they had been sent to punish, leaving behind them stores valued at £ 30,000, some two hundred and fifty pieces of cannon spiked, some large iron sea-mortars, which they in vain attempted to burst, and one hundred and fifty horses.¹ Several British

¹ *Heath*, 43; *Holmes's Annals*, II. 242; *Nash's Journal*, 9, 51, 52; *Sparks*, 164.

store-ships consigned to Boston steered unsuspectingly into the harbor and were seized; one of these brought more than seven times as much powder as contained in the whole American camp. The destination of the British fleet was Halifax, but it could not be expected to tarry long in that region of inactivity. "General Howe," wrote Washington, "has a grand maneuver in view — or — has made an inglorious retreat."¹ New York was the point towards which all eyes turned, whether in hope, apprehension, or despair, its reduction being of the first importance to the mother country.

Washington marched triumphantly into Boston, meeting with a soul-stirring welcome, and made vigorous preparations for the transfer of his army to New York; not venturing to move, however, until the hostile fleet had actually put to sea from Nantasket Road, where it loitered ten days. During the last days of March several regiments were sent forward to the metropolis; the artillery were in motion on the 29th, journeying over the muddy highways to New London, thence to New York by sloop.² Washington left Cambridge on the 4th of April on horseback, attended by his suite, — stopping in Providence, where he was enthusiastically honored; in Norwich, where he was met by Governor Trumbull of Connecticut; in New London, where he tarried long enough

to hasten the embarkation of troops awaiting his arrival; in Lyme, at the mouth of the Connecticut River, where he spent the night with John McCurdy;³ and in New Haven, — reaching New York on the 13th of April. He established headquarters at the Richmond Hill House, and was joined by Mrs. Washington and family.

As if in confirmation of David Hartley's prediction in the House of Commons on the last day of February, that England in applying to foreign powers for aid was setting an example to America which might prove disastrous to all possibility of reconciliation, a secret congressional committee, of whom John Jay and Franklin were conspicuous members, dispatched Silas Deane of Connecticut to France on a mission of the utmost delicacy, that of learning how far assistance might be expected from that nation in case the Colonies should form themselves into an independent state. Deane was an accomplished, college-bred man, of elegant manners and striking appearance, accustomed to a showy style of living, equipage,

¹ *Washington to Joseph Reed*, March 28, 1776.

² Solomon Nash was connected with the artillery, and his private daily record of passing events has proved of great service in fixing dates and corroborating other authorities. He joined the army on January 1, 1776, in Roxbury, and his circumstantial *Journal* covers the entire year, until his return to Boston, January 9, 1777. He was a descendant of the famous Thomas Nash who figured so prominently in England during the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

³ See Vol. I. page 719.

and appointment, and a natural diplomat. He was chairman of the Committee of Safety in Connecticut, and his residence in Wethersfield was the rendezvous of nearly all the public characters of the period. William Livingston called it "Hospitality Hall"; Lossing speaks of it as the "Webb House."¹ He was a member of the first Continental Congress, taking his step-son Samuel B. Webb with him to Philadelphia as private secretary. He was perfectly informed on American affairs, and, Congress having already received intimation of the kindly disposition of France, he was able to accomplish the grand result desired. He sailed in April, and reached Paris in June.

The affairs of Canada were agitating the public mind at this moment also. The army was dwindling away about Quebec, where Arnold had maintained the blockade with an iron face since the fall of Montgomery. The intense cold, absence of comforts of every description, scarcity of wholesome food, sickness in camp, and the expiration of enlistments, had combined to demoralize the remnant of troops remaining. There was no uncertainty concerning the reinforcements from England destined for the relief of Quebec, which would arrive as soon as the ice should break up in the St. Lawrence River. Schuyler had appealed again and again for troops to sustain the besiegers; but Washington, with his poverty of material for defending a continent, could do little; he had sent two companies of artillery from Roxbury, in March, which he knew not how to spare, — those of Captain Eustis, and Captain Ebenezer Stevens, afterwards Lieutenant-Colonel of Artillery, who, dragging guns through the deep snow which covered the surface of New Hampshire, cutting their own roads and building their own rafts and bridges, progressed slowly. Congress, finally, in alarm at the exposed condition of Northern New York, expressed a strong desire to have four, even ten regiments detached from the forces in and about the metropolis and sent to Canada at once. Washington acquiesced shortly after he reached New York, although he

¹ Silas Deane married the widowed mother of Samuel B. Webb in 1753 (and after her death, Miss Saltonstall). The "Webb House" was where Washington and Rochambeau met in 1781, and arranged the campaign against Cornwallis in Virginia. The suites of the two commanders, consisting of forty-five persons each, were distributed among the people of Wethersfield. Only Washington and Rochambeau slept in the great double house, with its wide hall in the center, and rooms on each side with wall decorations of rich crimson velvet paper. Samuel B. Webb, afterwards general, was descended in the direct line from Richard Webb, who came to Boston from England in 1632, and in connection with Hooker, Hopkins, and Willys, settled Hartford in 1635. He was in the battle of Bunker Hill, immediately after which he was appointed aid-de-camp to Putnam; and in June, 1776, at the age of twenty-two, was made private secretary and aid-de-camp to Washington, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. He was the father of General James Watson Webb, and the grandfather of General Alexander S. Webb of the New York City College.

said, "I am at a loss to know the designs of the enemy. Should they send the whole force under General Howe up the River St. Lawrence to recover Canada, the troops gone and now going will be insufficient to stop their progress; and should they send an equal force to possess this city and secure the navigation of the Hudson River, the troops left behind will not be sufficient to oppose them; and yet, for anything we know, they may attempt both." Meanwhile Congress sent a commission to Canada clothed with extraordinary power. It consisted of Dr. Franklin, Samuel Chase of Maryland, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, and John Carroll, brother of the latter, a Catholic priest who had been educated in France, and spoke French like a native. They were to confer with Arnold, but their chief business was to enlist Canada into a union with the Colonies, raise troops and issue military commissions. Equipped for this journey of five hundred miles, they tarried in New York City several days. "It is no more the gay, polite place it used to be esteemed, but almost a desert," wrote the venerable priest. Lord Stirling engaged a sloop, upon which they embarked for Albany April 2, where they were warmly welcomed by Schuyler, and entertained in his handsome home for two days. On the 9th they left for Saratoga, accompanied by April 9. the General and Mrs. Schuyler, and their two beautiful black-eyed daughters, who were so full of life and vivacity that the rough ride of thirty-two miles over muddy roads speckled with snow-drifts was divested of half its tediousness. A week spent at Schuyler's hospitable and well-appointed country-seat in Saratoga, and the aged philosopher (Franklin was now a man of seventy), who had been suffering from severe indisposition, was able to proceed. Two days and a half of wagon-transit brought them to Lake George. Schuyler had gone before to prepare a bateau, upon which they embarked April 19, and pushed their way to its upper end through the floating masses of ice, sailing when they could, rowing when they must, and going ashore for their meals. Six yoke of oxen drew their bateau on wheels across the four-mile neck of land which separates the two lakes, and after a delay of five days they were afloat on Lake Champlain. They reached St. Johns in four days, and thought they had done well. Then came another day of tiresome travel in torturing calashes, which brought them to Montreal, where Arnold, who had been superseded by Wooster, before Quebec, on the 18th day of April, received them with a great body of officers and gentry, the firing of cannon, and other military honors.

They presently found that Canada was lost. Congress had no credit there; even the most trifling service could not be procured without the payment of gold or silver in advance. The army had contracted debts

which were manufacturing enemies faster than a regiment of commissioners could make friends for America. And, shortly, the news reached Montreal that a British fleet had landed soldiers at Quebec, who had attacked and put the little American army to flight. Apparently nothing remained but to fortify St. Johns, conduct the routed army to that point, and make a desperate attempt to check the southward progress of the British into New York.

The indefatigable Schuyler assisted the travelers on their homeward journey down the lakes, entertained them at his house, and, owing to the illness of Franklin, sent his own chariot to convey them the whole distance to New York City. It was about the middle of June when they reached Philadelphia.

The tidings of Canadian reverses had preceded them, spreading consternation through the northern districts. Schuyler was accused in the most extraordinary manner. He had never been loved by the New England people, having in all the boundary disputes been the champion of New York in opposition to Eastern claims. Now, he was charged with having neglected to forward supplies and reinforcements; indeed, as the commander of the Northern department of the army, he was declared responsible for its failures and humiliations. His magnanimity in allowing Sir John Johnson to go at large was misconstrued into a crime; presently insinuations were afloat that he was untrue to America, and town-meetings were held in various places and plots concocted for his arrest and imprisonment. These base imputations were not generally advanced or countenanced; but Washington was addressed on the subject, as was also Governor Trumbull and others. Washington was indignant, said it was one of the diabolical schemes of the Tories to create distrust, and proclaimed his utmost confidence in Schuyler's integrity. Schuyler denounced the scandal as infamous, and demanded a court of inquiry.

On the 19th Washington was summoned, by Congress, to Philadelphia, whither he was accompanied by Mrs. Washington, accepting the ^{May 19} hospitalities of John Hancock fifteen days. There were serious divisions among the members; it was known that commissioners from Parliament were on the water, coming with proposals of accommodation, the engagement of German troops by England indicated unsparing hostility, and the hazards of a protracted war were fully comprehended. The majority, however, were for vigorous measures, and it was resolved to swell the army in New York with thirteen thousand eight hundred militia, and institute a flying camp of ten thousand to be stationed in New Jersey. A war-office was established, which went into operation June 12. Among those in Congress to whom Washington turned for

counsel concerning the interior defenses of New York at this alarming crisis, was George Clinton, whose life at the ancestral homestead in Orange County had familiarized him with the physical and topographical peculiarities of the region along the Hudson above the city. His brother, James Clinton, was stationed with a considerable force in the Highlands; he had been with Montgomery at the siege of St. Johns and the capture of Montreal, and, even earlier, while yet a beardless boy, had taken lessons in that great American military school, the French War, in which their father Charles Clinton was an efficient officer under the Crown. Both brothers were men of military genius and sound judgment.

The question of what to do with the Tories was discussed with much warmth during this conference. Many had been apprehended, some disarmed, and not a few incarcerated. To discriminate justly between those who were criminal as covert enemies, and such as indulged in a peaceable difference of opinion, was by no means easy. Rancorous partisans complained of the want of patriotic vigor in the New York Congress, because of the methods used to avoid confounding the innocent with the guilty and prevent unmerited abuse. A proposal which found favor, however, emanated from this body, that secret committees, chosen by the civil authority of each Colony, should act in connection with the military leaders in subduing an element so threatening to the chances of success. John Jay, Philip Livingston, Gouverneur Morris, Thomas Tredwell, Lewis Graham, and Leonard Gansevoort composed the earliest "Committee on Conspiracy" in New York under these resolves. They were all members of the Third New York Congress, which, elected in April, assembled about the middle of May, and continued in session until June 20.

The public fever was at its highest ebb during these dark days of expectant calamity. Mischief was brewing on every hand. Schuyler discovered that Sir John Johnson had broken his parole, and was preparing to co-operate with the British army at the head of savage bands of warriors. Colonel Elias Dayton was sent with a strong force to arrest him, but he escaped and took refuge among the Indians on the borders of the lakes, accompanied by a crowd of armed tenants. Dayton took temporary possession of Johnson Hall, seized Sir John's papers and read them aloud in the presence of his wife, the beautiful and accomplished daughter of the counselor, John Watts, and finally conveyed her ladyship as a hostage to Albany. The rumor followed quickly that Sir John was actually coming down the valley of the Mohawk prepared to lay everything waste, and Schuyler hurriedly collected such material as he could command, in the vicinity of Albany, to oppose the anticipated attack.

Meanwhile New York City was alive with conspiracies, imaginary and

real. The secret committee made out a list of suspected persons and served upon each a printed summons to appear and give security on oath that they would have nothing to do with any measures hostile to the union of the Colonies. Heading this formidable list were the counselors Oliver de Lancey, Hugh Wallace, and Charles Ward Apthorpe, who were in the habit of visiting the governor on board the *Duchess of Gordon*, in the harbor, and were said to be privately offering bribes to induce men to



The Apthorpe Mansion.

enlist in the service of the king. Apthorpe was a scholarly man of fifty, of quiet habits, cultivated tastes, and social prominence, with no special inclination to fight either for a crowned head across the water or a crown of heads upon this side. He built the stately old mansion of the sketch, one of the finest specimens of the domestic architecture of that period in America, shortly before the Revolution. It stands on the corner of Ninth Avenue and Ninety-First Street, and is known at the present time as Elm Park. Its recessed portico, Corinthian columns, corresponding pilasters, and high-arched doorway at the middle of the house opening into a hall

wide enough for a cotillion party, give it an aristocratic air even now, with its weight of years and interesting associations. Apthorpe was able to satisfy the committee in regard to his peaceable intentions. His property in New York was untouched at the close of the war (although he had large estates in Maine and Massachusetts which were confiscated), and he resided in his elegant Bloomingdale mansion, exercising the generous hospitality of a courtly gentleman of wealth, until his death in 1797. In the winter of 1789, the beauty, wealth, and fashion of New York City gathered under this roof to witness the marriage ceremony of his "lovely and accomplished" daughter Maria, to the distinguished Hugh Williamson, Member of Congress from North Carolina, a bachelor of fifty years.¹

The President of the Third New York Congress was Nathaniel Woodhull, who had served in the French War, commanding a New York regiment under General Amherst in the final reduction of Canada in 1760. His wife was Ruth, daughter of Nicoll Floyd, and sister of William Floyd, one of the active members of the Continental Congress.² He was fifty-four years of age, brave, generous, upright, and a chivalrous defender of colonial rights. He was appointed a brigadier-general, for which his military training and experience had admirably fitted him, and with the first intimation of the landing of the British on Long Island, he placed himself at the head of his command.³ In his necessary absences during the session John Haring presided over this Congress, a tall, fine-looking, dark-complexioned man of thirty-seven, of unblemished character, excellent parts, and a fluent talker. His residence was in Tappan on the Hudson, in the vicinity of which he was popular and influential, and constantly contriving measures to circumvent the Tories. In addition to his legislative duties he was actively employed in the purchase and manufacture of saltpetre, and in collecting lead. In consultation with Henry Wisner⁴ months prior to this date, the subject of the practical alleviation of the most

¹ *New York Daily Gazette*, Monday, Jan. 5, 1789.

² See p. 20, note (Vol. II.).

³ The next day after the battle of Long Island he was surprised by a party of Light Horse under Oliver De Lancey, Jr., near Jamaica, and seriously injured after the surrender of his sword, the wounds causing his death, September 20, 1776.

⁴ Henry Wisner was born in 1720; his father was Hendrick Wisner, and his mother a New England woman. His grandfather, Johannes Wisner, was born in Switzerland, fought under Louis XIV. in the allied army of the Prince of Orange, and under the Duke of Marlborough; he emigrated to New York in the early part of the eighteenth century. Henry Wisner's residence was about a mile south of the village of Goshen; he was a justice of the peace, owned considerable land thereabouts, and a few slaves. His wife was Sarah Norton. His public services began in the New York Assembly in 1759, which position he held for ten years.—*Memorial of Henry Wisner*, by Franklin Burdge.

distressing need of the Colonies, war materials, assumed tangible form. Wisner erected three powder-mills, one in Ulster County, placed in charge of his son Henry, and two in Orange County, and despite innumerable obstacles, and the risks of being blown into the air through early crude processes of manufacture, as well as the threatened torch of the Tories, he succeeded in providing the essential, gunpowder, in quantities largely exceeding the whole product of American enterprise in this line of all the other Colonies combined. He was warmly encouraged in the work by the New York Congress, and through his energetic proceedings in the making of, not only powder, but spears, gunflints, and better roads for the transportation of necessities to the American army, he was roundly abused and called an "Old Tyrant" by the Tory newspapers. Wisner was in attendance at the Continental Congress and voted with that body for American Independence.

In March a boyish-looking youngster of twenty, of small stature and self-confident bearing, had obtained through McDougall an appointment from the New York Congress as captain of a company of artillery. He had recently, in Columbia College, formed an amateur corps among his fellow-students for the culture of pyrotechnics and gunnery; and had for months been engaged in military gymnastics, and the study of ancient works relating to politics and war. One bright June morning, while drilling his men in a field on the outskirts of the city (now City Hall Park), he attracted the notice of General Nathaniel Greene, who, quick to detect any gleam of military art, invited him to his quarters, catechised him as to his education and opportunities, and introduced him to Washington. The youth thus brought under the special notice of the commander-in-chief was Alexander Hamilton.

The month of June was one of perpetual excitement in New York. It was rumored that the Tories were banding together for co-operation with the British army upon its arrival, intending to blow up the magazines, spike the guns, and seize and massacre Washington and his officers. Congress and its "Committee on Conspiracy" knew no rest. The facts developed that persons had secretly been enlisted and sworn to hostile acts. The lower order of liquor dealers were in numerous instances implicated and incarcerated, as well as multitudes of their customers. The private administration of justice kept the city in commotion and the members of Congress on the alert to prevent riots and disturbances therefrom.

Peter Elting wrote to Captain Richard Varick, June 13: "We had ^{June 13} some grand Tory rides in this city this week, and one in particular yesterday; several of them [the Tories] were handled very roughly, being carried through the streets on rails, their clothes torn from their backs, and their

bodies pretty well mingled with dust.”¹ Under the date to which reference is made (June 12), the following minutes were entered upon the journals of the New York Congress:—

“*Resolved*, That this Congress by no means approve of the riots that have hap-
pened this day; they flatter themselves, however, that they have proceeded from
a real regard to liberty and a detestation of those persons who, by their language
and conduct, have discovered themselves to be inimical to the cause of America.
To urge the warm friends of liberty to decency and good order, this Congress
assures the public that effectual measures will be taken to secure the enemies of
American liberty in this colony; and do require the good people of this city and
colony to desist from all riots, and leave the offenders against so good a cause to
be dealt with by the constitutional representatives of the colony.”

It was shortly discovered beyond further question that Tryon, from his
safe retreat on shipboard, was working through agents on shore. Suspicion
fell upon the mayor, David Matthews, and he was accordingly seized at
his residence in Flatbush, Long Island, by order of Washington,
June 22. at one o'clock on the morning of June 22, but the most vigilant
search failed to discover treasonable papers in his possession; and nothing
was subsequently proved against him except that he had disbursed money
for Tryon, who had offered a bounty to all who would engage in the con-
spiracy.² James Matthews, the brother of the mayor, residing at Corn-
wall, Orange County, was also seized in the same manner, but he was
willing to take the oath prescribed, and gave bonds to Haring, president
of Congress *pro tem*, to the amount of five hundred pounds sterling, to
keep the peace, and was consequently released.

On the same evening of Mayor Matthews' arrest, the Committee met

¹ “There has lately been a good deal of attention paid the Tories in this city. Some of the
worst have been carried through the streets at noonday on rails.” — *Solomon Drowne, M. D.*,
to *Solomon Drowne, Secy.*, June 17, 1776. *New York in the Revolution*, 97.

“I have been cruelly rode on rails, a practice most painful, dangerous, and till now peculiar
to the humane republicans of New England.” — *Letter from Staten Island*, August 17, 1776.

² Mayor Matthews was imprisoned for a few days in New York, and then conveyed to
Litchfield, Connecticut, and consigned to the care of Major Moses Seymour, a relative of his
wife, Sarah Seymour Matthews. He was confined in the Seymour house, but was allowed the
privilege of the village. One day, while taking his customary walk, he omitted to return,
and, making his way to New York as best he could, placed himself under the protection of
the British flag. Fletcher Matthews, a brother of David and James Matthews, had married
into the Woodhull family, and resided in New York City. The three brothers were the sons
of Vincent Matthews and Catalina Abeel (daughter of Mayor Abeel of Albany), and the grand-
sons of Colonel Peter Matthews, who came to this country as an officer under Governor
Fletcher, in 1692. They had one sister, who married Theophilus Beekman. James Matthews
married Hannah Strong, and they were the parents of General Vincent Matthews, who died
at Rochester in 1846, at the head of the bar in Western New York.

at Scots Tavern in Wall Street to examine ex-Mayor Whitehead Hicks, who had been summoned before them. They desired him to show cause why he should be considered a friend to America. He said he had shown nothing by his conduct which could be interpreted as against his country; that he had for many years held honorable and lucrative Crown offices, unsolicited, and that he had repeatedly sworn allegiance to the Crown. For that reason he was not willing to take up arms for America. And as his father and brothers and some of his near relations were strongly attached to or absolutely engaged in the Colonial cause, he should never take up arms against America. He said one of his servants had joined the Continental troops as a volunteer without the least interference on his part. He was asked by the chairman whether in his opinion the British Parliament had a right to tax America, and replied that he should be very unwilling to be taxed by the British Parliament. He was asked whether he thought defense by arms justifiable, and said such a course should, in his view of the case, be the last resort, and he had not fully examined or considered whether every other necessary expedient had been previously used. After a series of similar questions and answers, it was unanimously resolved to accept his parole, and a copy was given him to sign, which he begged leave to consider for a day or two, as he feared it might interfere with his oath of office as a judge, but declared he had no other objection to it. He was allowed to take it away with him, but he returned it with his signature.

Several others were examined on the same occasion with less agreeable results. The Committee continued their investigations far into the night. Mayor Matthews was arraigned before them on the 23d, and Counselor William Axtell on the 24th, who was, however, released on parole, as was also Dr. Samuel Martin. John Willett, of Jamaica, was compelled to give a bond of two thousand pounds sterling as a pledge of good behavior. On the 25th a warrant was issued under the signatures of John Jay and Gouverneur Morris, and placed in the hands of Wynant Van Zandt, a lieutenant in Colonel Lasher's battalion, for the apprehension of Nicholas Cornery, the keeper of an inn, who had been detected in selling gunpowder to the conspirators. By the 27th the plot was so far traced that Thomas Hickey, one of Washington's body-guard, an Irishman who had been a deserter from the British army, was known to have enlisted for the king, and to have used great exertions towards corrupting his comrades. He was tried by a court-martial, found guilty of mutiny, sedition, and treachery, and at ten o'clock, on the morning of the 28th, hanged in a field near the Bowery, in the presence of at least twenty thousand persons. This was the first military execution of the Revolution.

Its effects were salutary, but the arduous duties of the Committee were by no means ended. The prisons were full of persons awaiting trial, while petitions for clemency or release poured in from every quarter in one continuous stream. Sir William Howe was already at Sandy Hook, having

June 28 arrived on the 25th; and he was joined by the whole British fleet and forces from Halifax on the 28th. Philip Livingston, on the morning of the same memorable day, reached the Continental Congress at Philadelphia, and taking his seat again in that body, explained the peculiar and imperative necessity for his colleagues to remain at their posts in New York while the city was in such peril; immediately following which the draft of the Declaration of Independence was first submitted by Jefferson.

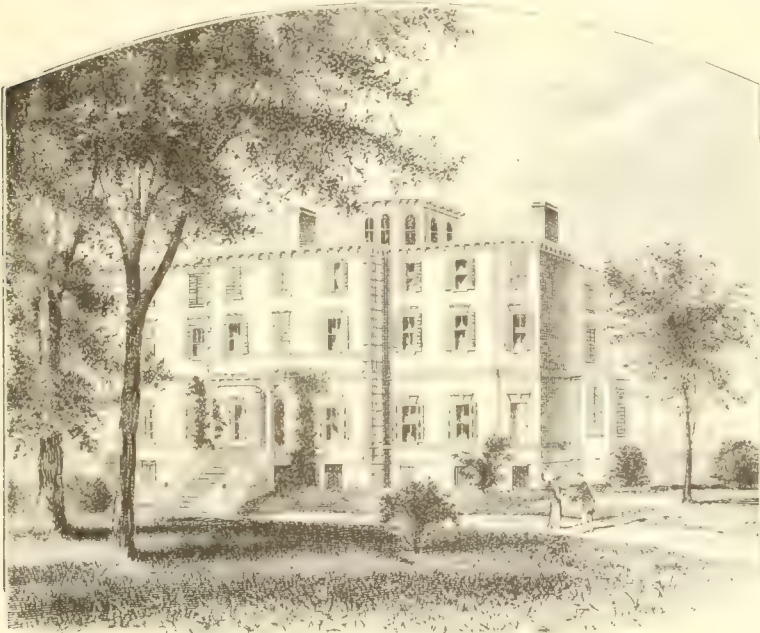
William Livingston had been in December appointed a brigadier-general over the militia of New Jersey, and on the 5th of June, while acting upon a committee of the Continental Congress, of which he was an important member, for the establishment of expresses to transmit intelligence between the Colonies with more celerity, events had hurried him to Elizabeth to assume command. At this juncture he was alive with bounding energy in the raising of troops for the defense of the exposed borders of both New York and New Jersey. He was in daily communication with his son-in-law, John Jay, and cognizant of all the measures and movements of the New York Congress and "Committee on Conspiracy." New Jersey rejoiced in a new Congress fresh from the people with ample powers for deciding her course — a Congress which organized itself June 11, and was opened with prayer by the great theological politician, Rev. Dr. John Witherspoon, President of Princeton College.¹ On the 22d a resolution had been adopted to form a state government; two days later a committee was appointed to draft a constitution, which was reported on the 26th, and confirmed July 2. William Livingston was the first choice for a governor of the new State, and, as the reader will learn in future pages, was soon transferred to the executive chair.

His residence in Elizabeth, familiarly known as "Liberty Hall,"² was the scene henceforward of many startling and romantic incidents. It was a shining mark for the enemy, for no bolder or more aggravating patriot wielded pen or power than its owner, who was styled an "arch-fiend"; and it was pointed out to the belligerent foe from over the water as the resort of the "formidable" John Jay, whose beautiful young wife spent much time with her mother and sisters within its walls. It was here that Jay's afterwards distinguished son, Peter Augustus Jay, was born, in January, 1776. The wonder is, not that the British sought the destruc-

¹ See Vol. I, 751, 752, note.

² See Vol. I, 758.

tion of the dwelling, but that it escaped their designs unharmed. "If the British do not burn Liberty Hall, I shall think them greater rascals than ever, for I have really endeavored to deserve this last and most luminous testimony of their inveterate malice," wrote Livingston to his daughter Kitty. The original structure, with its spacious apartments, high ceilings, and narrow doors, remains intact to the present day. The upper story of the sketch has been added, as well as extensions to the rear of the edifice



"Liberty Hall."

to meet the requirements of later occupants ; modern glass has taken the place of small panes in many of the windows ; and the deep fireplaces are framed with marble mantels of a recent generation ; but the innumerable little cupboards and artful contrivances in the paneling of the walls are still cherished, the old staircase proudly bears the cuts left by the angry Hessian soldiery when thwarted on one occasion in the object of their visit, and the flavor and sacredness of antiquity generally is preserved. The house stands on elevated ground some rods from the street (the old Springfield turnpike), and retains its ancient body-guard of lofty shade-trees. The larger tree in the foreground of the picture was planted by Miss Susan Livingston, the elder daughter of the Governor, in 1772. Mrs.

Livingston was a handsome, animated woman, possessing many of the strong characteristics of her notable ancestors, Philip French, Lieutenant-Governor Brockholls, and Frederick Phillips. She took a deep interest in the country's affairs, ably seconding her husband's scoffing ridicule of kingly threats; and their daughters became full-fledged politicians long ere they had attained complete physical stature. The knotty problems of the hour, and the methods and details of solving and settling them, were discussed daily at their table. Even in the most familiar correspondence with his children at school the subject uppermost in Livingston's thoughts occupied the chief space. As, for instance, in a letter to one of his boys who had written home of something which appeared in his lessons about ghosts, he said: "Should the spectre of any of the Stuart family, or of any tyrant whatsoever, obtrude itself upon your fancy, offer it not so much as a pipe of tobacco; but show its royal or imperial spectrality the door, with a frank declaration that your principles will not suffer you to keep company even with the SHADOW of arbitrary power." It was in this republican family that Alexander Hamilton made his first acquaintances upon arriving in America in 1772, a pale, delicate, blue-eyed boy of fifteen years, from the West Indies; he brought letters to Livingston from Dr. Hugh Knox, a clergyman who had become interested in his welfare in Santa Cruz, where he had been placed in the counting-house of Nicholas Cruger (formerly of New York) by his father some three years before. Through Livingston's advice he entered the school of Francis Barber in Elizabeth, but "Liberty Hall" was always open to him, and it was in listening to the table-talk of its guests, among whom were the Ogdens, Stocktons, Boudinots, and the learned Dr. Witherspoon, that he obtained his first lessons in statesmanship.¹ When his school year was ended he applied for admission to Princeton, but he desired to overleap certain details in the college course which Dr. Witherspoon esteemed incompatible with the usages of the institution, and he was admitted to Columbia instead.

Thus must we penetrate occasionally beneath the surface of historical narrative into the privacy of domestic life and behind the scenery of events, if we would trace springs of action to their source and analyze the separate parts of the great tide, which, swelling with its tributaries at every turn, was soon to overleap all barriers in its flow into the sea of substantial achievement.

¹ Many of the youth who were to become emphatically the men of the new generation were in the classes of the Rev. Dr. Witherspoon at Princeton; among whom were James Madison, Aaron Burr, Samuel Stanhope Smith, the future accomplished divine, Philip Freneau, the verse-maker of the Revolution, Hugh Henry Breckinridge, the author of "Modern Chivalry," and four future governors of States, — John Henry of Maryland, Morgan Lewis of New York, Aaron Ogden of New Jersey, and Henry Lee of Virginia.

Under the hot June skies of 1776, in town and country, in the forum and in the farm-yard, in congressional halls and in rural town-meetings, in newspapers, pamphlets, and in conferences of committees, in the pulpit, and in social gatherings, the question which was to decide the chief event in modern history was the all-absorbing topic. On one point all were agreed, — independence could only be obtained at enormous expense of life. The new political creed of the sovereignty of the people was the most heterodox of theories to the English mind; the erection of an independent empire on this Continent a problem of far greater magnitude than any which had affrighted former legislators. Nothing is more remarkable at this juncture than the superiority in argument which the legal debaters in America displayed over their contemporaries in England whenever they touched upon the professional points of the controversy. The lawyers shared with the clergy the intellectual influence of the time; they were generally well-read and accomplished men, and not infrequently men of letters. All their addresses to the powers beyond the seas reflected a depth of thought and a wide acquaintance with the principles of common and international law which astonished acute observers. John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, Patrick Henry, and a score of others who had been educated in the strictest notions of rank and caste, were trained jurists, with clear conceptions of the rights of mankind, and ready for the tremendous stride in human progress which was to terminate artificial distinction and secure freedom and self-control for a nation; the Clintons, Morrisises, Livingstons, Schuyler, John Jay, James Duane, and their associates of New York, reasoned with singular calmness and force, standing like a bulwark of independence between the conflicting political theories of England and America, fully prepared to dispense with the customs of centuries, abandon entails, break down the Colonial aristocracy of which they were a part, and create a republic in which the people should be the only rulers. Their wisdom exceeded the wisdom of Cromwell and his adherents, for the monarchical principle was ostracized. Their conceptions, drawn from the only free and republican government then existing, were so much broader than the source from which they sprung that no rules of action could be borrowed. Their understanding of the English law inspired them with both caution and confidence. James Duane, in Congress at Philadelphia, pledged New York to independence, at the same time declaring that he could not legally vote on the question unless empowered by further instructions from his constituents. William Floyd said he had no hope of peace through the commissioners *en route* for America, and believed the only solid foundation for government was in the consent of the people. Robert R. Livingston (afterwards Chancellor)

pointed out in clear, elegant diction the error of attempting to form alliances with foreign nations at peace, while in such a disjointed condition. John Jay, summoned from the higher Congress to the legislative councils of New York, advocated implicit obedience to the popular will. With rare legal acumen he pointed out the breakers ahead should the representatives by their acts exceed the authority in them vested, and promptly suggested close investigation; hence a committee was appointed for the purpose, who, after earnest consideration, reported a serious existing "doubt" concerning the power conferred upon this Congress in the late election as to the matter of a total dissolution of all connection with Great Britain, and solemnly recommended a formal vote of the whole Colony. The New York Congress, therefore, in accordance with a motion made by John Jay (June 11), called for a new election of deputies who should be invested with full powers for administering the government, framing a constitution for New York, and determining for her the important question of the hour.

There is no more strikingly beautiful feature in the history of New York than her honorable attitude at this moment toward her own intelligent and liberty-loving population, and toward the country of which she was the great cardinal factor. With menacing horrors on every hand, Canada teeming with military preparations, savages aroused through all her wilderness frontiers, and the chief naval power of the world in possession of her harbor, threatening her entire commerce and chief city with ruin and desolation, and with the pressure of unmerited accusations of cowardice and Toryism from her neighbors added to the perpetual clamor for stringent measures by the improvident and reckless within her own borders, she tested the public mind, giving free scope to the expression of the latest wishes of her inhabitants, and awaited the result. The election, turning on the pivot of independency, occurred June 19; nearly all of the former members were returned, specially charged to vote for an absolute separation from the Crown; but this decision could not be formally announced until the organization of the new Congress. Therefore, on the first day of July, when the illustrious fifty-one doubtful and divided men assembled in Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia, to consider the "resolution respecting independency," although every Colony was represented, the delegates from New York had not yet received full power, and were excused from action.

Meanwhile men grew fierce and uncompromising, and were restrained with difficulty from the committal of overt crimes. The old feud between the Presbyterians and Episcopalians was lighted afresh and caused many incidents of a riotous character. Rev. Dr. Auchmuty, the rector of Trinity

Church, was an invalid, and had removed for the summer to New Brunswick, New Jersey. The care of the parish in his absence devolved upon the oldest assistant, Rev. Charles Inglis, who was forbidden by the citizens to pray for the king and royal family; then he was accosted and insulted wherever he went in the streets; and finally his life was threatened if he did not desist from using the liturgy according to the text. To officiate publicly and abstain from the mention of England's monarch in his supplications was to violate his oath and the dictates of his conscience. His embarrassment was very great. One Sunday morning a company of one hundred and fifty men marched into the church with drums beating and pipes playing, and bayonets glistening in their loaded guns. The audience were terror-stricken, and several women fainted. It was supposed that if Mr. Inglis should read the collects for the king and royal family he would be shot in the sacred desk. But he went on boldly to the end, omitting no portion of the service, and although there was restless and hostile demonstration, he escaped injury. The vestry interfered, and compromised the matter by agreeing to close the Episcopal churches for the present; and they were not opened again for public worship until the city was occupied by the British.

The lines of demarcation between friend and foe were daily becoming more distinctly drawn, and people were compelled to show their colors. Neutrality could not be tolerated. Men who withheld their aid and countenance were treated as enemies. Loyalists were pronounced traitors, and pursued with merciless rancor. In reference to these it seemed as if the most ordinary feelings of compassion were for the time suspended. It was unsafe to breathe a syllable against the American cause. Men secreted in the woods, swamps, and other hiding-places, with designs of joining the British as soon as they should land, were hunted like wild beasts.

An incident illustrating the spirit of the times is told of Richard Van Wyck, one of the judges of Dutchess County. A young farmer was dragged before him one morning charged with assault and battery; the cause of the assault shown on trial was the crying of "God save the king" by the person assaulted. The judge said to the accused, "You have violated the law, and it is my duty, as a magistrate, to fine you, and the sum shall be one penny." Then, putting his hand in his pocket, continued, "I will pay the fine; and the next time that man cries "God save the king," you give him a good thrashing and I will pay you for doing it."¹

¹ Cornelius Barents Van Wyck came to America in 1660 from Wyck, a town on the river Teek, in Holland. He settled near Flatbush, Long Island, and married Anna, daughter of

Cornelius Van Wyck, the father of Judge Richard, was an efficient member of the New York Congress. He was a warm friend of Rev. Abraham Keteltas, in direct reference to whom he seconded the motion of John Jay that the clergymen members of the House be at liberty to attend at their personal convenience, their absence being esteemed no neglect of duty. Cornelius Van Wyck resided in the house near Fishkill, made famous by Cooper as the "Wharton House" of the Spy, which is at present in an excellent state of preservation. Dr. Theodorus, the elder brother of Cornelius, a man of sterling qualities, was also one of the members of this Revolutionary Congress, and his son Theodorus, afterwards a resident of the metropolis, served with great bravery in the Revolutionary army.

New York was one of the busiest spots on the western continent just now. Men were working night and day on the fortifications. Troops were coming in from all quarters of the compass, in the most picturesque and greatest variety of costumes, uniforms being as yet in the transition state. The old red coats used in the French wars had been brought from the garrets and turned to account in Connecticut; therefore, in juxtaposition with the tow frocks of home manufacture worn by her volunteers, appeared every now and then a dingy regimental of scarlet with a triangular, tarnished laced hat. Some of the Marylanders wore green hunting-shirts with leggins to match. Troops from Delaware came in dark blue coats with red facings. Some of the New Jersey riflemen were in short red coats and striped trousers, others in short blue coats, old leather breeches, light blue stockings, shoes with brass buckles, and wool hats bound with yellow. The Pennsylvania regiments were in all the colors of the rainbow, brown coats faced with buff, blue coats faced with red, brown coats faced with white and studded with great pewter buttons, buckskin breeches, and black cocked hats with white tape bindings, also blue coats faced with white; while several companies came without any coats at all, each man with but a single shirt, and that so small that the New-Englanders ridiculed them as "shoddy shirts." The Virginians were in white smock-frocks furbelowed with ruffles at the neck, elbows, and wrists, black stocks, hair in cues, and round-topped, broad-brimmed black

Dominie Johannes Theodorus Polhemus of Brooklyn. (See Vol. I. 175.) Their sons, Theodorus (born 1668, married Margarita, daughter of Abraham Brinckerhoff) and Cornelius, removed in 1733 to Dutchess County, the latter building the Van Wyck mansion ("Wharton House") in 1739, now occupied by his great-grandson, Mr. Sidney E. Van Wyck. Many of the Van Wyck descendants have been professional men and public characters. Several of the name have occupied seats in the Legislature of New York since the Revolution, and two have served their districts in Congress. Several of the family have been at one time and another aldermen of the city, and one, Pierre Van Cortlandt Van Wyck, was Recorder in 1806, 1808, 1809, 1811, and 1812.

hats, — although a little later the Light Dragoons were uniformed in blue coats faced with red or brown coats faced with green. Washington's guards wore blue coats faced with buff, red waistcoats, buckskin breeches, black felt hats bound with white tape, and bayonet and body belts of white. Hunting-shirts — “the mortal aversion of the red-coat” — with breeches of same cloth gaiter fashion about the legs, were seen on every side, and being convenient garments for a campaigning country were soon adopted by the British themselves. This was the origin of the modern trouser, or pantaloon.

The picture of the variegated throng of soldiery surging into the streets of New York for its defense will be less grotesque to the reader if viewed in connection with one passing and final glimpse of the old capital under kingly rule and silver shoe-buckles. Show and glitter marked the distinctions in society. Dress was one of the signs and symbols of a gentleman; classical lore and ruffled shirts were inseparable. It was the habit of the community to take off its hat to the gentry; and there was no mistaking them wherever they moved. Servants were always in livery, which in many instances was gorgeous in the extreme. Gentlemen appeared in the streets in velvet or satin coats, with white embroidered vests of rare beauty, small-clothes and gorgeously resplendent buckles, their heads crowned with powdered wigs and cocked hats. A lady's toilet was equally astounding: the court hoop was in vogue, brocaded silks of brilliant colors, and a mountain of powdered hair surmounted with flowers or feathers; although it is a fact worthy of remembrance that servants were servants in those days, and never assumed to copy or excel their mistresses in the style and costliness of their attire. The democratic hammer already suspended over the doomed city was to subdue the taste and change the whole aspect of the empire of fashion.

Jealousies arose between the troops of the different Colonies, as might have been foreseen. One evil was so serious that the New York Congress sent Gouverneur Morris to Philadelphia for its abatement. The New England troops were receiving higher wages than those of New York and the Middle Colonies, which could not be tolerated; the result of the mission was satisfactory, Congress, after much discussion, concluding



Head of a Lady of Fashion in 1776.

to raise the pay of the whole army to one general level. About the middle of June the New York Congress ordered the public records of the Colony removed to Kingston. Samuel Bayard, Jr., was the Royal Secretary of the Province; his office had formerly been at the right of the fort gate, but early in the spring the books and papers in his custody had been transferred to the house of his brother, Nicholas Bayard, near the present corner of Grand Street and Broadway, whose wife was Catherine, daughter of Peter Van Brugh Livingston, the Treasurer of Congress, where indeed Samuel Bayard himself had been detained a prisoner up to this time.¹ He was ordered and requested to go to Kingston and remain with the records, exercising the duties of his office (under a strong guard) until further notice. Robert Benson, the Secretary of Congress, was directed to assist and attend

¹ The Bayards were of the ancient aristocracy of New York (see Vol. I. 128, 244, 342), and men of wealth and culture. They were descended from Samuel Bayard, and Anné, the stately sister of Governor Stuyvesant. The latter, a widow, brought three sons to America in 1647, BALTHAZAR, NICHOLAS, and PETRUS. Samuel, above mentioned, was the great-grandson of NICHOLAS, and grandson of the Samuel who married Margaret Van Cortlandt in 1701 (see Vol. I. 451); he at a later date entered the king's service, and in 1778 married Catharine Van Horne. William Bayard, who was at the head of a mercantile house and resided at this time on a fine estate adjoining the villa of Oliver De Lancey on the Hudson near Thirty-fourth Street, was the great-grandson of BALTHAZAR. He sympathized with the Whigs in the early part of the controversy, gave dinner-parties which were attended by Jay, Morris, and others, entertained Josiah Quincy when he passed through New York on his way home from the South, and was generally regarded as a patriot; but he subsequently took the oath of loyalty to the king, went to England, and his property was confiscated. John Bayard, of the Pennsylvania Committee of Safety and afterwards colonel in the army, was the great-grandson of PETRUS, whose descendants settled in the Middle Colonies, and have in the course of two centuries intermarried with the Washingtons of Virginia, the Carrolls of Maryland, the Stocktons, Kirkpatricks, and Kembles of New Jersey, the Bowdoin and Winthrops of Massachusetts, the De Lanceys, Jays, Livingstons, Pintards, Schuylers, Stuyvesants, Verplancks, and Van Rensselaers of New York, and other notable American families. Colonel John Bayard removed



Bayard Arms.

from Philadelphia to New Brunswick after the war, where he was a presiding judge, a trustee of Rutgers College, and in 1790 was elected mayor of that city. His son, James Ashton Bayard, married Eliza, daughter of Rev. Dr. John Rodgers, of the Brick Church, New York; Samuel married Martha, daughter of Lewis Pintard and Sarah Stockton (sister of Richard Stockton, the signer); he was sent to England by Washington to prosecute some important legal claims, and afterwards filled several offices of trust; Jane married Chief Justice Kirkpatrick of New Jersey; Margaret married Samuel Harrison Smith, editor of the *National Intelligencer* in Washington. An interesting relic of PETRUS BAYARD is a large and heavy folio Bible printed at Dordrecht in 1690, illustrated with curious maps and engravings, with family record written in Dutch; it is in the possession of Mrs. General James Grant Wilson of New York, one of the descendants. Four of the Bayards have occupied seats in our national Senate during the present century, of whom is Hon. Thomas F. Bayard, present United States Senator from Delaware.

Bayard in the removal of the records, and James Beekman was directed to provide a sloop and accompany him on the passage to Fishkill, while Dirck Wyncoop, Colonel Abraham Hasbrouck, Joseph Gasherie, and Christopher Tappan were delegated with authority to provide accommodations for the records and the Secretary in Fishkill, also proper guards and other securities. With less ceremony and greater secrecy, the Treasurer and Secretary of Congress, Peter Van Brugh Livingston and Robert Benson, conveyed its money and papers on Saturday, June 30, to White Plains, where it was thought best for Congress to meet on Monday, ^{June 30.} July 2. On the same Saturday, Colonel Joseph Marsh was sent to Governor Nicholas Cooke of Rhode Island for powder in his custody belonging to New York. Jacobus Van Zandt was chairman of a committee entrusted with the delicate and dangerous task of bringing vessels and cargoes which had been seized from the enemy from their anchorage in Fire Island Inlet to the city, and selling them for the public interest. He was also, with Comfort Sands and Evert Bancker, an auditing committee required to make correct statement to Congress of all the cargoes of vessels in the port, and of the amount of lead and powder in charge of the custodians, Richard Norwood and Colonel Peter Curtenius, which they hurriedly removed in the night from a store near the Battery to a cellar on Murray Hill. Another committee, acting with the soldiery, transferred the cattle on the Long Island and Jersey shores beyond the immediate reach of the enemy. Colonel John Broome and Colonel Robert Van Rensselaer consigned several prisoners to the committee of Kingston, with directions to procure good lodgings and board for them at their own (the prisoners) expense, see that they carry on no correspondence or give no intelligence whatever to their friends, and treat them with humanity. These were chiefly British officers and their families and servants captured on transports from Scotland.

Washington was in almost hourly consultation with the leading members of the New York Congress, several of whom were already in the military service. General Alexander McDougall was exerting every nerve to prepare his battalion of New York men for efficient work. General John Morin Scott commanded the battalions which represented the city distinctively;¹ the oldest of these, under the immediate command of Colonel

¹ John Morin Scott was born in New York in 1730, died 1784. He was the only child of John Scott and Marian Morin, and fourth in the line of descent from Sir John Scott, Baronet of Ancrum, County Roxbury, Scotland, who died in 1712. He was a graduate of Yale, and became one of the most successful lawyers at the bar of New York. In connection with William Livingston and William Smith he early became identified with the Whig element of the Colony and a leader in politics. He contributed to the *Independent Reflector* and other papers, and was the author of several official and literary papers and reports. From 1757 to 1762 he

John Lasher, a man of property and influence, was composed of young men of high position, its captains being John J. Roosevelt, Henry G. Livingston, John Berrian, Abraham Van Wyck, William A. Gilbert, Abraham P. Lott, Samuel Tudor, William Leonard, James Alner, and James Abeel. Andrew Stockholm, Robert Smith, Isaac Stoutenburg, and William Malcolm were also efficient officers under Scott; Colonel Samuel Drake of Westchester, and Colonel Cornelius Humphrey of Dutchess County, each commanded one of Scott's regiments. All officers and men not on actual duty were drilling and flying to their alarm-posts in order to become thoroughly acquainted with the grounds, and all fatigue parties were directed to hold themselves ready for instant action.

It was in vain to speculate concerning the point most likely to be first attacked by the British. The redoubts and breastworks along the shore of the East River were in a certain sense formidable, but the enemy might effect landings in any number of places elsewhere. The Hudson River was open to them, or they could cross from Staten Island into New Jersey, and thence nearly surround the city. No satisfactory judgment could be formed of their intentions.

Meanwhile the scene was like one vast beehive. Soldiers and civilians ran hither and thither, every man in the performance of some exacting duty. Aside from the numerous fortifications and batteries in and around New York, on Governor's Island, and on Long Island, barricades were thrown up on every street leading to the water, chiefly of mahogany logs taken from West India cargoes. City Hall Park was almost entirely inclosed; Broadway was obstructed in front of St. Paul's Chapel; another barrier rose at the head of Vesey Street, one at the head of Barclay, and one at the head of Murray Street. A curiously constructed barricade stretched across Beekman Street at the Brick Church, and another was piled up in the form of a right angle near where the *Tribune* building now stands. There was a bulwark at the entrance to Centre Street, another crossed Frankfort Street, and still another near it faced Chatham Street. Thus, when the British should gain a footing in the city, they would still have to contest every inch of progress. A queer little fleet, commanded by Benjamin Tupper, scoured the waters along the New Jersey and Long Island coasts to prevent communication between the Tories and the enemy's ships. It was made up of schooners, sloops, row-galleys, and whale-boats, and, keeping a perpetual lookout, was no insignificant element of defense.

was an alderman of the Out Ward; and he associated himself with many public enterprises for the social advancement of the city. His residence was about the corner of Thirty-third Street and Ninth Avenue, with over one hundred and twenty-three well-cultivated acres of land. In 1777 he was appointed Secretary of the State, and served also as State Senator until his death. His remains rest in Trinity churchyard.

On the Jersey shore the veteran warrior, Hugh Mercer, commanding the Flying Camp stationed at Amboy, and William Livingston, at the head of the Jersey militia, watched the movements of the enemy as they proceeded to encamp on Staten Island, and prevented all foraging incursions into the Jerseys.

Such was New York's condition on the sultry Monday, July 2, when, in the language of John Adams, "the greatest question ever debated in America, and as great as ever was or ever will be debated among men," was agitating the mind of Congress at Philadelphia to such intensity of enthusiasm that the members lost all sense of the appalling dangers which threatened their entire seacoast and chief city. The push of a century was behind them. The daring men whose names were to make the age illustrious were alive in every fibre. The incomparable force of conflicting opinions developed hidden mental strength, and gave expression to impalpable influences of which the air was full. The immortal state paper, the confession of faith of a rising empire, seemed charged with electricity, and the heart of Congress warmed and beat more swiftly as the conviction deepened that in its adoption a bill of rights would be passed for humanity at large, and for all coming generations without any exception whatever. The discussion was conducted with closed doors, and ere nightfall a vote had been taken which was to command the admiration of the world. The following day was occupied in closely scanning the language and principles of the document as submitted by Jefferson. On the evening of July 4 it was formally adopted and entered on the journal of Congress.

Thus was the transition from vassalage to independence accomplished in the midst of the most serious alarms. Thus a republic was inaugurated. Thus a nation was born. The Declaration of Independence was immediately published to the world. But no signatures were yet appended to it. On July 19 it was ordered to be engrossed on parchment and signed; after which several days elapsed before it was perfected.



CHAPTER III.

1776.

July - December.

MOMENTOUS EVENTS.

INDEPENDENCY PROCLAIMED. — THE NEW YORK CONVENTION AT WHITE PLAINS. — READING OF THE DECLARATION AT CITY HALL IN WALL STREET. — HOSTILE SHIPS SAIL UP THE HUDSON. — AGITATION OF THE CITY. — ARRIVAL OF LORD HOWE. — INTERCOURSE WITH WASHINGTON. — ARMY OFFICERS. — BATTLE OF LONG ISLAND. — THE DEFEAT. — THE RETREAT. — THE CONFERENCE. — EVACUATION OF THE CITY. — OCCUPATION BY THE BRITISH. — BATTLE OF HARLEM HEIGHTS. — THE GREAT FIRE OF 1776. — THE MARCH TO WHITE PLAINS. — ADVANCE OF THE BRITISH. — BATTLE OF WHITE PLAINS. — WASHINGTON'S CHANGE OF POSITION. — DEATH OF COLDEN. — CAPTURE OF FORT WASHINGTON BY THE BRITISH. — DISASTERS. — MARCH THROUGH NEW JERSEY. — GENERAL CHARLES LEE. — CROSSING THE DELAWARE. — CAPTURE OF TRENTON BY WASHINGTON. — THE NEW YORK PRISONS. — CONDITION OF THE AMERICAN ARMY.

NO telegraphic flash announced the final action of the Continental Congress to the remotest quarters of the globe while yet the gladdened throng outside the closed doors of Carpenter's Hall in Philadelphia were filling the air with huzzas in unison with the joyous peals from the State House bell. Solitary horsemen and slow stages conveyed the intelligence to the various towns and cities of the land. It was received with such public exultation that the murmurs of discontent and disapprobation were lost in the general uproar.

New York received the news on the 9th, and on the evening of that day, at the same hour on which Nassau Hall at Princeton was grandly illuminated and Independency proclaimed therefrom under a triple volley of musketry, the Declaration was read, by order of Washington, at the head of each brigade of the army in New York and vicinity. It was received with enthusiastic demonstrations of delight; and amid the ringing of bells and jubilant shouts the multitude proceeded to the Bowling Green and demolished the equestrian statue of George III., the lead to be run into bullets "to assimilate with the brains of the adversary." As some of the soldiers were implicated in this popular effervescence, Washington the next morning in his general orders denounced the



Bellett & Co.

Thousands of the poorer inhabitants of the City and County listened to the reading of the document with rapturous attention and at the same time the song & dance were going on from the room above and below and the dancing was going on.

proceeding as having the effect of a riot, and strictly forbade such irregularities in future.

On the morning of the same day the newly elected Congress of New York, styled the "Convention," assembled in White Plains, General Woodhull presiding, and listened to the reading of the immortal document. Thirty-eight men of sound and discriminating judgment were present, representing the Dutch, English, and Huguenot elements of the Province. They knew that for the inhabitants of New York ultimate success could only be secured through years of sorrow, during which they were sure to be impoverished, while death stared from every part of their territory. The Morrisises must abandon their fine estates to the ravages of the enemy; Jay must prepare to see his aged parents driven from the old homestead at Rye to wander and perish; Van Cortlandt, Van Rensselaer, Schuyler, and the Livingstons must sacrifice ancestral wealth and circumstance, with all their feudal train, for the democratic level of the new departure; and the sterling men from Tryon County must face the scalping-knife. But they had counted the cost dispassionately, and with one voice resolved to sustain the Declaration, "at the risk of their lives and fortunes." They directed it to be proclaimed with beat of drum in White Plains, and in every district elsewhere, and at the same time sent a swift message to their delegates in the Continental Congress, empowering them to vote for the people of New York. By this decree the complete union of the old thirteen colonies was consummated, and the whole character of the contest changed. A separate and independent nation unfurled its flag. And New York was declared a sovereign State.

The English ministry were confident of crushing New York into subjection. And yet, with the cup of misery foaming at her lips, New York through her Convention boldly ordered the Declaration of Independence to be proclaimed from the City Hall in Wall Street, in the most public manner, and in the very face of the enemy's guns. This was done July 18, thousands of the principal inhabitants of the city and county listening to the reading of the document with rapturous approbation. And at the same time the king's coat-of-arms was brought from the court-room and burned amid thrilling cheers.¹

This occurrence speaks more directly from the real heart of New York, in view of the consternation which had prevailed in the city for six days. Scarcely twenty-four hours had elapsed since Washington had advised the Convention to remove all women, children, and infirm persons at once, as the streets must soon be "the scene of a bloody conflict." On the afternoon of the 12th a nautical movement in the harbor

¹ *Treaty to Lord Germaine*, August 14, 1776; *Diary of the Revolution*, 271

led observers to suppose New York would be immediately attacked. Two large ships, with three tenders, left their moorings near the Narrows and bore down upon the city. Officers and troops flew to their alarm-posts and made ready for battle. Women with young children in their arms ran shrieking from the lower districts near the Battery, and others, carrying bundles and wringing their hands and weeping, quartered themselves along the Bowery Road. The roar of cannon from the various batteries confirmed every fear, the Americans having opened upon the vessels. The decks of the *Phoenix* and the *Rose*, however, were protected with sand-bags, and, taking advantage of a fine wind, they sailed proudly by the city unharmed, replying with only a few random shots which crashed through deserted houses without doing further injury. Towards evening the firing ceased; but ere the supper-hour arrived, clouds of smoke from booming guns in the direction of the sullen fleet at Staten Island brought every spy-glass again into requisition. The enemy were saluting a ship of the line coming in from sea with flying colors. It was the transport of the Admiral, Lord Howe. Meanwhile, horsemen were galloping furiously along the roads to the north, bearing messages from Washington to his generals in the Highlands, and also a letter of warning to the Convention at White Plains. The ships had not been sent up the Hudson without purpose, and whether to cut off Washington's communication with the country, take soundings in the river, or arm the Tories preparatory to the grand attack, it was equally important to circumvent their enterprise. The posts in the Highlands were as yet scantily manned. General Thomas Mifflin commanded the Philadelphia troops stationed at Fort Washington and Kingsbridge, and was immediately on the alert. At nine o'clock the next morning an alarm-gun from General James Clinton at Fort Constitution thundered through the echoing defiles of the mountains

July 13. opposite, and roused his brother, George Clinton, who, after voting for independence at Philadelphia had hurried home to take command of the militia of Ulster and Orange Counties. Anticipating orders, the intrepid legislator sprang into his saddle, and had stirred up the whole country along the river by the time Washington's express reached him. The ships of war anchored themselves quietly in Tappan Sea, where the river is broad, and sent out barges at night on mysterious errands. It was surmised that they were in communication with forming companies of Tories on shore, and possibly bent on the destruction of certain vessels of war in progress of construction at Poughkeepsie. One of the able allies of Washington at this crisis was Colonel Pierre Van Cortlandt, of the old and honorable colonial family who figured so prominently in the first century of our history, and who founded Cortlandt manor; he

commanded the regiment detailed to guard the public stores at Peekskill. He was a brilliant young man of twenty-seven, and proved a most efficient officer. He was the son of the proprietor of the manor at that time, Pierre Van Cortlandt, who was soon to be made the first lieutenant-governor of New York as a State, the grandson of Philip Van Cortlandt and Catharine De Peyster,¹ and great-grandson of Honorable Stephanus Van Cortland and Gertrude Schuyler. Both father and son had nobly declined the offers of royal favors, honors, grants of land, etc., if they would abandon the popular cause, made by Tryon when he visited them at the old manor-house for a few days in 1774. The younger Van Cortlandt destroyed a major's commission sent him by Tryon, and in the service of the new nation acquitted himself with exceptional ability.

Lord Howe's mission was peace. He had no very clear conception of the actual condition of affairs in America, and greatly overestimated the extent of his powers. He was a manly, good-natured, brave, unsuspicious nobleman, who thought to conciliate by overtures, which the able-minded of America regarded as an attempt to corrupt and disunite them. The propositions he brought from the ministry left untouched the original causes of complaint, and virtually offered nothing but pardon on submission. He was vaguely authorized to ride about the country and converse with private individuals on the subject of their grievances, and report opinions. But he was strictly forbidden to treat with Congresses, either continental or provincial, or with any civil or military officer holding congressional commissions. In earnest conference with his brother, General Howe, his views were confirmed as to the readiness of a large majority of the inhabitants of New York and New Jersey — and of Connecticut even — to prove their loyalty, if protected.

His first step was to address a letter to "George Washington, Esq.," which he sent in charge of an officer under a flag of truce; Colonel Henry Knox, Colonel Joseph Reed, and Washington's private secretary, Samuel B. Webb, went out in a barge, meeting Lord Howe's messenger at a point about half-way between Staten and Governor's Islands. The officer, standing, hat in hand, bowed low, and said he was the bearer of a letter to "Mr. Washington." Colonel Reed, also bowing, with his head uncovered, said he knew of no such person. The officer produced the letter. Colonel Reed said it could not be received with the superscription it bore. The officer expressed much disappointment, and said Lord Howe lamented the lateness of his arrival; the contents of the letter were of moment, and he wished it might be received. Colonel Reed declined with polite decision, and the parties separated. In a few moments the

¹ See Vol. I., 606, genealogical note.

officers' barge was put about to inquire how "Mr. Washington" chose to be addressed. Colonel Reed replied that the General's rank was well known to Lord Howe, therefore the question needed no discussion. The interview closed with courteous adieus.

On the same day Lord Howe sent copies of his declaration in circular letters to the governors to Amboy, under a flag of truce; these papers fell into the hands of General Mercer, who sent them to Washington, by whom they were at once transmitted to Congress, and published for the benefit of the people who had expected more and better of England's commissioners. The result was increased inflexibility of determination, and greater unity of action on the part of the patriots. Congress delayed no longer, but caused their own great state paper of the 4th to be engrossed and signed. Of this last solemn transaction a humorous incident is related. Benjamin Harrison of Virginia (the father of William Henry Harrison, ninth President of the United States) was a large, portly gentleman, while Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts was small, slender, and spare. As Harrison threw down the pen after affixing his signature to the document, he turned to Gerry with a smile, saying: "When the hanging scene comes to be exhibited I shall have the advantage over you on account of my size. All will be over with me in a moment, but you will be kicking in the air half an hour after I am gone."

The day following the reading of the Declaration from the City Hall in Wall Street, General Howe sent an officer with a flag to learn whether Colonel Patterson, the adjutant-general of Lord Howe, could be admitted to an interview with Washington. The request was granted, and an appointment made for the following morning. At the hour specified, Colonel Reed and young Webb went down the harbor to meet Colonel Patterson, took him into their barge, and with much lively conversation escorted him to the city.¹ The customary precaution of blindfolding was omitted, a courtesy warmly acknowledged by the British officer. They rowed directly in front of the grand battery, and landing, conducted their guest to the Kennedy House, No. 1 Broadway, where he was received by Washington with much form and ceremony, in full military costume, "elegantly attired," with his officers and guards about him. Colonel Patterson addressed him by the title of "Excellency," apologized for the commissioners, who meant no disrespect,

¹ Colonel Reed was thirty-five years of age at this time. He was a native of Trenton, New Jersey, graduated from Princeton College at the age of sixteen, and went to England to complete his studies prior to the practice of his profession in Trenton. In 1770 he revisited England and married a daughter of Dennis De Berdt, agent of Massachusetts. A brother of Mrs. Reed had concerted with Lord Howe before he sailed for this country in the preparation of conciliatory letters for several prominent Americans.

and produced, but did not offer, a letter bearing the inscription, "George Washington, Esq., &c., &c., &c.," which, as it implied everything, it was hoped would remove all obstacles in the way of correspondence. Washington replied that three *et ceteras* might mean everything, but that they also implied anything; and that he could not with propriety receive a letter from the king's commissioners addressed to him as a private person, when it related to his public station. Colonel Patterson then attempted to communicate, as far as he could recollect, the substance of what was contained in the epistle. Lord Howe and his brother were invested with exceedingly great powers, and were very desirous of healing all difficulties. Washington replied that he had read their declaration, and found they were merely empowered to grant pardons. The Americans, having committed no wrong, wanted no pardons; they were only defending what they considered indisputable rights. Colonel Patterson seemed confused, and remarked that this would open a wide field for argument. He manifested great solicitude concerning the results of the interview, which was conducted with stately courtesy by all concerned. Washington invited him to partake of a collation prepared for him, and he was introduced to the general officers. After many graceful compliments he took his leave, asking, "Has your Excellency no commands to my Lord or General Howe?" "None, sir, but my particular compliments to both of them," was the courtly reply. General Howe, in writing an account of this conference to the ministry, observed, "The interview was more polite than interesting; however, it induced me to change my superscription for the attainment of an end so desirable, and in this view I flatter myself it will not be disapproved." Henceforward all letters from the British commanders to Washington bore his proper title.

Lord Howe was humiliated when the truth of the actual and powerless nature of his commissions entered his soul. He was more than half inclined to act upon the suggestion contained in a letter from Dr. Franklin, and relinquish a command which would compel him to proceed by force of arms against a people whose English privileges he respected, and whose wrongs he heartily desired to see redressed.

At this crisis all manner of sectional and personal jealousies were disturbing the even tenor of preparations for the conflict. The troops from the different Colonies regarded each other with curiosity, which not infrequently developed into animosity. Those wearing high-colored uniforms fashionably cut sneered at the irregulars in homespun tow. The officers were more troublesome even than the men: of Maryland and Virginia, where military rank was sharply defined, they were mostly from the cities, and of aristocratic habits; of Connecticut, though men of reputation and

wealth, they were often elected by the men out of their own ranks, and distinguished only by a cockade. Then, again, pride of equality prevailed to such extent that every one insisted upon his own opinion, and was ever ready to question the wisdom of those above him. It required the utmost tact and discretion to harmonize these bewildering elements and maintain the semblance of proper discipline over all.

A clash between the two generals, Schuyler and Gates, who had in charge the northern frontier, caused anxious forebodings. General Sullivan, who had conducted the retreat of the American army from Canada, was deeply hurt when Gates, his former inferior in rank, was appointed over him. The command of Gates was totally independent of that of Schuyler while the army was in Canada. But the moment it crossed the line it was within the limits of Schuyler's command. Thus there were two generals in the field with corresponding authority over the same troops. A council of war decided to abandon Crown Point and fortify Ticonderoga, and for a time the two authorities worked in unison to prevent the invasion of New York by the British from the north.

Tidings from the Southern department of the repulse of Sir Henry Clinton in an attack upon Charleston was of a more cheering character. General Lee wrote begging Washington to urge Congress to furnish more cavalry. With a thousand of this species of troops he declared he could insure the safety of the Southern provinces. About the beginning of August the squadron of Sir Henry Clinton anchored, as if suddenly dropped from the clouds, in New York Bay.

General Putnam was busy during the hot days of July in planning a mechanical obstruction to the channel of the Hudson opposite Fort Washington, which, however, practically came to nothing. A scheme for destroying the fleet in the harbor with fire-ships, proposed by Ephraim Anderson, an adjutant in one of the New Jersey battalions, occupied considerable attention about the same time, but the arrival of a hundred sail, with large reinforcements of Hessians and other foreign troops to "assist in forcing the rebels to ask mercy," necessitated its abandonment. The *Phoenix* and the *Rose*, in Tappan Sea, were attacked in a spirited manner

Aug. 3. on the 3d of August by six of Tupper's row-galleys, and a brisk firing was kept up for two hours, when the commodore gave the signal to retire. An attempt at submarine navigation also awakened no little interest during the same period of suspense. David Bushnell of Saybrook, Connecticut, invented a novel machine for the purpose of blowing up the entire British shipping. It was ingeniously constructed of pieces of oak timber with iron bands, the seams calked, and the whole smeared with tar. It was large enough for a man to stand or sit inside,

the top shaped to the head, with thick glass inserted for light; it was balanced with lead, and two forcing-pumps managed by the feet enabled its occupant to rise or sink at pleasure. It had a rudder, a pocket-compass fastened near a bit of shining wood (for light at night), and a glass tube inclosing cork for measuring depth of sea. It could be rowed horizontally under water by means of two paddles revolving upon an axletree in front like the arms of a windmill, and turned by a crank inside. To its back was attached by a screw, an egg-shaped magazine containing one hundred and thirty pounds of gunpowder, also a clock, a gunlock, and a flint. The withdrawal of the screw started the clock, which, after running thirty minutes, would strike and fire the powder. The magazine was to be fastened into the bottom of a ship, the performer escaping while the clock ticked out its minutes prior to the explosion. Ezra Lee, of Lyme, Connecticut, a sergeant under Parsons, was sent out one dark night (just after the retreat from Long Island) to make the experiment, a party in whale-boats towing him within easy distance of the fleet. He descended under one of the largest ships, but, owing to an iron plate above the copper sheathing, could not fasten the apparatus. He tried to force the screw into the ship's bottom in various spots, until warned by the light of early dawn that it was too late for further effort at that time. Then he commenced his perilous return of four miles to the city, where Putnam, Parsons, and others stationed on the wharf awaited results. Off Governor's Island he was discovered by the British soldiers, who gathered in great numbers on the parapet to watch his queer motions, and finally rowed after him in a barge. As an act of defense he disconnected the magazine; and it exploded throwing high into the air a prodigious column of water with a deafening roar, which sent his pursuers paddling swiftly back from whence they came, dazed with fright.

The city was like a furnace during August. Mrs. Washington was on her way to Virginia; and the other ladies, wives of the general officers, who had enlivened headquarters by their presence, had been sent out of the way of the coming storm. There was sickness on every side; soldiers from the country were constantly falling ill; "the air of the whole town seems infected," wrote Volekert Peter Douw.¹ Alarms were perpetual. It

¹ Volekert Peter Douw was one of the able supporters of the Revolution. He was the representative of a substantial Dutch family, the ancestor of whom, Volekert Jansen Douw, a man of wealth and influence, settled on the Hudson in 1638, whose descendants have intermarried with the Van Rensselaers, Beekmans, Banckers, Ten Broecks, De Peysters, Van Cortlandts, Livingstons, and other leading families. Volekert Peter was born in 1720, and died in 1801. He was the Vice-President of the first New York Congress, and held many important positions in social and civil life. His father was Petrus Douw, who built the old house at Wolvenhoeck (the Wolves Point) Greenbush, in 1723, with bricks brought from Holland,

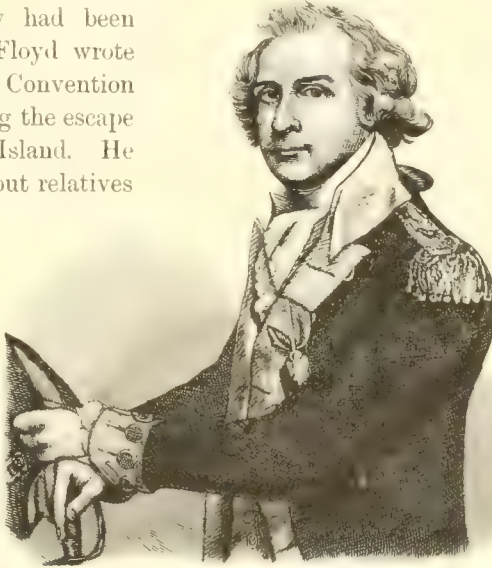
was confidently rumored that the British intended to "put all to the sword." It was suspected that they would attempt to surround Manhattan Island. Some of Washington's advisers thought he was only endangering the army by remaining in New York, and counseled evacuating and burning the city. John Jay regarded this course proper if the post could not be held; perched in the Highlands, the Americans might baffle England's experts in the art of war for an indefinite period. Congress, less gifted in warfare than in constructing an empire, abounded with impracticable resolutions. New York must be defended under every disadvantage. To do this it was plain that the Heights of Brooklyn must be held, as also Governor's Island, Paulus Hook, and the posts along the Hudson—points separated by water, and some of them fifteen miles apart—and the army to be thus distributed numbered less than seventeen thousand, of whom full one fifth were sick and disabled from duty. Few regiments were properly equipped, in several the muskets were not enough to go round; scarcely six thousand of the soldiers had seen actual service, and skilled artillerymen were altogether wanting. Before them was an armada outnumbering in both ships and men that which Philip II. organized for the invasion of England in 1588. It was snugly anchored in a safe haven between Sandy Hook and Staten Island, with no possibility of being scattered by any providential storm. It was a spectacle of surpassing brilliancy. Thirty-seven men-of-war and four hundred transports formed a bristling forest of masts. Trustworthy spies reported forty thousand disciplined warriors (accurately the number was about thirty-five thousand), including the seven thousand eight hundred Hessians purchased by King George at the rate of \$34.50, per man killed, reckoning three wounded as one dead.

In the urgency of danger Washington called for volunteers, however brief their terms of service. Connecticut responded as best she could, her population being already largely represented. The Convention of New York called upon the militia to form temporary camps on the shores of the Hudson and the Sound, and to aid in repelling the enemy wherever they were most needed. The farmers dropped their scythes and cycles with surprising alacrity, and manfully shouldered their muskets. King's County, Long Island, being reputed a stronghold of Tories, the Convention ordered that any of the militia in that county refusing to serve should be immediately disarmed and secured, and their possessions laid waste.

and his mother was Anna Van Rensselaer, great-granddaughter of the first Patroon, and also the great-granddaughter of Anneke Jans. His wife was Anna De Peyster, great-granddaughter of Johannes De Peyster.

The situation was painful beyond language, embracing, as it did, all the horrors of civil warfare. Fathers, sons, and brothers were in a multitude of cases arrayed for battle against each other. The efforts of the British officers to enlist the Long-Islanders in their service was not without its effect in many districts, for with such a formidable fleet before their eyes, what promise could they see in resistance? But neither Lord nor General Howe had measured correctly the spirit of New York. They were to discover to their sorrow that the influential families were much more numerous represented in the "rebel" ranks than they had been led to expect. William Floyd wrote from Philadelphia to the Convention in great anxiety concerning the escape of his family from Long Island. He made earnest inquiries about relatives and personal friends:

"What must they submit to? Despotism or destruction I fear is their fate." David Clarkson hastily quitted his summer residence in Flatbush, taking refuge in New Brunswick, New Jersey; his wife was accompanied by her widowed sister, Mrs. David Van Horne, and five

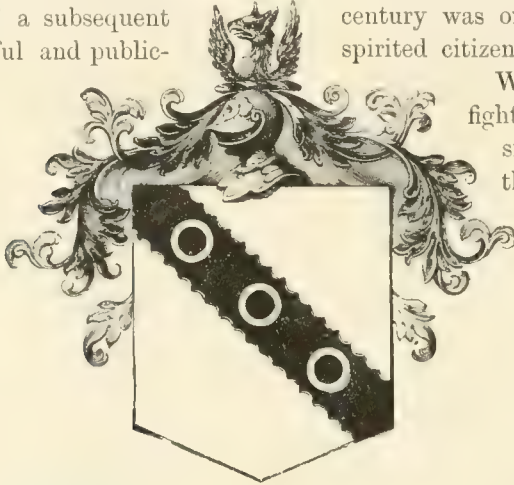


General Matthew Clarkson.

(From a painting by Stuart, in possession of Matthew Clarkson.)

handsome, well-bred young lady daughters. The Hessian soldiers entered, and amused themselves with plundering Clarkson's vacant home. They discovered his choice imported wines, and exhibited a royal drunken frolic on the back piazza and in the yards. This large dwelling was subsequently converted into a hospital by the enemy. A trusty slave, in the moment of danger, managed to secrete a large amount of silver plate and other family treasures, which were thereby preserved to later generations. Scarcely had Clarkson heard of the disasters attending the battle of Long Island, when the great fire destroyed his elegant city residence with all its contents, portraits and ancient relics, and he was reduced from the greatest affluence to comparative penury. He had still quite a number of houses in the city from which he might have derived a tolerable revenue, but his real estate was seized, and he was

kept out of his income until the end of the war.¹ His two sons were in active service; David was captain of a company, under Colonel Josiah Smith, to which Matthew was attached as a volunteer, and met the British on the 27th in the memorable battle of Long Island. Matthew (afterwards General) was a youth of brilliant parts, handsome, engaging, and of great strength and beauty of character.² He was shortly promoted, acquiring himself nobly throughout the struggle, and for nearly half a subsequent century was one of New York's most useful and public-spirited citizens.



Mr. Clarkson

ARMS AND SIGNATURE COPIED FROM A CONVEYANCE

EXECUTED BY MATTHEW CLARKSON: FEBRUARY, 18-1701.

him home by a kind note of congratulation, and not only offered his wagon and horses to help him with his family to his seat in Flatbush, but extended hospitalities to them all until they should be better provided for. The Van Hornes returned with the Clarksons, and, although avowed Whigs, were treated with great respect by the British officers. — *The Clarksons of New York*, Vol. I. 251–258. The coat of arms and autograph illustrated in the sketch were those of Secretary Matthew Clarkson, the first of the name in New York.

² Smith's company was the first to cross the river on the retreat, and Matthew Clarkson slept the following night in the deserted house of his aunt, Mrs. Van Horne, in Wall Street. He shortly joined the family at New Brunswick. From here he went to the house belonging to his father in Percepany, occupied during the summer by Governor William Livingston (whose wife was the sister of young Clarkson's mother and Mrs. Van Horne), where he met and made the personal acquaintance of General Greene, who recommended him to Washington, by whom he was appointed aide-de-camp to General Benedict Arnold.

Washington's deficiency in fighting material at this crisis was only equaled by the lack of military counsel upon which he could rely. Few of his officers were known to have superior capacity for war; the majority of them were untrained, and some were without

¹ See (Vol. II.) pages 34, 35, 36. Mr. Clarkson remained at New Brunswick until the spring of 1777, when, through the intervention of some of his old friends who had espoused the Royal cause, he was permitted to return to his house in Flatbush, leaving his "chariot, four-wheeled chaise, chair, and sulky" on the Raritan. Mr. Nicholas Couwenhoven welcomed

aptitude for the service. Greene was stationed at Brooklyn, and engaged in throwing up works with remarkable vigor and rapidity, but he was scarcely thirty-four, without experience, except in theory and such as he had acquired at the head of his Rhode-Islanders at Bunker Hill, and his military judgment was crude. Mifflin was about the same age, of highly animated appearance, full of activity and apparently of fire, but too much of a hustler, harassing his men unnecessarily. Knox, the artillery colonel, although brave as a lion, or any braver thing, was only twenty-six, and fresh from a Boston bookstore. Reed was thirty-five, and invaluable from many points of view, but no veteran in the management of battles. Heath was one year under forty, and while a born organizer, ever on the alert, breathing the very spirit of control, and possessing a well-balanced mind, his qualifications for the field remained to be proven. Scott was older, and commanded an effective brigade of New-Yorkers, intent upon defending their capital to the last drop of their blood, but he was more valorous than discreet, and violently headstrong under excitement. Spencer, born on the shore of the Connecticut (at East Haddam) was sixty-two, one of the oldest of the major-generals, with experience in the French war, but he stood higher in the esteem and good-will than in the confidence of Washington, for his wisdom in great emergencies had not yet been tested. Parsons, the Lyme lawyer, with less knowledge of the practical application of the theories of war, and younger by twenty-three years, was much the greater military genius; he divided with the untiring Wadsworth the honor of commanding the flower of the Connecticut soldiery, but his tactics and generalship were yet to be learned and appreciated. Wolcott, a statesman of fifty ripe years, who had served the Crown manfully during the struggle with France, and whose capacious mind might have helped in grappling the problem had he been present in season, came through the scorching heat and dust at the last moment, leading the several regiments hurriedly raised by Governor Trumbull to assist in the city's defense. Stirling was also fifty, of fine presence and the most martial appearance of any general in the army save Washington himself, was quick-witted, intelligent, far-seeing, and vociferous among his troops; he had had, moreover, considerable military schooling, but his special forte, so far as developed, lay rather in enginery and the planning of fortifications than in the conduct of great battles. Nixon, of about the same age, had served at the capture of Louisburg, and for years subsequent to that event, fighting at Ticonderoga when Abercrombie was defeated, and in the battle of Lake George; he was wounded at Bunker Hill, from the effects of which he was still suffering, and although commanding a brigade his endurance of any protracted hardship was not

assured. Sullivan, a lawyer of thirty-six, who through the fearless execution of certain important trusts won the good opinion of Congress and was appointed major-general with enthusiasm, had just returned from an expedition to the northern frontiers, when Greene was prostrated by the fever, whose place he was deputed at once to fill; but, although faithful and brave in the superlative degree, he was imperfectly acquainted with the geography of the region, had no time to study the details of the situation, and was personally a stranger to the troops under his new command. And Putnam, who succeeded Sullivan four days later, with the advantage of experience in arms together with twenty more years of life, and possessing all the elements of character except caution most needed to engage an enemy, was indifferent to strategy, and had little actual familiarity with the destined scene of action.

The majority of the subordinate officers were young men. Of those afterward best known to fame, Hamilton was nineteen, Aaron Burr twenty, Nicholas Fish, Scott's brigade-major, eighteen, Aaron Ogden twenty, and Samuel B. Webb twenty-three; while those who occupied posts of extreme danger and responsibility (other than already mentioned) were no patriarchs—McDougall had but just rounded his forty-fifth year, the two Clintons, guarding the Hudson approaches, were respectively forty and thirty-seven, and Van Cortlandt and the intrepid Varnum were neither above twenty-seven.

Fellows was stationed on the Hudson, between Greenwich and Canal Street. His brigade-major, Mark Hopkins (grandfather of the distinguished divine of the same name, late President of Williams College), roused him from slumber on the rainy Sunday morning of the Aug. 48. 18th, by announcing that the *Phoenix* and the *Rose* were coming down the river under full sail before a strong northeast wind. The commanders, it seems, had enjoyed very little peace at their anchorage in Tappan Sea, their last annoyance having been a night attack by two fire-ships, one of which had grappled the *Phoenix* and been shaken off with difficulty, the other striking and burning one of the tenders. To the surprise of Putnam, they passed his sunken vessels opposite Fort Washington without being tripped as he predicted, and rounded the Battery unharmed by the guns along the shores. They cannonaded the city as they proceeded, injuring many houses; one nine-pounder entered a dwelling opposite the old Lutheran Church on Broadway, dancing through the sleeping apartments of the family without hurting any one; and several much larger balls tore down chimneys, and dropped in back yards and gardens with stirring effect. It was fortunately an hour when few people were in the streets, and there was little if any

loss of life. Divine service was attended in but one of the city churches on that memorable Sabbath—the Moravian, on Fulton Street opposite the North Dutch Church.

New York was in extreme agitation. What was to prevent the British fleet from running up the Hudson and landing in the rear of the town? All manner of rumors were rife. Persons suspected of favoring the enemy were treated with the utmost rigor. Notwithstanding the vigilance exercised, farmers from Queen's County were carrying boat-loads of provisions at the risk of their lives to the royal army, and furnishing all the knowledge necessary for the conduct of the campaign. The Tories who had been disarmed the preceding winter were hiding in swamps, holes, hollow trees, and cornfields, or cruising in small boats on the Sound, landing and sleeping in the woods at night, and taking to the water again in the morning. John Harris Cruger, one of Tyron's counselors, whose wife was a daughter of Oliver De Lancey, was concealed for three weeks upon a mow in a farmer's barn. Theophylact Bache, fifth president of the Chamber of Commerce, in attempting to preserve neutrality, found himself not only an object of suspicion, but in a most delicate position. His only brother, Richard, had married the daughter of Franklin, and was strong in sympathy with the Revolutionists. On the other hand, his wife's sister was married to Major Moncrieff, an officer in the king's service.¹ Mrs. Moncrieff was ill at his house in Flatbush, and a letter addressed to her husband without signature was intercepted and accredited to Bache. He was summoned before the Committee, and, instead of obeying, wrote protesting that he had disregarded no order of Congress, Continental or Provincial, nor was it his intention, but the distress of Mrs. Bache and his numerous family, occasioned by the arrival of the fleet, necessitated his exertions to "save them from the horrible calamities of the approaching conflict." Presently he was warned that a band of "Tory-hunters" were on their way to capture him, and escaped in the night in company with his brother-in-law, Augustus Van Cortlandt. They had serious adventures: Van Cortlandt was concealed in a cow-house for ten days, the conscientious Dutch farmer walking backwards when he carried him his meals, in order to be able to swear that he had not seen him. Both gentlemen at last reached the British lines on Staten Island in safety.

On Wednesday a thunder-storm of unparalleled severity hung over the city from seven to ten in the evening; four men, three of whom were army officers, were killed by lightning, and several others

Aug. 21.

¹ See Vol. I. 760 (genealogical reference in note); Augustus Van Cortlandt was of the Yonkers branch of the Van Cortlandts, the son of Frederick Van Cortlandt and Frances Jay, and thus the first cousin of John Jay. See Vol. I. 606, 607. note.

injured; numerous buildings and trees, and one vessel at the dock, were struck, the thunder roaring in a continuous peal for hours. In the midst of the tempest the ever-watchful William Livingston upon the Jersey shore, having sent a spy into the enemy's camp on Staten Island at midnight the day before, despatched by messenger a letter written in all haste to Washington with the intelligence that twenty thousand troops had embarked for a movement upon New York. A copy of the communication was at once forwarded to the Convention at White Plains.



Sketch of Battle-Ground.

The next morning the booming of cannon was heard, and columns of smoke were descried arising from the direction of Gravesend, Long Aug. 22. Island. Three frigates, *Phoenix*, *Rose*, and *Greyhound*, had taken their stations as covering-ships for the landing, and before noon the roads and plains in and about Gravesend and New Utrecht were thronged with scarlet uniforms and glittering with burnished steel. Colonel Hand,¹

¹ Edward Hand was a native of Clydulf, King's County, Ireland; he settled in Pennsylvania in 1774, intending to practice his profession,—that of a surgeon. He joined the army at the outset of the Revolution, and remained in service until the close of the war. In 1777 he was made a brigadier-general. He was thirty-two years of age at the time of the battle of Long Island, of fine martial figure, and distinguished among the officers for his noble horsemanship. After the war he held offices of civil trust, was a member of the Congress of 1784–85, and his name is affixed to the Pennsylvania constitution of 1790.

stationed upon heights near what is now Fort Hamilton, watched the scene with interest, and fell back with his command, driving before him what cattle he could, and setting fire to haystacks and provender along the route, taking position finally upon a hill commanding the central road leading from Flatbush to Brooklyn. Regiment after regiment crossed over from New York to meet the foe. Sullivan was on the wing, and threw out detachments in various directions to guard the passes through the natural depressions of the woody ridge of hills, of which there were four within six miles from the harbor. Lord Cornwallis advanced rapidly to seize the central pass; but, finding Hand and his riflemen ready for a vigorous defense, took post for the night in the village of Flatbush.

The Convention at White Plains was summoned that afternoon at a somewhat unusual hour by "the ringing of the bell." Livingston's letter to Washington had arrived, and was presented by John Sloss Hobart, who informed the gentlemen that the landing had already been effected. Information from Livingston that the British army "had eaten up all the cattle on Staten Island, and were now killing and barreling the country horses for food," induced the Convention to resolve upon a plan to hinder meat supplies; Woodhull, the president, was in control of the militia of Long Island, and was at once directed to proceed with a troop of horse to points eastward of the British encampment, and remove or kill stock, burn barns, and destroy mills, as the urgency of the case might demand, and as far as practicable prevent foraging incursions. He was to depend for his force chiefly upon the militia of Suffolk and Queen's counties; although Washington was requested to order Smith's and Remsen's regiments to his assistance. But these regiments were unable to reach him, as the sequel proved.

For some reason unaccountable to the Americans the British did not push forward on the 23d as anticipated. General Howe issued a proclamation to the people of Long Island offering protection and favor if they would drop their rebellious arms, presumably forced upon them by their leaders, and was surprised at the limited number who responded. On the 24th this great military host, one of the finest and best officered ever sent out of Great Britain, remained apparently idle, stretched ^{Aug. 24.} along the country on the flats beyond the chain of wooded hills. Hand with his riflemen still guarded the chief Central Pass, having thrown up a redoubt; and detachments numbering in all some twenty-five hundred were scattered along the thicket for full six miles—distant from the lines at Brooklyn from one and a half to three miles. Washington was astonished and chagrined at the unmilitary and irregular proceedings of his

troops in a multitude of instances, which he discovered on his visit of inspection during the day on Saturday. Detachments skirmished with the vanguard of the enemy without orders and with little method, and others, scarcely better than marauding parties, robbed dwellings, barns, and hen-roosts, and burned the houses of friend and foe alike. He issued severe orders for the suppression of such lawless conduct, and sent Putnam to supersede Sullivan, as better able, in his judgment, to harmonize the diverse elements of which the army was composed. And to Sullivan, with Stirling as his second, was assigned the command of the troops outside the lines.

These lines, extending for about a mile and a half, were defended by ditches and felled trees, the counterscarp and parapet fringed with sharpened stakes. Sunday the 25th and Monday the 26th were busy, anxious, watchful days for the American generals, and the troops were continually at their alarm-posts. Howe had miscalculated the opposing force, and believed he was to contend with at least forty thousand; hence his plan of attack was elaborate. Had he known what is now so clear to posterity, that not over seven thousand men fit for duty were in the American camp on the evening of the 26th (the numbers were swollen by the regiments ordered over from New York on the following day), he might have exercised less caution with greater success. His own complete force, including officers, was twenty-one thousand, outnumbering the Americans three to one.¹

About two o'clock on the morning of Tuesday, Hand and his riflemen, who had been on almost constant duty for six entire days, were relieved,

and, returning to the lines, dropped upon the wet ground to sleep.

Aug. 27. Even now the army of King George was in motion. The advance was by three distinct columns. It was arranged that a squadron of five ships under Sir Peter Parker should divert attention by menacing the city of New York in the early morning. Meanwhile Major-General Grant, moving along the coast road near the Narrows, was to feign an attack upon the Americans in that quarter, and De Heister with his Hessians, was to force the Central Flatbush Pass at a given signal; the third division,

¹ Authorities consulted in writing this brief description of the Battle of Long Island include, *Daneroft's History of the United States*; *Stiles's History of the City of Brooklyn*; *Jones's History of New York during the Revolutionary War*; *Johnson's Campaign of 1776 around New York and Brooklyn*; *Thompson's History of Long Island*; *Irving's Life of Washington*; *Moore's Diary of the American Revolution*; *Sparks's Life of Washington*; *Morse's Revolution*; *Lord Mahon's History of England*; *Nash's Journal*; *Heath's Memoirs*; *Journals of the New York Convention*; *New York Revolutionary Papers*; *New York in the American Revolution*; *Force*; *Gordon*; *Dunlap*; together with biographical sketches, private letters, and documents too numerous to cite.

really the main body, — a column ten thousand strong, — comprising the choicest battalions, and led by Sir Henry Clinton, Lord Percy, and Lord Cornwallis, and accompanied by General Howe himself, made a long *détour* of nine miles in the dead of night, guided by farmers of the region, to the Jamaica Pass. The intention was to interpose itself between the wooded hills and the lines before an alarm could be sounded, thereby cutting off the retreat of the scattering detachments. Tents were left standing and camp-fires burning, to deceive the American guards in the heights above. The march was conducted in strict silence, and the great hostile body as it moved along in the darkness irresistibly swept into its grasp every human being within its reach who might perchance give information. The first glimpses of early dawn were not yet perceivable, when, removing fences and taking a short cut across the fields, the column halted in the open lots in front of Howard's tavern, now standing at the intersection of Broadway and the Jamaica turnpike, a little to the southeast of the winding defile, which was guarded only by a mounted patrol of five officers.¹ These guards were on the Jamaica road a little below, listening for signs and sounds of the enemy (never dreaming it could slip across lots so quietly) and were almost immediately discovered and captured; thus was the only obstacle on the Jamaica route through the Pass removed. The innkeeper and his son were compelled to guide the British around to the road as soon as it was found to be unguarded. About nine o'clock De Heister, who had been firing random guns without stirring from his post, to the great perplexity of Sullivan as he moved along the ridge with four hundred of his men inspecting the situation, heard two heavy signal guns and knew that Howe and his ten thousand had gained the rear of the Americans. He at once ordered Donop to carry the Pass, and the Hessians swarmed up from the Flatbush plains with drums beating and colors flying. The troops in the hills were apprised of the trap which had been sprung upon them by the same fiery mouth. They were wedged in with walls of steel and fire on both sides. Retreat was the only alternative. But how? At the redoubt in the Central Pass there was little opposition, and it was quickly occupied by the exultant Hessians. The riflemen had turned to engage the British, who were advancing with fixed bayonets, and fought with unparalleled bravery, but were thrown back upon the Hessians. Miles, Wylls, Cornell, and other officers, with their little handfuls of men at different points (numbering, all told, less than two thousand), made herculean effort to reach roads that were the only possible avenue

¹ Gerrit Van Wageningen, Jeronimus Hoogland, Robert Troup, Edward Dunscomb, and Lieutenant Gilliland.

to the lines, running in squads and fighting as they ran along the rough slopes; but the road they sought, when reached, was a scarlet mass of warriors, by whom they were hurled back, like their comrades, upon the Hessians. The scene was too terrible for description. If we may credit the enemy's account of the struggle, the Hessians had been purposely told that the rebels had resolved to give no quarter — to them in particular; thus they bayoneted without discretion. The fury upon both sides was extreme. The enemy were amazed at the valor of men struggling against such overwhelming numbers. For two hours the hills echoed with shouts and cries. Some succeeded in cutting their way through and reaching the lines, others fell or were captured; among the latter, after fighting with great heroism, was Sullivan himself.

A little before noon another signal-gun conveyed to Grant in the coast road — his line reaching into the Greenwood hills — the intelligence that Cornwallis had reached ground in the rear of Stirling and Parsons, with whom Grant had been playing an artillery duel ever since he drove in the pickets at early dawn. Stirling, ordered by Sullivan to check the progress of the enemy in that direction, had made a stand on the ridge about the site of what is now Twentieth Street, his force not exceeding sixteen hundred. Grant was seven thousand strong, including two companies of New York loyalists. Parsons, with Atlee's and Huntington's regiments, embracing some three hundred men, was detailed by Stirling to prevent the enemy from overlapping him on the left, and fought upon a hill further on between which and himself there was a great unprotected gap. Stirling was unaware of the web that was being spun and the scenes transpiring elsewhere; with his men formed in battle array he had for four hours maintained an invincible front against the perpetual fire of Grant, who, in obeying orders, made only threatening forward movements until notified that the flanking columns were masters of the inner field. No message came to Stirling of Sullivan's defeat. No relief, or orders for withdrawal, reached him from headquarters, the British having intervened in such numbers as to render communication impossible.

Now with one simultaneous rush the devoted party were attacked on three sides, and Stirling's eyes were quickly opened to the fact that he was nearly surrounded by a vastly superior force. The Gowanus marsh and creek, here at its widest, separated him from the only way of retreat to the lines, the roads being all occupied by the enemy. With soldierly self-possession he ordered the main part of his command to attempt the perilous crossing as best they could; and to protect the men while they forded or swam the waters which the rising tide was rendering every moment less and less passable, he placed himself at the head of

about three hundred gallant Marylanders and dashed upon Cornwallis, who was posted in the old Cortelyou house. The attack was so spirited that they drove the advanced guard back upon the house and held the position for some minutes, then withdrew beyond a bend in the road; but only to gather strength for a renewed attack. Again and again this heroic band rallied about their general and returned to the encounter; they charged upon the house, once driving the gunners from and seizing their pieces within its shadow, and seemed on the very point of dislodging Cornwallis, but with prudence equal to their courage retired swiftly as fresh troops came running in great numbers to his aid. Furthermore, Stirling saw that his main object was accomplished. The rest of his command were on the safe side of the creek, conducting twenty-three prisoners to the lines and holding up proudly the wet and tattered colors of Smallwood's regiment, under the protection of Smallwood himself, who had come out to meet them and prevent pursuit. A few had been drowned in wading and swimming the angry waters, but the number did not exceed eight, two of whom were Hessian prisoners. Stirling had sacrificed himself and party for the good of the whole, with less loss of life than tradition records, although scores of brave men fell in the terrible charge of the three hundred. With the survivors Stirling fled into the hills, but nearly all were captured; he eluded pursuit until he could reach the Hessian corps, where he surrendered his sword to De Heister.

Parsons, meanwhile, was surprised to discover that the line whose flank he had been protecting for hours was no longer there. Stirling had not informed him of his sudden action, as no messenger could pass the gap under such a fire. Thus he must retreat without orders, but Cornwallis had complete command of the road. In short, he was hemmed in on every side. He turned into the woods, and some of his men escaped; but the greater part, including Atlee, were captured. He hid in a swamp, and with seven men made his way into the American lines at daylight next morning.

The ships of the British line which were intended to menace New York during this attack were baffled by a strong headwind. Only one vessel, the *Roebuck*, was able to reach a point where it could play upon the fort at Red Hook. Washington had remained in New York until satisfied there could be no immediate attack upon the city, then hastened to the lines in Brooklyn, and was just in time to witness, with anguish, the disasters the reader has already learned. Before two o'clock in the afternoon the battle was over. The British were in possession of the outer line of defense, and the Americans were within the fortified camp on the Brooklyn peninsula.

The victory shed little glory on British arms. Both England and America were astonished that Howe, with an army of such proportions and by dint of an apparently overwhelming manœuvre, had not totally annihilated the scattering outposts! The Americans were seldom engaged less than five to one, and were compelled to fight in front and rear under every disadvantage. Considering the circumstances, they behaved admirably along the whole five miles. Had they been military experts, they would doubtless have surrendered without contesting the ground inch by inch, since nothing was to be gained by such a sacrifice. The struggle, however, taught a lesson to the foe which greatly influenced coming events. The loss of the Americans was, all told — killed, wounded, and prisoners — about one thousand, of whom three fourths were prisoners.¹ Howe reported three hundred and sixty-seven dead. Thus were more even of the British than Americans slain. Of American officers killed were, Caleb Parry from Pennsylvania, of Stirling's command, a gentleman of polish and culture, descended from an ancient and honorable family long seated in North Wales; Philip Johnston, son of Judge Samuel Johnston of New Jersey, a gentleman of education, an officer of fine presence, and one of the strongest men in the army, who fell, near Sullivan, while leading his men to the charge; Joseph Jewett of Lyme, Connecticut, an officer much beloved, "of elegant and commanding appearance, and of unquestionable bravery"; and Harmanus Rutgers from New York, of the ancient and well-known Rutgers family, whose seat was upon the East River near Jones Hill.

Howe's generals, Clinton, Cornwallis, and Vaughan, are said to have pressed for leave to storm at once the fortifications, but he shook his head, saying, "Enough has been done for one day." His troops proceeded to dine, after which they spread their tents scarcely a mile from the Americans, their sentries stationed one fourth of a mile away. Towards evening a storm of wind and rain sprung up from the northeast. There was little or no sleep in the American camp. They had no tents, no fires, nor any opportunity for cooking, and the men working in the trenches were up to their waists in water. The next day there was some
 Aug 28. firing between the two camps, but heavy rains kept the enemy chiefly under temporary shelter. However Howe was intending to carry the lines, whether by assault or direct approach, he was manifestly favored.

¹ This statement seems to be absolutely correct. It was Washington's original estimate, made from the list of names handed in by the commander of each regiment engaged in the fight; many of these lists are preserved (*Force*, Fifth Series, Vol. III.), and by comparison with other official reports prove the facts, notwithstanding the widely different account given by Howe, and accepted by various historians.

In the rear of the Americans was a river half a mile broad swept by swift tides. He could, when the wind changed, easily encircle them by a fleet, thereby cutting off all connection with New York.

On the morning of the 29th the rain was still pouring in torrents.

Aug. 29. Neither Washington nor his generals had taken rest since the battle. Should the enemy succeed in penetrating the lines, or the fleet in commanding the crossing, they were lost. Hence was planned and executed the famous retreat from Long Island, one of the most remarkable military events in history.

As soon as it was resolved to withdraw the troops, boats and every species of water-craft, large and small, upon both sides of Manhattan Island to the Harlem River, were impressed into service for the coming night, with the utmost despatch and secrecy. These were placed under the management of John Glover, who commanded a regiment of Marblehead fishermen, the best mariners in the world. To prepare the army for a general movement without betraying its purpose, orders were issued for each regiment to parade with accoutrements at seven o'clock in front of their encampments, ready to march at a moment's notice; the impression was given that many of them were to be relieved by battalions from Mercer's New Jersey command, and other changes made, while some inferred that a night attack upon the enemy was contemplated and hastened to make nuncupative wills. During the afternoon such heavy rain fell as could hardly be remembered. Washington's anxiety and unceasing vigilance kept him continually in the saddle, drenched and dripping, without having closed his eyes in sleep for forty-eight or more hours. Mifflin was assigned to the command of the rear-guard, — chosen men from Hand's, Smallwood's, Haslet's, Shee's, Magaw's, and Chester's regiments, who were to remain nearest the enemy to the last. The withdrawal commenced with the first deep darkness of the cloudy evening. As one regiment moved in silence towards Fulton Ferry, another was changed quietly to fill the gap. They tramped through the "mud and mire" with their luggage — guns, ammunition, provisions, "pots and kettles" — upon their shoulders, the artillery men dragging cannon, and carts and horses and cattle being pushed along with as much celerity as the soft condition of the well-soaked soil would allow. There were some vexatious delays; and in the midst of the hushed hurry, in the dead of night, a cannon went off (cause unknown) with tremendous roar, startling the Americans, but failing to alarm the British. A serious blunder in conveying a verbal message also created a whirlwind of excitement among an interested few for a brief time. Washington, standing on the ferry stairs about two o'clock in the morning, sent Alexander Scammel, Sullivan's brigade-major, now

serving as aid to the commander-in-chief (who had been a law student of Sullivan's before the breaking out of the war), to hurry forward the troops already on the march. Misunderstanding orders, he started Mifflin with his entire command for the ferry, where all was in confusion owing to the turning of the tide and the inability of the sail-boats to make headway. Washington met the party, and in terms indicative of acute distress expressed his fear that the mistake had ruined the whole scheme. Mifflin and party promptly faced about and reoccupied the lines which had been completely vacated for an hour, without discovery by the enemy. It was daylight when they were finally summoned to the ferry, but a friendly fog came up, so dense that a man could scarcely be discerned six yards away; thus they marched without detection, leaving their camp-fires smoking. Washington refused to step into his barge until the entire force had embarked. At seven in the morning

Aug. 30.

Howe learned to his chagrin that an army of nine thousand troops, with all their munitions of war, had successfully retired from a position in front of his victorious legions so near that ordinary sounds could be distinctly heard! However he may have surprised the Americans by his night manœuvre of the 27th, he was now as much more surprised as the movement of Washington was conducted with greater military skill.

Yet it was a retreat. And there were plenty of people to murmur and complain. Disappointment makes men captious. Why was the Jamaica Pass left unguarded? Why did Washington go to Brooklyn at all? Who was responsible for the surprise and defeat?

Neither was General Howe applauded by England for his apparent conquest. Why did he not run up the Hudson and land in the rear of the rebels, instead of wasting so much time on Long Island? And when he was engaging the rebels on the 27th, why did not Lord Howe move with his fleet into the East River, and thereby end the war?

For the next two days New York presented a cheerless picture. Wet clothes and camp equipage were strewed along the sidewalks in front of the houses or stretched in yards to dry. Squads of weary-looking soldiers were moving to and fro, but not a sound of drum or fife was heard. Men were going home in groups and companies. They were farmers chiefly, who had left their grain half cut in the fields, and were present on short enlistments. Their example was disheartening and contagious.

The same opinion prevailed throughout the American army as in the British councils, that there was now little or nothing to prevent Howe from landing and extending his lines from river to river across Manhattan Island, thereby cooping up the patriots, without means of exit even by the sea. The loss of three prominent generals, Sullivan, Stirling, and Wood-

hull, was depressing in the extreme. The two former were prisoners in the British camp. They were treated with respect, dining daily with the two brothers, Lord and General Howe. Woodhull had been captured on the evening of the 28th at Carpenter's tavern, near Jamaica, where he had taken refuge from a thunder-storm. He had written to the Convention on the same morning that his men (less than one hundred) and horses were worn out with fatigue, that Smith and Remson could not join him, communication being cut off by the enemy, and that he must retire unless he had assistance; concluding his letter with the remark, "I hope the Convention does not expect me to make brick without straw." He was surprised by a party of several hundred of the enemy sent out in pursuit of him, and surrendered his sword; after which he attempted to escape over a board fence in the darkness, but was discovered by the sentries and severely wounded through blows inflicted upon his head and arms with a cutlass and bayonet, from which injuries he died three weeks later.¹ He was allowed to send for his wife, at the same time requesting her to bring with her all the money in her possession and all that she could procure, which he distributed among the American prisoners to alleviate their sufferings — the last generous act of his useful and honored life.

Washington attempted to restore order and confidence by reorganizing the army. It was obvious that the city was untenable. The enemy were strengthening the works on Brooklyn Heights. Their heavy vessels were anchored near Governor's Island, within easy gunshot of the city, the American garrison at that point and at Red Hook having been safely withdrawn the night after the battle.² They were also throwing

¹ *Jones's History of New York during the Revolutionary War*, Vol. II. 332; *Notes to Jones's History* by Edward F. De Lancey, with contemporary documents, etc., Vol. II. 592-612. A careful examination of the various statements concerning the capture, injuries, and death of General Woodhull leads to the opinion expressed in the text. Oliver De Lancey, Jr., was an officer of the 17th Light Dragoons, the capturing party, and has by a succession of writers been charged with inflicting the wounds from which Woodhull died. It is claimed by his family that he always indignantly denied the accusation. Thompson and others write that he came up in time to save Woodhull from instant death. Judge Thomas Jones, author of the recently published history which throws new light upon these incidents, was a contemporary writer, lived on Long Island, his sister was the wife of Richard Floyd, first cousin of Mrs. Woodhull, and the two ladies were warm friends before and after the general's death; thus he had every opportunity of knowing the circumstances. He was a judge of the Supreme Court of New York, as indeed had been his father before him, and the head of the Jones family of Queen's County; his wife was Anne, daughter of Lieutenant-Governor James De Lancey — sister of Mrs. William Walton — and first cousin of the Oliver De Lancey mentioned.

² Jones, censuring the English generals, writes: "In the evening of the same day (unaccountable as it is) a detachment of the rebel army went from New York with a number of boats and carried off the troops, the stores, artillery and provisions without the least interruption whatever, though General Howe's whole army lay within a mile of the place, and his brother, the Admiral, with his fleet, covered the bay at a little distance below the island."

up fortifications on the Long Island shore at intervals as far as the mouth of the Harlem River. On the 2d of September, just at evening, Sept. 2. a forty-gun man-of-war swept between Governor's Island and Long Island, past the batteries on the East River, which might as well have fired at the moon for all the harm they could do her, and anchored in Turtle Bay, near the foot of what is now Forty-seventh Street. Through the skillful attack of a detachment of Washington's artillery, the ship was compelled to change her position to the shelter of Blackwell's Island. Several war vessels suddenly made their debut in the Sound, having gone round Long Island. Visions of red-hot bullets and showers of shells in the streets of New York dismayed even the brave. Resistance would be impossible should the enemy come upon the city from the North, with men-of-war encircling the Battery.

A situation more delicate and full of risk could hardly be imagined. The evacuation and burning of New York was discussed freely as a matter of military policy. Washington submitted to Congress the question "If we are obliged to abandon the town, shall it stand as winter-quarters for the enemy?" on the very day that the British war vessel made her successful trip up the East River. Congress replied that "no damage should be done to the city of New York, as it could undoubtedly be recovered even should the enemy obtain possession for a time." There was no cessation of exertion with the spade and pickaxe to render Manhattan Island a stronghold; and the army, disposed in three divisions, under Putnam, Spencer, and Heath, stretched its attenuated line from the Battery to Harlem and Kingsbridge, Putnam guarding the city proper and the East River approaches to Fifteenth Street. All military stores, however, not in actual immediate demand, were being quietly removed, as fast as conveyances could be procured, to a post partially fortified at Dobb's Ferry.

Days slipped by and the enemy made no further advance. They were fearful of precipitating the destruction of the richest city in America. And as Washington's appeal to Congress and its response were not borne on the wings of the wind, or in coaches propelled by steam, there was ample time for the expression of much diverse opinion among the military and civil authorities, before the sense of the supreme government was known. Putnam urged an immediate retreat from the city, as one portion of the army might at any moment be cut off before the other could support it, the extremities of the lines being sixteen miles apart. Mercer said, "We should keep New York, if possible, as the acquiring of it will give eclat to the arms of Great Britain, afford the soldiers good quarters, and furnish a safe harbor for their fleet." Greene, from his sick-bed, wrote :



The house is situated on a hill, and the view from the porch is a beautiful one. The house is a fine specimen of the architecture of the time, and the surrounding landscape is equally beautiful. The house is now a museum, and it is open to the public. The house is a fine example of the architecture of the time, and the surrounding landscape is equally beautiful.

"Abandon, by all means, the city and island. They should not be put in competition with the general interests of America. There is no object to be obtained by holding any position below Kingsbridge. I would burn the city and suburbs to deprive the enemy of barracking their whole army together and of profiting by a general market." Scott was of the same mind, although the city contained his entire possessions. Reed wrote to his wife, on the 6th, "We are still here, in a posture somewhat awkward. We think (at least I do) that we cannot stay, and yet we do not know how to go, so that we may be properly said to be between hawk and buzzard." John Jay had long since advocated the burning of the city; and Wolcott quoted precedents where invading armies had been starved and ruined by the laying waste of the countries upon which they had built their hopes. Heath, Spencer, and George Clinton were unwilling that a place should be abandoned which had been fortified with such great cost and labor, and never wavered for a moment in their advice to hold the city.

On the 7th a council of general officers met at Washington's headquarters, at the Richmond Hill House, to decide upon some general course to be adopted. The majority voted for defense, believing that Congress wished the point to be maintained at every hazard. On the 10th Congress resolved to leave the occupation or abandonment of the city entirely at Washington's discretion. The next day Greene and six brigadiers petitioned Washington to call a council of war to reconsider the decision of the 7th. He did so on the 12th, when ten generals voted to evacuate, and three — Heath, Spencer, and George Clinton — to defend.

This was but one of innumerable instances in which George Clinton displayed his natural boldness of character and unflinching nerve. He was a man whose iron will never failed him in an emergency. He was called arbitrary and cruel. The cause may be traced to the school in which he found himself. He had no pity for those whom he regarded as open enemies, and he treated them with severity. And yet, personally, his heart was tender and kind. Henceforward, during the next twenty-six years, we shall find him a conspicuous figure in the annals of New York. He became the first governor after the organization of the State, and, in reference to those who would have guided the British on to victory, an avenging power. "Not one of the men on the American side in the Revolution," writes Edward Floyd De Lancey, "great and brilliant as many of them were, could ever have retained, as he did, the governorship of New York by successive elections for eighteen years." Mrs. George Clinton was a lady of Dutch parentage, well educated, and of exceptional strength and balance of character. She was about his own

age. Her father was a man of influence and fortune, prominent in the affairs of Kingston. Her brother, Christopher Tappan, was one of the trustees of Kingston and clerk of the corporation. The Tappan family were related to nearly all the people of importance in the vicinity of Kingston. Thus George Clinton's early political life began under favorable auspices, and his legal acumen and strong common-sense enabled



Governor George Clinton.

Mrs. George Clinton.

[Fac-simile copy of immature portraits executed when the governor was about forty years of age ; in possession of his granddaughter, Mrs. Cornelius Van Rensselaer.]

him to master many an after problem without wasting time in consultation. He said councils made men cowards. In adopting the surest and most certain means to attain his objects, he became the terror of all the adversaries of the Revolution, but even they rarely accused him of injustice, and never of revenge.¹

While these events were transpiring in New York, Lord Howe was taxing his ingenuity to devise some method by which he could negotiate a peaceful adjustment of the strife. He had no disposition to destroy New

¹ See (Vol. II.) page 74. Charles Clinton, the father of George Clinton, removed to America in 1729, landing at Cape Cod ; and in 1730 formed a permanent and flourishing settlement in Ulster County, New York, which he called Little Britain. He was of English descent ; his grandfather was William Clinton, an officer in the army of Charles I., one of the members of the famous family of the Earls of Lincoln : after the dethronement of his monarch he went to France, thence to Spain, and to Scotland where he married a lady of the family of Kennedy ; after which he took up his abode in Ireland ; his only son, James, while in England to recover the patrimonial estate married the daughter of an army officer. Charles Clinton, the son of James, born 1690, married Elizabeth, daughter of Alexander Denniston. He was a man of education and property, built a substantial home in Little Britain, possessed a well-selected library, became a surveyor of note, a judge of Common Pleas for the County of Ulster, and colonel of the militia, doing good service with his regiment at the

York, nor to proceed harshly against a people whose independent notions he admired and honored. He was hampered by his instructions, unable to shape a message which would be accepted by Congress or by the commander-in-chief of its army; thus he took advantage of his prisoner, General Sullivan, sending him, on parole, with a verbal message explanatory of his wishes as well as lack of power to treat with Congress as a legal body, and earnestly requesting a conference with some of its members as private persons.

Sullivan reached Philadelphia September 2, and made known his errand. Congress was for a time divided in opinion. Hot debates occupied full three days, before Sullivan was on his return journey to the British camp, conveying an answer to this effect: "Congress cannot with propriety send any of its members in a private capacity to confer with Lord Howe; but, ever desirous for peace, they will send a committee of their body to learn whether he has any authority to treat with persons authorized by Congress for that purpose, and to hear such propositions as he may think fit to make." The committee chosen were Dr. Franklin, John Adams, and Edward Rutledge. Several letters were exchanged between Lord Howe and Dr. Franklin in relation to a place of meeting, which was fixed finally at the Old Billopp manor-house on Staten Island, opposite Perth Amboy.

It was then a two days' journey from Philadelphia to Amboy. The committee started on the 9th, John Adams on horseback, and Dr. Franklin and Rutledge in old-fashioned chairs. The taverns along the way were so full of soldiery en route for the defense of New York, that these dignitaries could hardly obtain admission. The second night they staid in New Brunswick, Franklin and Adams being obliged to share the same bed, in a little narrow chamber with one small window. Adams was an invalid, and afraid of the night air. "Don't shut the window," exclaimed Franklin, as he saw Adams with his hand on the sash, "we shall be suffocated." "I cannot run the risk of a cold," said Adams, bringing down the sash in an imperative manner. "But the air within the chamber

capture of Fort Frontenac. He was, in short, a man endowed with many talents, and of great dignity and respectability. He had seven children, but the two sons best known to fame were James, born 1736, and George, born 1739. James married first, Mary, daughter of Egbert De Witt; second, Mrs. Mary Gray. The third son of James Clinton and Mary DeWitt was the famous De Witt Clinton. George Clinton (first Governor of New York, and for eight years Vice-President of the United States) married, in 1769, Cornelia Tappan of Kingston, and their children were, Catherine, who married General Pierre Van Cortlandt, son of Lieutenant-Governor Pierre Van Cortlandt; Cornelia Tappan, who married Citizen Edmond Charles Genet; George, born in 1778, who married Anna, daughter of Hon. William Floyd; Elizabeth, who married Matthias B. Tallmadge; Martha W., who died young; Maria, who married Dr. Stephen Beekman.

will soon be, and indeed is now, worse than that without doors. Come, open the window and come to bed, and I will convince you. I believe you are not acquainted with my theory of colds?" "I have read some of your letters, which are inconsistent with my experience," said Adams, opening the window, and leaping into bed, curious to hear an elucidation of what seemed to him a paradox. The philosopher commenced a lecture which lulled his audience into repose, and just as he was dwelling upon the amount of air per minute which the human body destroys by respiration and perspiration, and showing, by a train of subtle reasoning, that through the breathing of impure air we imbibe the real cause of colds, not from without but from within doors, he fell asleep himself. The next morning they reached the beautiful shore opposite Staten Island at an early hour. Lord Howe's barge was there to receive them, and a gen-

Sept. 11. tlemanly officer told them he was to remain subject to their orders, as hostage for their safe return. "This is childish," said Adams, turning to Franklin; "we want no such pledge." Franklin and Rutledge were of the same mind. They accordingly told the officer that if he held himself under their direction, he must go back to his superior with them in the barge, to which he bowed assent, and they all embarked. Howe walked toward the shore as the barges approached, and perceiving his officer with the committee, cried out: "Gentlemen, you make me a very high compliment, and you may depend upon it I will consider it the most sacred of things."

He shook hands warmly with Franklin, who introduced his companions, and they all moved towards the house, between the lines of soldiery which had been drawn up so as to form a lane, conversing pleasantly together. One of the largest apartments had been converted, with moss, vines, and branches, into a delightful bower, and here a collation of "good claret, good bread, cold ham, tongues, and mutton" was immediately served. After this Lord Howe opened the conference, expressing his attachment to America, and his gratitude for the honors bestowed upon his accomplished elder brother, who was killed at Lake George in the expedition against the French eighteen years before, declaring that "should America fall he should feel and lament it like the loss of a brother." Franklin bowed with graceful ease, and replied, smiling blandly, "My lord, we will use our utmost endeavors to spare you that mortification." Howe stated his position in flowing language, and asked the gentlemen if they were willing to lay aside their distinction as members of Congress, and converse as individuals upon the outline of a plan to stay the calamities of war. They assented; Adams exclaiming, with characteristic impetuosity, "Your lordship may consider *me* in what light you please. Indeed,

I should be willing to consider myself for a few moments in any character which would be agreeable to your lordship, *except that of a British subject.*" The conversation was conducted as among friends for four hours. But it came to nothing, except so far as it strengthened the patriots. Howe was found to be wholly devoid of authority to treat with the colonies in their present condition. And the committee were only commissioned to obtain this knowledge. Neither party could make propositions or promises. They separated with the utmost show of courtesy, Howe saying, as he bade them adieu, "I am sorry, gentlemen, that you have had the trouble of coming so far to so little purpose."

To a man of Howe's temperament the situation at this moment must have been one of torture. He was sad and silent the remainder of the day. The next morning industry in every department of the British army indicated a speedy movement upon New York. While the committee were traveling through New Jersey dust slowly back to Philadelphia, discoursing at intervals upon the lack of discipline among the troops they encountered at the inns, New York was in a ferment. The news had already begun to fly from mouth to mouth that the city was to be evacuated. Horses, vehicles, and water-craft were employed in transferring military equipments and stores to Kingsbridge. It is said that nineteen twentieths of the inhabitants had already removed from the town, but there were still enough left to cause great embarrassment. Some would remain in any event, partly from want of means to remove, or a place of refuge, and partly from a sense of coming protection. But others hurriedly prepared to abandon their homes and go into exile. On the 13th four ships sailed past the American batteries, keeping up an incessant fire, and anchored in the East River. Six thousand of the British were already quartered upon the islands near the mouth of the Harlem River, and ere sunset of the 14th were joined by several thousand additional troops. An immediate landing at Harlem or Morrisania was predicted. Washington sprang into his saddle as soon as the messenger came with this last intelligence, and rode in hot haste to Harlem Heights.

Chroniclers of the times catalogued the events of these two or three days as they would an invoice of crockery: "Nothing remarkable happened; still getting ready to retreat." Like some portraits, the drawing is chiefly in outline without color or shading. Yet the British were changing position and nearing the shore on Long Island. Their guns and those of the ships in the East River were heard continually. Citizens and soldiers were running hither and yon with pale faces, performing their allotted duties with nervous energy. Carts were laden as fast as procured, and driven hurriedly to boats or over the long tedious roads to the

North. Effects were swiftly packed and households scattered. Forts were, as far as practicable, dismantled. Bells were removed from the churches and public buildings and secreted. Brass knockers were taken from the doors of the houses (by order of the Convention) weighed, valued, and registered, then deposited for safe-keeping in Newark, New Jersey. Several bodies of troops marched to the upper part of Manhattan. Washington took supper on Saturday night (the 14th) at the Apthorpe Mansion, where at a late hour the expedition of Nathan Hale into the enemy's camp for trustworthy information was planned.

Sunday morning dawned upon a tired city. There had been no cessation of labor during the night. The removal of the sick and
Sept. 15. wounded, numbering several thousand, had consumed much time, and disheartening delays had resulted from the scarcity of proper conveyances. Yet everything thus far had been conducted with consummate method, and men unschooled in war had exhibited the self-control of veterans. With the rising of the sun a fresh source of alarm was visible. Three ships of war were sailing defiantly by the Battery into the Hudson River. Nash writes, "They fired smartly at the town." Rev. Mr. Shewkirk said one ball struck the North Church; and that it was "unsafe to walk the streets." It was not known where these ships would anchor, but they were presumably destined to meet the line upon the western shore which the British were about to throw across the island above the city. Of course there could be no further removal of army stores by water.

Two roads intersected Manhattan lengthwise; of which the "Old Boston Road" on the general line of Third Avenue, and bearing west of Fifth Avenue by a crooked way through McGowan's Pass, was the grand highway. The Bloomingdale road, a continuation of Broadway, leaned towards the Hudson after reaching Sixtieth Street, and wound along the picturesque region of hills and vales known by the beautiful descriptive name of Bloomingdale, past the Apthorpe Mansion, terminating as a legal highway at Adam Hoagland's house, about One Hundred and Fifteenth Street,—although it was continued through his estate as a farm-road to Manhattanville. It was connected with the old Boston or Kingsbridge road by a narrow public way from Hoagland's house, running nearly at right angles. These two chief thoroughfares were intersected at various points by local roads, private avenues to property, and farmer's lanes.

Attention was soon diverted from the ships in the North River to motions in the East River. Five men-of-war suddenly spread their wings and anchored within fifty yards of the American breastworks at

Kip's Bay (near Thirty-fourth Street) and commenced a well-directed and incessant cannonading to "scour the grounds" in that vicinity. The occupants of Kip's mansion took refuge in the cellar. Presently eighty-four flat-bottomed boats laden with troops in bright scarlet drifted into view from Newtown Creek, giving the broad bosom of the river the appearance of a clover-bed. This brilliant scene was watched by Scott and his New-Yorkers on the Stuyvesant estate near Fifteenth Street, and by Wadsworth and Selden with their forces at Twenty-third Street. Putnam's division was ordered to retreat at once from the lower town, but, although abandoning heavy cannon and a quantity of provision, were too seriously encumbered with families and baggage to move expeditiously, and would certainly be captured unless the landing could be delayed; hence Parsons and Fellows were sent with their brigades on a run to support Douglass with his few militia-men at Kip's Bay. They were just in time to see the first company of British troops from the flotilla ascend the slope, while thousands were ready to follow in their footsteps; and also to witness the flight of the soldiers who manned the works. This was hardly cowardice, although it has been so stigmatized by military officers and historical writers ever since that memorable morning. It was well known that the city was not to be defended. Had such a handful of troops opened fire upon the enemy it would have been a mere exhibition of foolhardiness, as useless as unjustifiable. Nothing was to be gained by it. Douglass gave the order to retreat, but not until it became impossible to remain in the works, which were acknowledged by all parties the least defensible of any along the whole East River shore. Obligated to cross an unprotected space "scoured by cannon-balls and grape-shot," the men dispersed, running swiftly toward the Old Boston or Post Road, the enemy firing and pursuing them.

Near Thirty-sixth Street and Fourth Avenue stood the residence of Robert Murray amid extensive grounds,—designated on the map as "Inclenberg." To the north of it a cross-road, nearly on the line of Forty-third Street, connected the Old Boston with the Bloomingdale road. A cornfield belonging to the Murray estate flourished on the site of the present Grand Central Depot, extending east to the junction of the roads,—the Old Boston Road here being about on the line of Lexington Avenue. At this point Washington on his four-mile gallop from the Apthorpe Mansion encountered the men in retreat from Kip's Bay. They were in dust and confusion, and in the hasty judgment of the moment "in disgrace." Here also came up the almost breathless recruits of Parsons and Fellows, who had scarcely halted in their run from Corlear's Hook, and who had been nearly headed off before they could spring

into the cornfield and through it reach the cross-road. The red foe surging over the bluff could be seen through the foliage already in possession of the highway. Washington in a frenzy of excitement rode up and down trying to rally the troops into line to check the advance of the British, in which he was gallantly aided by Parsons and other officers. But the attempt was fruitless. And having not a moment to lose he ordered the troops to continue their retreat, and spurred away to provide for the safety of Harlem Heights, as it was possible for the enemy to land in that vicinity at the same time as elsewhere.

Meanwhile Scott, Selden, and others on the East River below Kip's Bay saw the wisdom of immediate escape, since the British would naturally stretch across the island above them without delay. Scott reached Putnam's moving column on the Bloomingdale road with his command in safety; but Selden and party collided with a body of Hessians on their way to the city by the Boston road, near the corner of Twenty-third Street and Third Avenue, and after some sharp firing in which four Hessians were killed and eight wounded, he was made prisoner.¹

¹ *Howe to Germantown*, September 21, 1776. Colonel Samuel Selden was one of the substantial and accomplished men of his generation. Possessing a large estate on the banks of the Connecticut, a homestead of his own erection (in 1760) which, bearing the traces of good taste and the refined knowledge of how to live comfortably, is still standing, the father of thirteen children, and past fifty, with impaired health, he ignored all personal interests in devotion to the common cause, and accepted a colonelcy of Connecticut levies after — like Silliman, Douglass, and others — first advancing the funds to equip his regiment. He was the son of Samuel and Deborah Dudley Selden, and the grandson and great-grandson of the two Governors Dudley of Massachusetts, who it is well known were of the best blood of England. He was born January 11, 1723. After his capture he was conveyed to the City Hall in Wall Street and confined in the "Debtors' prison" on the upper floor. But, prostrated by the heat and exertions of the day, he was attacked with fever, from which he died on Friday, October 11. Some British officers, learning of his illness, caused him to be conveyed to more comfortable quarters in the "Old Provost," and he was attended by Dr. Thatcher, a British surgeon, receiving every possible kindness. He was buried in the Brick Church yard, where the building of the *New York Times* now stands, with more honors than were usually accorded to prisoners-of-war, whatever their rank; all the American officers who were prisoners at the time were indulged with liberty to attend his funeral. His wife was Elizabeth Ely, daughter of Richard Ely of Lyme. His son, Richard Ely Selden, born 1759, was the father of the wife of Henry Matson Waite, Chief Justice of Connecticut. Thus the present Chief Justice of the United States, Morrison R. Waite, is the great-grandson of Colonel Selden. And Mrs. Morrison R. Waite is a great-granddaughter of the same through her father Samuel Selden Warner, whose mother was the sixth daughter of Colonel Selden. Judge Samuel Lee Selden, Judge Henry R. Selden, Hon. Dudley Selden, Hon. Lyman Trumbull, General McDowell, and Professor Eaton of Yale, are among his descendants. President Eliphalet Nott of Union College, and Rev. Dr. Samuel Nott, were the sons of Colonel Selden's sister Deborah, who married Stephen Nott about 1752. Rev. Dr. Eliphalet Nott Potter, now President of Union College, Rev. Dr. Henry C. Potter, Rector of Grace Church, Hon. Clarkson Nott Potter, and Howard Potter are grandsons of President Eliphalet and Sarah Benedict Nott. The old Selden estate in Hadlyme (formerly a part of the town of Lyme), which belonged to

One of his officers, Eliphalet Holmes, a man of great physical strength, knocked down two Hessians who were attempting to capture him, and escaped. John P. Wyllys, Wadsworth's brigade-major, was taken prisoner in this encounter, and fifty or more men. Gay, with his command, had passed the Boston road, down "Lover's Lane" (now Twenty-first Street) to the Bloomingdale road, and beyond, before the Hessians reached the point of intersection. Silliman's brigade, left to guard the city until the other troops could be withdrawn, and Knox with detachments of artillery, were now in the greatest danger. About thirty minutes after the main column, with its women, children, hangers-on, household stuff, and camp utensils, had passed out of sight on the Broadway road to the north of Walter Rutherford's house, Silliman received orders to follow as far as Bayard's Hill fort, just above Canal Street. Here he saw the British land at Kip's Bay, and supposing the roads closed and departure impossible, prepared for a vigorous defense. At this very instant Putnam, galloping forward, met Washington at the corner of the cross and Bloomingdale roads, now Forty-third Street and Broadway, and paused for hasty consultation. It was clear no stand could be made on Murray Hill. Had the British acted promptly, all the Americans south of Forty-second Street at that hour might have fallen into their hands with ease. A few minutes later Putnam was flying on his foaming steed toward the city to meet and hurry on the column which as yet had only worked its weary way into the region below Bleecker Street; on his route he encountered a portion of Wadsworth's command, and Scott with his retreating forces from Stuyvesant Cove.

For a complete view of the stirring scenes of this day, distances must be considered.¹ A ride from City Hall to Murray Hill, not less than three miles, occupied as much time then as now, and it was not yet noon. Officers only were mounted; the soldiers were all on foot,

Colonel Selden at the time of his death, has been in the possession of the Selden family one hundred and eighty or more years. It is now the property of William Ely Selden.

¹ See map (Vol. II. 68). Few of the cross-roads mentioned in the text were then public thoroughfares, which accounts for their omission upon the maps of the period; but nearly all the localities of interest, with their relative positions, can be traced with the eye. The authorities upon which the text describing the incidents of the 15th of September, 1776, is based, number not less than eighty; of these are the various accounts from the pens of participants and eye-witnesses, many letters having recently been exhumed from family archives. The "Kip's Bay Affair," with the light of a century turned strongly upon it, resolves itself into a justifiable retreat from an overwhelming force; and the "panic," which has furnished opportunity for writers and artists to embellish fiction until it has become grotesque, seems to have been the natural result of extraordinary exposure. As for the story of Washington's wrath, there is little doubt of his having given expression to language more forcible than gentle as he came upon his demoralized troops; but there is not a shadow of evidence that he threw his hat upon the ground, or exposed himself to sharp-shooters, much less to the bayonets of the enemy.

wagons were insufficient for the transfer of families, those in use were indiscriminately overladen, and the cannon were chiefly dragged by hand. The day was excessively hot, the roads were darkened by clouds of dust, the people as well as the soldiers on the march had been without sleep for twenty-four or more hours, and deaths occurred from time to time by the wayside from over-exertion and the drinking of water from cool springs.

Aaron Burr, Putnam's aide-de-camp, dashed towards the city in advance of the general to extricate Silliman, who protested that retreat was out of the question. Knox was of the same mind, and disposed to fight to the bitter end. Alexander Hamilton, with his company of New York artillery men, was eager to defend the post. But Burr claimed to know every inch of ground on Manhattan Island, and was confident he could pilot the party through farms and by-ways, and they finally started. Nash, who was present, writes, "The enemy headed us so that we who were left were obliged to make our escape as well as we could, but they did not take many of our men." Overtaking the column, now comprising about three thousand five hundred persons, and stretching two miles, Silliman's party were formed into a rear-guard. Putnam, Silliman, and other officers were on the constant lookout—riding furiously from front to rear and from rear to front—at the same time stimulating an effort for increased speed by encouraging words and their own coolness and intrepidity. The slight, graceful figure of Burr was also everywhere conspicuous. He conducted the train to a road west of Eighth Avenue from Fifteenth Street north, and keeping in the woods, often countermarching, or crooking through irregular lanes to avoid being discovered by the shipping in the North River, the long slowly moving train actually passed Murray Hill within a half mile of the British army as they were complacently eating their midday meal; the men on the grass in the trim grounds of the Murrays, and the officers, Howe, Clinton, Cornwallis, and Governor Tryon, partaking of generous hospitalities within the mansion. Mrs. Murray, the mother of Lindley Murray, the grammarian, was personally known to Tryon; he introduced the British generals, who, charmed with the luxury of her cool parlors and the tempting wine with which she bountifully supplied them, loitered in gay and trivial conversation for two hours. Thatcher, relating the incident in his journal, says, "It has since become almost a common saying among our officers, that Mrs. Murray saved this part of the American army." As soon as the second division of the British under Percy had crossed from Long Island, and could support the troops posted at "Inclenberg," a detachment was sent to capture a corps of Americans descried about three miles

distant, near McGowan's Pass, which proved to be the regiments of Mifflin and Smallwood sent by Washington to cover Putnam's escape, and who retired towards Harlem Heights as the enemy approached. The column of Putnam, coming down through the Hoagland farm, passed the junction of the Bloomingdale and Kingsbridge roads, as these British troops appeared on the right. Humphrey says: "So critical indeed was our situation and so narrow the gap by which we escaped, that the instant we had passed, the enemy closed it by extending their line from river to river." They attacked the tired column with spirit, but Silliman with three hundred men beat them off. In this skirmish Hamilton, who had marched the whole distance in the rear of the line, aided materially with his cannon; Sergeant Hoyt, in charge of the extreme rear gun, dragged it to an eminence by the roadside and fired it continuously until the whole train had safely rounded the point of danger. Hoyt was one of those in the last boat (discovered and fired upon by the British) in the notable Long Island retreat, and was chosen for this post of exceptional peril because of his unflinching nerve and heroic mettle.

It began to rain towards evening, and then a cold wind came up; and when at a late hour Putnam's party reached the encampment on the heights, "above the Eight mile stone" they were not only worn out with the march of over thirteen winding miles, but drenched and chilled to the bone. They had lost knapsacks, baggage, hope, and confidence, and, grieving for the artillery and costly works sacrificed, made their beds upon the wet ground, the threatening clouds their only covering.

Washington remained at the Apthorpe Mansion striving to cover his anxiety under an aspect of stoical serenity until the enemy were in sight, then rode to the Morris House on Harlem Heights. The British soon stretched from Horn's Hook (Ninety-second Street) to McGowan's Pass, and across the beautiful hills to the northwest, their left flank resting on the Hudson. Howe and his officers rode leisurely up from Murray Hill and found a well-cooked supper awaiting them at Apthorpe's; while their warriors borrowed sheep and geese at random and made themselves comfortable for the night. The city meanwhile was occupied by a division of the army of King George. Ferry-boats had crossed to the Jersey shore during the day, many persons escaping by that source who were unable to leave with Putnam; among these was Hugh Gaine, editor, compositor, and publisher of *The New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, who, with his press, took quarters in Newark, New Jersey; and citizens in hiding returned to New York by the same means to welcome the British. At evening the passage was closed. Thus Manhattan slept.

Before daylight next morning Washington was in the saddle. His

first important act was to send Knowlton with a picked company of one hundred and twenty men to learn the position of, and, if practicable, take the enemy's advanced guard. The second was to visit the various encampments to "put matters in a proper situation" should the British come on as expected.¹ Knowlton from near headquarters descended the ravine, now Audubon Park, leading his men along the low shore of the river to Matjte Davits Fly,² and beyond into the woods that skirted the bank west of Vanderwater's Heights, until parallel with the left flank of the vanguard of the enemy under General Leslie. Here he was discovered at sunrise, and attacked by four hundred of the British light infantry; he allowed them to come within six rods before giving orders to fire, and after eight rounds apiece, he commanded a retreat which decoyed the adversary, in the language of Sir Henry Clinton, "into a scrape."³ One of Knowlton's officers wrote, "we retreated two miles and a half and then made a stand, and sent for reinforcements which we soon received, and drove the dogs near three miles." There is no discrepancy between this statement and the report of De Heister, who said, "They retired into their entrenchments to entice the pursuers deeper into the wood."

Confusion as to localities has resulted from the blending of two distinct encounters in the descriptions of the battle of Harlem Heights. The first was at sunrise, occupying but a few minutes. The second commenced between ten and eleven o'clock in the forenoon and continued nearly four hours.⁴ It was the former to which Lewis Morris referred in writing to his father: "Monday morning an advanced party, Colonel Knowlton's regiment, was attacked by the enemy upon a height a little to the southwest of Dayes' Tavern." And it was the second and chief battle which the pen-and-ink sketch furnished the Convention shortly afterward, and subsequently presented by John Sloss Hobart to Rev. Dr. Stiles, President of Yale College, describes as "beginning near the Ten mile stone and ending near the Eight mile stone." Washington's headquarters at the Morris house was three and one half miles from

¹ *Washington's Letters*.

² Matjte Davits Fly was a well-known public landmark (a meadow,) which for a century had been mentioned in charters, patents, deeds, and Acts of the Legislature, and laid down with the utmost precision by actual survey.

³ Manuscript note in Sir Henry Clinton's private copy of *Stedman's History of the American War*, in possession of John Carter Brown, Providence, R. I.; *De Lancey's Notes to Jones's History*; *Donop's Account*; *Journal of De Heister*; *Baurmeister's Report*; *Stewart's Sketches of the Highlanders*; *Sir William Howe to Lord Germain*, Sept. 21, 1776.

⁴ *General Gold Selleck Silliman to his wife*, Sept. 17, 1776 (original in possession of his granddaughter, Mrs. Oliver P. Hubbard), *Jones's History of New York in the Revolution*, Vol. I. *De Lancey's Notes*, 606, 607. *July*, 57.

Howe's headquarters at the Apthorpe Mansion. The army of each was thrown out in front for a mile and three quarters, Washington's advanced guard under Greene being in the woods above, and his pickets upon the "Point of Rocks" which overlooked Manhattanville, while Howe's were upon Vanderwater's Heights, opposite. During the interval between the two battles the light infantry of Leslie were silently pushing their way after Knowlton along the low shore of the Hudson.

"As yet no fortifications had been erected across Harlem Heights," wrote Siliman, — and also George Clinton, — "except a mere beginning near the Morris house, and three small redoubts about half-way to Manhattanville"; from the first gray dawn he had a large force of men employed at this latter point with spades and shovels throwing earth into the trenches; ere night-fall lines were completed across the island, and subsequently strengthened. Washington galloped to Greene's encampment, where, seated



Sketch of Battle-Field, Harlem Heights.

(showing the relative position of the two hostile armies of Great Britain and America, Sept. 16, 1776. Compiled from the most authentic sources. By the author.) [Topography traced from Colton's map.]

rise he heard the firing between Knowlton and Leslie, and saw large bodies

of the enemy upon "the high ground opposite." He returned to the Morris House and hurriedly breakfasted. Uneasy about Knowlton, he sent scouts for information, when presently that handsome, animated young officer appeared in his presence asking for reinforcements to capture his pursuers. Almost simultaneously one hundred of the British light infantry, who had clambered up the steep close in Knowlton's footsteps, came out upon the plain and blew their bugle-horns, as usual after a fox-chase. They had at the same time left three hundred men concealed in the woods on the river-bank. Washington ordered Major Leitch with a detachment of Virginia riflemen to join Knowlton and his rangers, and, with Reed as a guide, "to steal" around to the rear of the foe by their right flank, while another detachment was to feign an attack in front. There was a hollow way, or ravine, coursed by a winding stream, between the two hostile parties, not far from the Ten mile stone, terminating at Audubon Park. The British upon the plain (some two hundred feet above the Hudson), seeing so few coming out to fight, ran jubilantly down the slope towards them and took post behind a rail-fence, firing briskly. As the Americans pushed forward they left the fence, retiring up the hill. The rattle of musketry soon brought their reserve corps to the rescue; and just then, by some mistake or failure to obey orders to the letter, never satisfactorily explained, the spirited charge of the rangers and riflemen began upon the flank of the enemy, instead of the rear, as intended. Both Knowlton and Leitch fell within ten minutes, near each other, and within a few paces of Reed, whose horse was shot from under him.¹ But the tide was turning, and the British giving way in an open-field conflict. Washington reinforced his gallant soldiers with detachments from the nearest regiments, Griffith's, Richardson's, Nixon's, Douglass's, and others, and the very men who had been so severely criticised for running from Kip's Bay the day before redeemed themselves from the odium by deeds of noble daring.² Putnam, Reed, and other prominent officers took command, charging upon the British and driving them from the plain; they fled through a piece of woods, becoming scattered and fighting from behind trees and bushes, and then into a buckwheat field. By this time it was nearly noon.

The British officers, meanwhile, were on the alert, and troops were for-

¹ "Knowlton fell," said Aaron Burr, "about One Hundred and Fifty-third Street and Eleventh Avenue." *Battle of Harlem Heights*, by Chancellor Erastus C. Benedict.

² "The enemy (Americans) possessed great advantage from the circumstance of engaging within a half-mile of their entrenched camp whence they could be supplied with fresh troops as often as occasion required." *Stedman's History of the American War*; *Jay*, 80, 81. This accords with the well-known fact that the greater portion of Washington's troops were encamped on the morning of September 16, in the vicinity of the Morris House.

warded on the trail of Leslie, whose disappearance in the early morning with his light infantry had caused no little solicitude. At the sound of guns on Harlem Heights, Howe sent other reinforcements of Highlanders and Hessians on the double quick to their relief. An Englishman wrote: "At eleven we were instantly trotted about three miles (without a halt to draw breath) to support a battalion of light infantry which had imprudently advanced so far without support as to be in great danger of being cut off." One thousand of the reinforcing troops encountered Greene's two brigades, a sharp fight ensuing not far from his encampment;¹ others proceeded further north on the low shore before mounting the heights, and joined their comrades in the buckwheat field just as the sun crossed the meridian. Through "more succors from each party" the battle was here maintained for nearly two hours with an obstinacy rarely equaled in the history of modern warfare. The enemy finally "broke and ran," and were driven and chased (the Americans mocking their bugles) "above a mile and a half" wrote Reed, "nearly two miles" wrote Knox, taking shelter in an orchard finally near the Eight mile stone, when Washington prudently sent Tilghman to order the victorious soldiers back to the lines. Thomas Jones, known as "the fighting Quaker of Lafayette's army," said, "we drove the British up the road and down Break Neck Hill, which was the reason they called it Break Neck Hill."²

This battle, the most brilliant and important in historical results of any fought during the Revolutionary War, was evidently a part of the British plan to drive the Americans from the island before they should have time to construct defenses. The blunder of Leslie in beginning the battle too soon, and in the wrong place, occasioned the succession of British failures which furnished the Americans food for self-confidence until peace was proclaimed. Washington's army on Harlem Heights numbered, on the 16th, scarcely eight thousand, and yet four thousand nine hundred were engaged—according to a careful estimate from re-

¹ *Greene to Governor Cooke* of Rhode Island, Sept. 17, 1776; *Jay*, 55; *Smallwood to the Maryland Convention*, Oct. 12, 1776; *Beatty to his father*, *William Beatty* of Maryland, Sept. 18, 1776; *Shaw's Journal*, 20; *Nash Journal*, 33, 34; *Samuel Chase to General Gates*, Sept. 21, 1776; *Nicholas Fish to John McKesson*, Secretary of the Convention, Sept. 19, 1776; *John Gooch to Thomas Fayerweather*, Sept. 23, 1776.

² *Humphreys Jones, son of Thomas Jones, to Chancellor Erastus C. Benedict*, Feb. 8, 1878. This letter is an important link in the chain of evidence which locates the battle of Harlem Heights. The distances named in the contemporaneous correspondence are also notably significant. Silliman wrote: "The fire continued very heavy from the musketry and from field-pieces about two hours, in which time our people drove the regulars back from post to post *about a mile and a half*." Had the battle occurred south of Manhattanville, and the enemy been driven *a mile and a half*, the Americans would have been in the immediate vicinity of the Apthorpe Mansion!

ports of officers in each detachment. The British were superior in numbers, not less than five or six thousand of their choicest troops, with seven field-pieces, being in the action — while eight or ten thousand men were in arms ready to push on.¹ It was an irregular battle from the very character of the picturesque, undulating, wooded heights, with their rough, rocky, and almost inaccessible sides,—natural buttresses, supporting plains, ridges, heavily shaded ravines, and small hills upon hills. Large bodies could move considerable distances without being seen. The British plunged in wherever there was an opening. The combatants were in scouts and squads, in battalions and in brigades. They fought in the woods, from behind trees, bushes, rocks, and fences, and they fought on the plain and in the road. The battle raged from about One Hundred and Fifty-fifth Street nearly to Manhattanville. The enemy, according to Baurmeister, lost seventy killed and two hundred wounded. The Americans, twenty-five killed and fifty-four wounded. Henshaw, in a letter to his wife, places the American loss at one hundred; others have claimed that only fifteen lives were lost. Knowlton was deeply mourned. He was an officer who would have been an honor to any country. His last words were, "Have we driven the enemy?"² Leitch, one of Virginia's worthiest sons, survived his wounds until October 1.

The success of this day turned the current of affairs. Henceforward the Americans believed in themselves. With their first opportunity, they had fought the enemy upon equal footing; and had virtually defeated the entire plan of the British commanders with regard to northward and eastward conquest. Faces brightened with joy, sinking hearts leaped tumultuously with hope, and men worked in the trenches with a vigor that spread like a contagion. At evening the armies occupied the same relative positions as before the battle, the British upon Bloomingdale (or, as more generally called, Vanderwater's) Heights, and the Americans upon Harlem Heights, their pickets almost within speaking distance

¹ These facts are well authenticated, and were there no other evidence, are sufficient to preclude the possibility of the battle having been fought upon Vanderwater's Heights, since Washington in his weak and dispirited condition would never have been so indiscreet as to have sent half his available forces across (what would have proved a death-trap for every man in case of defeat and retreat) the Manhattanville hollow way, and attempted to maintain a contest within the British lines under such overwhelming disadvantage.

² Colonel Thomas Knowlton was born in West Boxford, Massachusetts, November 30, 1740. He was the third son of William Knowlton, who purchased four hundred acres of land in Ashford, Connecticut, whither the family removed during the boyhood of Thomas. He enlisted in the army at fifteen, during the French War, and was present at the capture of Ticonderoga and at the reduction of Havana. He was the companion of Putnam through many dangers and achievements, and specially distinguished himself by his gallantry at the battle of Bunker Hill. Leitch was buried by his side.

("three hundred yards") of each other across the Manhattanville valley.¹ And thus they remained for upwards of three weeks.

Howe was deeply mortified. His general orders next morning rebuked Leslie for imprudence.² The "affair" was mentioned as one "of outposts" and no detailed account of it was given. It was none the less a battle however, and so esteemed at the time by all concerned. And it was not only the first victory of the Americans in a well-contested action with the flower of the British soldiery, coloring all the future of America, but it added materially to the caution which clogged Howe's subsequent movements. He regarded Harlem Heights henceforward as invulnerable. He wrote to the ministry, "the enemy is too strongly posted to be attacked in front, and innumerable difficulties are in the way of turning him upon either side." He took ample time for consideration, and then made elaborate arrangements to throw himself in the rear of Washington by way of Westchester.³

¹ Grayden's statement, that "our most advanced picket towards New York at the 'Point of Rocks' was only separated from that of the enemy by a valley a few hundred yards over," is in harmony with what Harris writes: "After landing in York Island, we drove the Americans into their works beyond the eighth mile-stone from New York, and took post opposite to them, placed our picquets," etc. Thus from the evening of the 15th, Vanderwater's Heights was practically British ground.

² *From MS. Order-Book of British Foot-Guards*, Sept. 17, 1776. "The commander-in-chief disapproves the conduct of the light company in pursuing the Rebels without proper discretion and without support." *From Donop's Report*, "General Leslie had made a great blunder in sending these brave fellows so far in advance, in the woods without support." *From Baurmeister's Report*, "The English Light Infantry advanced too quickly on the retreat of the enemy, and at Bruckland Hill fell into an ambuscade of four thousand men, and if the Grenadiers, and especially the Hessian yagers, had not arrived in time to help them not one of these brave light troops would have escaped."

³ The various theories advanced by distinguished writers concerning the site of the battle of Harlem Heights seem to have been the result of peculiar ambiguity in the accounts hastily penned at the time. There were then few landmarks to date from; in speaking of hills and hollow ways there were several between the Morris House and the Apthorpe Mansion; thus it would be hopeless to undertake to locate them from words alone. It is only by a critical comparison of the fifty or more narrations of the events of that day by those present, using each individual scrap of information, however insignificant in itself, to amplify or explain some other, that the missing links are all embodied, and the mosaic assumes an intelligible and authentic form. No one engaged can see the whole of a battle. Each writer registered, as far as he went, portions of the truth, as it appeared to his view. All agree as to distances. The sketch illustrates the topography of the region, and will aid the reader in locating the battle-field. Authorities compared include, *Hon. John Jay's Commemorative Oration*; *Appendix to Jay's Oration*, by William Kelby, Assistant Librarian of N. Y. Hist. Soc., embracing contemporaneous written evidence from thirty-four Americans, eight British, and five Hessian pens; *Johnson's Campaign of 1776 around New York and Brooklyn*; *Beauregard's History of the United States*; *Force*; *Sparks*; *Irving*; *Stedman*; *Lossing*; *Dawson*; *Dwight*; *Miss Booth*; *Lushington's Life of Lord Harris*; *Humphrey's Life of Putnam*; *Heath's Memoirs*; *Penedick's Battle of Harlem Heights*, and many others.

The city meanwhile was transformed. Houses of persons disloyal to the king were marked with a broad R; all rebel property was confiscated to the government and many houses belonging to individuals who had had no part nor share in the Revolution were also marked. This last outrage was supposed to have been the work of parties without authority, with personal reasons, but no redress could be obtained. Jones says, "the soldiers broke open the City Hall and plundered it of the College Library, its Mathematical and Philosophical apparatus, and a number of valuable pictures which had been removed there by way of safety when the rebels converted the College (Columbia) into a hospital. They also plundered it of all the books belonging to the subscription library, as also of a valuable library which belonged to the corporation, the whole consisting of not less than sixty thousand volumes.¹ This was done with impunity, and the books publicly hawked about the town for sale by private soldiers, their trulls and doxeys. I saw an Annual Register neatly bound and lettered, sold for a dram, Freeman's Reports for a shilling, and Coke's 1st Institutes, or what is usually called Coke upon Littleton, was offered to me for 1s. 6d. I saw in a public house upon Long Island nearly forty books bound and lettered, in which were affixed the arms of Joseph Murray under pawn from one dram to three drams each.² To do justice even to rebels, let it here be mentioned that though they were in full possession of New York for nearly seven months, and had in it at times above forty thousand soldiers, neither of these libraries were ever meddled with. No orders from the British commanders discountenanced these unmilitary and unjustifiable proceedings." Every available shelter was in demand for the accommodation of the garrison. Families were compelled to be hospitable, whether agreeable or otherwise. The widow of Thomas Clarke remained at her pretty country-seat between Twentieth and Twenty-third Streets, near Tenth Avenue, having been advised "to stick to her property." Her distress and alarm may be imagined, as a party of Hessians were quartered in and about her quiet home. The commanding officer, however, was a gentleman as well as a nobleman,³ and proved so agreeable that he became a favorite with the

¹ See Vol. I. 532, 647.

² See Vol. I. 599, 608, 636, 640. Joseph Murray was a lawyer who made a large fortune in New York, and was a prominent and useful citizen. His wife was the first cousin of the Earl of Halifax, and daughter of Governor Cosby of New York.

³ The military services of Germany and Austria are the most aristocratic in Europe in 1876, as they were in 1776. None but nobles could hold commissions under any German Sovereign. The officers were all noblemen. As far as birth was concerned the Hessian officers as a whole in Howe's army were superior to the English officers as a whole. A rich Englishman could buy a commission for his son for the express purpose of making the boy a gentleman.

family. He told Mrs. Clarke's daughters that he heard of their dread of his coming to the house, which made him the more anxious "to prove the injustice of their apprehensions." These young ladies were, the wife of the Right Rev. Bishop Moore and her sisters.

Ere the week which had opened with the roar of artillery came to an end, New York was in flames. About one o'clock on the morning of Saturday, the 21st, a fire broke out near Whitehall Slip. A fresh gale was blowing from the south, and the weather was dry, thus it spread with inconceivable rapidity. It coiled itself round building after building like a serpent greedy of its prey. Houses and churches disappeared like dissolving views. The panic-stricken and distracted inhabitants were almost as terrible to behold as the roaring conflagration. Blazing fire-brands leaped along in advance of the lurid column, and little fires were breaking out everywhere. People ran along the streets to see, and the fire went over their heads and flanked them.¹ Even the red heavens seemed also on fire. The British, maddened by the supposition that it was the work of the Americans, visited the most revolting cruelties upon persons who were trying to save property, killed some with the bayonet, tossed others into the flames, and one who, it is said, was a royalist, they hanged by the heels until he died. The wind veering as the great fire-tempest swept up the east side of Broadway, near Beaver Street, it crossed, and presently Trinity Church was a blackened heap of ruins, together with the parsonage, charity school, and Lutheran Church. A number of citizens went upon the flat roof of St. Paul's Church, and extinguished the flakes of fire as they fell, thus saving the beautiful edifice. All the houses west of Broadway to the North River were consumed, the fire being checked only when it reached the College grounds. The map will show the reader its course and extent. Howe attributed the calamity to a conspiracy. It was generally attributed to incendiaries, and some two

In Germany the youth must possess the aristocratic prefix of "Von" or "De" to aspire to a commission. The Hessian officers in America were polite, courteous, well-bred, and educated, almost without exception. *De Lacey's Mount Washington and its Capture; Mag. Amer. Hist.*, Vol. I. 76. The property of Mrs. Clarke was called the Chelsea farm. The mansion and a part of the land came into possession of Bishop Moore by the will of Mrs. Clarke in 1802. It subsequently belonged to Clement C. Moore, the son of the Bishop.

¹ "If one was in one street and looked about, the fire broke out already in another street above; and thus it raged all the night, and till about noon." *Diary of Rev. Mr. Shewkirk* (pastor of the Moravian Church, Fulton Street), *Saturday, Sept. 21. Barber's New York; David Grim's Account, Val. Man.* 1866; *Bancroft's Hist. U. S.*; *Frank Moore's Diary of the Revolution; Freeman's Journal*, Oct. 5. 1776; *Dunlap*, 11, 78, 79: *Howe to Germain*, Sept. 23, 1776; *Tryon to Germain*, Sept. 24, 1776; *John Sloss Hobart to the New York Convention*, Sept. 25, 1776; *Colonel Hartley to General Gales*, Oct. 10, 1776; *Rev. Dr. Charles Inglis to Dr. Hind*, Oct. 31, 1776.



Map of Great Fire 1776.

hundred persons were arrested upon suspicion and incarcerated. Every person who was known to have talked inconsiderately was seized. Examinations, however, elicited no proofs of guilt, and one after another was liberated. The origin of the fire was subsequently traced to a midnight carousal in a small public house of low character near White-Slip. It is said that the night being chilly, the half drunken beings brought in some boards or rails, and kindled the ends in a large old-fashioned fire-place; the fire creeping along the dry timber soon communicated with the floor. The sequel has been told.

As the sun was declining behind the smoking and still burning ruins, towards evening of the same day, Nathan Hale was brought into New York a captive spy, and taken before Lord Howe at the Beekman Mansion¹ on the height near Fifty-first Street and East River, the elegant

¹ See Sketch of Mansion. Vol. I., 569.

home of James Beekman, who had fled with his family into the country to share the fortunes of America. Hale was a young captain of twenty-one, of great beauty of character, a Yale graduate, and, like André, already betrothed. He volunteered for the dangerous duty, went from Harlem to Norwalk, Connecticut, and in the garb of a school-teacher, crossed the Sound in a sloop and plunged boldly into the enemy's country. He crossed into New York and returned to Brooklyn, and had reached the shore and was waiting to step aboard the craft for Norwalk, when it is said he was betrayed by a relative, who recognized him in a Huntington tavern. He was tried, according to tradition, in the greenhouse of the Beekman Mansion; he frankly admitted his rank in Washington's army, said he had been a spy, and had been successful in his search for knowledge, and calmly received his sentence to be executed on the following morning at dawn. He was denied a clergyman, and a Bible; and the letters penned to his mother, his sister, and his lady-love, through the kindness of an officer in furnishing him with pen and ink, were torn up by the brutal Cunningham. His last words were, "I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country." The story of his heroic death soon became known throughout the army, and inspired his comrades like a victory.

On the same date (September 21) also passed away Lieutenant-Governor Cadawalleder Colden, at his country-seat in Flushing, Long Island, at the advanced age of eighty-nine.

The Tuesday following, five hundred prisoners of war sent from Quebec by Carleton, on parole, were landed at Elizabethtown point. It was near midnight, and the bright full moon shone from a cloudless sky. Daniel Morgan was of the number. As he sprang from the bow of the boat he fell to the earth as if to clasp it, exclaiming "O, my country!" He had been offered a commission in the British army if he would go over to that side, and had resented it as an insult. Upon hearing of his return, Washington hastened his exchange, and recommended his promotion.

It was not all quiet at Harlem Heights (henceforth oftener called Mount Washington) although both armies were apparently inactive. There were perpetual skirmishes and alarms. In a well-planned but unsuccessful effort to recapture Randall's Island, Thomas Henley of Charlestown, Massachusetts, one of the most promising of officers, lost his life. The utmost industry prevailed in the matter of fortification. Three lines of intrenchments were thrown across the heights, besides several batteries and redoubts at various points overlooking Harlem and fronting the enemy. Fort Washington was converted into a fortress of great strength, upon the line of One Hundred Eighty-third Street, two hundred and thirty

feet above the Hudson. It was opposite Fort Lee (Constitution) on the Jersey shore. Two hundred men were employed vigorously loading vessels with stone and sinking them at this point to obstruct the passage of British ships into the upper Hudson. For two weeks grain and hay in large quantities lay unmolested upon Harlem Flats. Both armies looked at and coveted it. Finally Washington sent several hundred men with wagons to garner it in; a covering party approached the enemy, who manned their lines, anticipating an attack. The two hostile forces stood and blinked at each other, but neither fired a shot. Meanwhile the business was accomplished; and both parties retired laughing within their lines.

Lord and General Howe took occasion meanwhile to publish another declaration to the inhabitants of America on the subject of their grievances, promising in the king's name a revision of his instructions, and pardons and favors to all who would return to their allegiance. They were disappointed in its effects. The men were fewer upon this side of the water disposed to join the British army than had been represented. At the same time the cunning scheme created no little despondency and discontent in the various districts along the Hudson, and filled the minds of the American leaders with apprehension. Robert R. Livingston wrote from the Convention, "We are constantly engaged in the detection of treasons, yet plots multiply upon us daily, and we have reason every moment to dread an open rebellion." William A. Duer wrote from the same body, "The committee to which I belong make daily fresh discoveries of the infernal practices of our enemies to excite insurrections among the people of New York." Washington appealed to Congress on the subject of short enlistments, which was demoralizing in the extreme, and urged the reorganization of the army on a more substantial basis. The strange, whimsical, scoffing Lee at the same moment was abusing Congress for refusing to give him a separate command on the Delaware—he was ordered to Washington's camp instead. He obeyed, tardily, writing to Gates shortly after, "Congress seems to stumble at every step. I do not mean one or two of the cattle but the whole stable. In my opinion General Washington is much to blame in not menacing them with resignation, unless they refrain from unhinging the army by their absurd interference." Lord Stirling, about the same time cheered the camp at Harlem Heights by his presence, an exchange of prisoners having been successfully negotiated.

Notwithstanding the labor expended upon obstructions in the Hudson, three British ships passed them safely on the morning of the 9th.
Oct. 9. On the 12th Howe's army was in motion. Men-of-war sailed up

the East River, and flat-bottomed boats with bright scarlet burdens floated upon the bosom of the shining waters. The landing was at Frog's Neck,¹ practically a tide island, which was then connected with the main by a bridge over a mill-dam, which, built by Caleb Heathcoate in 1695, stood until February 1875, when it was accidentally burned. "Had they pushed their imaginations to discover the worst place," wrote Duer, "they could not have succeeded better." Hand and his brave riflemen, stationed the other side of the bridge, pulled up the planks, and Prescott, of Bunker Hill renown, with his command behind breastworks hastily thrown up, resisted every attempt of the enemy to cross; relieved from time to time by other regiments, the Americans actually prevented Howe from marching beyond the cover of his shipping. After losing five days, he re-embarked his troops and crossed to Pell's Neck.

On the 16th a council of war at the Morris House pronounced it impracticable to blockade the Sound, or even the North River; thus the only method of preventing the British from cutting off Washington's communication with the country was an immediate northern movement towards the strong grounds in the upper part of Westchester County. Detailing a garrison for the holding of Fort Washington, the march began next morning. Lee was sent forward to Valentine's Hill, and one brigade was folded behind another, dragging guns by hand and carrying luggage on the shoulder, keeping along the ridge of high ground to the west of the Bronx River, and throwing up a continuous chain of intrenchments with each day's progress.

On the 18th, the whole British army were in motion. At East Chester a sharp skirmish occurred; the light infantry advancing towards the Hudson were valiantly faced by Glover's brigade from behind stone walls, and retired after losing several men. Howe's troops halted for the night upon their arms near New Rochelle. The British chieftain remained here two days, studying the geography of Westchester, and making every arrangement for advance with military precision; thus he lost his prey. He discovered and captured two thousand bushels of salt which had been stored in the New Rochelle Church, and plundered the inhabitants indiscriminately of horses, cattle, and grain. On the 21st he occupied the heights north of New Rochelle on both sides of the road leading to Scarsdale. The Americans were at the same date nearly abreast. They had the advantage of the shortest distance and the strongest ground. "We press him (Howe) close to Sound," wrote Tilghman,

¹ Frog's Neck is a corruption of Throg's Neck, itself an abbreviation of Throckmorton's Neck, so called from its first English settlers.

“from which he has made no westing in the sea phrase, and if he make much more easting, and endeavors to stretch across, he will need as large an army as that of Xerxes to form a line.” Both armies were deficient in the means of transportation. Howe was hindered by the destruction of bridges and the felling of trees across the roads. It took him as long to overcome these obstacles as it did Washington to throw up stone-walls and cover them with earth. Howe was in a perpetual state of alarm also, for he was not blind to the generalship of his adversary. He marched in solid columns, and all his encampments were well guarded with artillery. On the 25th he advanced within four miles of White Plains and again halted. Washington had reached and fortified certain high points in that village, intending to make a stand, not so much that a battle was courted as to draw the enemy forward and waste his time. The 27th was marked by an unsuccessful attack upon Fort Washington, by Lord Percy, aided by the ships in the Hudson.

The morning of the 28th saw Howe's troops moving forward, intending apparently to fight a great battle. Sir Henry Clinton and the brave De Heister commanded the two chief divisions. At Hart's Corner they drove back a party of Americans under Spencer who had been sent out to delay their progress. When within three fourths of a mile, they could see Washington's army in order of battle, upon chosen ground, behind two parallel lines of intrenchments, awaiting their approach with an air of easy self-confidence. Howe carefully measured his chances; should he carry one line there would remain another; if he scaled both, the northern hills would provide for the retreating foe — “the rebel army could not be destroyed.” But having come so far he must do something, hence he valiantly attacked a feeble outpost.

Chatterton Hill, west of the Bronx, and less than a mile to the southwest of Washington's main army, covered the Tarrytown road; it was fortified, and occupied by a force of about fourteen hundred men under McDougall. Howe directed four thousand of his warriors to dislodge them, while the rest of his army seated themselves on the ground as lookers-on. The scene was in full view of the American army. An ineffectual cannonade was commenced from the east side of the Bronx; then, presently, a red-coated division waded through the shallow river, and struggled through a deadly shower of bullets up the rocky steep. For fifteen minutes they met a determined resistance, but when two fresh regiments attacked his flank, as well as front, McDougall, still preserving his communications, conducted his party safely over the Bronx bridge, and by the road to the American lines. Some eighty were taken prisoners, the whole loss not exceeding one hundred. The British lost double that number.

The acquisition of the hill was of no consequence to Howe after all his trouble. It really enfeebled him by dividing his forces. The day was waning, the men were fatigued, and no attempt was made to pursue McDougal or fortify the post. The whole British army lay that night upon their arms in order of battle. The next morning it rained. Howe watched the skies, waiting for fair weather. Washington occupied the day in removing the sick and his stores to the hills, some two miles north, in his rear, where he was also throwing up strong works. The 30th was unfavorable for Howe's progress, and favorable for Washington's plans. Another drenching rain on the 31st, and Howe still remained inactive. That night Washington retired to the new position he had chosen, which could be more easily defended than that in the village of White Plains.

On the 5th of November Howe suddenly broke up his encampment in front of Washington's lines and moved towards Dobb's Ferry. He had, prior to this, ordered Baron Von Knyphausen from New Rochelle to Kingsbridge, the American garrison at that post retiring to Fort Washington as he appeared. It was a puzzle to the Americans whether Howe intended to penetrate New Jersey and march to Philadelphia, or embark in vessels on the Hudson and fall upon their rear. A council of war determined to throw an army into the Jerseys and secure Peekskill. As for Fort Washington, it was retained on account of its strategic importance, and to aid Fort Lee, opposite, in blockading the passage of the river.

But there was a traitor in that stronghold. William Demont, the adjutant-general of Robert Magaw, commandant of the post, passed undiscovered, on the night of November 2, into the British camp of Earl Percy, carrying plans of Fort Washington, with complete information as to the works and the garrison.¹ Percy despatched a messenger with the news in all haste to Howe at White Plains, who, seeing how he could capture an important fortress, without much risk, and thus control the Hudson and the country beyond, started without a moment's delay, reaching Dobb's Ferry on the 6th. The next day he sent artillery to Knyphausen at Kingsbridge, and placed batteries in position on the Westchester side of the Harlem River to cover selected points of attack. These and other active preparations went forward without exciting suspicion in the mind of Washington as to the real purpose of the enemy. On the 12th the whole British army moved to Kingsbridge and encamped along the high grounds of Harlem River, with his right on the Bronx and his left on the

¹ *DeLancey's Notes to Jones's History of New York during the Revolutionary War*, Vol. I., 626-636; *DeLancey's Mount Washington and its Capture*; *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, Vol. I.

Hudson. Four separate points of attack were planned, and subsequently carried out to the letter. On the night of the 14th thirty row-boats, chiefly from the fleet, passed undiscovered up the North River, through Spuyten Duyvel into the Harlem River, ready for use. On the morning of the 15th Howe summoned Magaw to surrender, under penalty of a storm (which by military law is liability to be put to the sword ^{Nov. 15.} if taken), and gave him two hours to decide. Magaw at once returned the brave answer, "I am determined to defend this post to the last extremity." Greene was at Fort Lee, and approved Magaw's action; he sent a messenger with the intelligence directly to Washington at Hackensack, where he was arranging for the reception of his army then crossing the Hudson at Peekskill, who rode in all haste to Fort Lee. Finding that Greene was at Mount Washington, he embarked in a row-boat to cross the river, although it was late in the evening, but met Greene and Putnam returning when about midway between the two shores; they told him that the troops were in high spirits, and would make a good defense; hence they together repaired to Fort Lee. Not one among the American officers dreamed that it was treason with which they were contending. Washington's judgment was opposed to holding Fort Washington, but, governed by the wishes of Congress and a vote of the council of war, he had hitherto left its evacuation to the discretion of Greene, who was on the spot watching the movements of the enemy, and confident that if matters came to the worst the garrison could be withdrawn.

The next morning was fair. At early dawn there were active movements upon every side of Mount Washington except the river side. The several British columns all pushed forward simultaneously. Lord Cornwallis climbed the steep heights with his force; Percy, accompanied ^{Nov. 16.} by Howe who animated the troops by acts of personal bravery, with a column from Harlem Flats, attacked the lower lines; Knyphausen led his men up the Heights through many grave obstacles; and other gallant officers went into the thickest of the fight. The Highlanders rushed up the steep just below the Morris House, and captured over one hundred and fifty Americans, detached to oppose them at that point. The greatest gallantry was exhibited on both sides. Magaw had made good disposition of his forces, considering the ground and the four attacks to be met. But the British, knowing precisely the strength they were to overcome, were provided with the means. As the troops were driven in from the various outer batteries, Magaw found the fort so crowded that further resistance could only involve great sacrifice of life, and, after much parley, signed articles of capitulation with Knyphausen and Colonel Patterson, the British

adjutant-general. In the midst of these negotiations a note from Washington, telling Magaw that if he could hold out till evening an effort would be made to bring off the garrison, was brought by Captain Gooch, who, crossing the Hudson in a small boat, ran up the steep, delivered the message, and, running through the fire of the Hessians, reached his craft and recrossed the river in safety. But it was too late. The terms of surrender had already assumed the form of an agreement. Thus were two thousand eight hundred and eighteen soldiers captured; four officers and fifty privates were among the killed, and ninety-three men were wounded. The British engaged in the battle numbered about eight thousand nine hundred; their loss has been variously estimated, but the total in killed and wounded was four hundred and fifty-eight.

Graydon, a captain in Cadwallader's regiment, one of the prisoners captured, writes, "Howe must have had a perfect knowledge of the ground we occupied." Sixteen years later, the traitor himself, in attempting to recover certain dues from the British government, described his treason over his own signature, stating, explicitly, that through the plans he furnished Lord Percy, "the fortress was taken by his Majesty's troops." This letter, dated London, January 16, 1792, authenticated beyond question, is now in possession of Edward Floyd De Lancey. It is possible that Howe might have moved against Fort Washington without this information, but his chances of success would have been as limited as Greene, Putnam, and Mercer predicted; even Washington, who was in consultation with these generals on the very morning of the battle, seems not to have been alarmed for the safety of the garrison. The losing of so many brave men was painfully disheartening; in addition to which forty-three guns, twenty-eight hundred muskets, four hundred thousand cartridges, fifteen barrels of gunpowder, several thousand shot and shell, and a large quantity of military stores, including "two hundred iron fraise of four hundred weight each, supposed to be intended to stop the navigation of the Hudson River," fell into the hands of the enemy.

Thus was Manhattan Island in complete possession of the British; and the king's fleet might furrow without molestation the Hudson, the East River, and the waters of the Sound.

Fort Lee was of no further importance to the Americans. Washington ordered its stores and guns removed at once, preparatory to its abandonment; this work was in progress and partially effected, when, during the stormy night of the 19th, Lord Cornwallis, with six thousand troops, crossed the Hudson some five miles above, the men dragging cannon by hand up a steep, narrow, rough road (for nearly half a mile), to the top of the palisades, and early in the morning of the 20th commenced

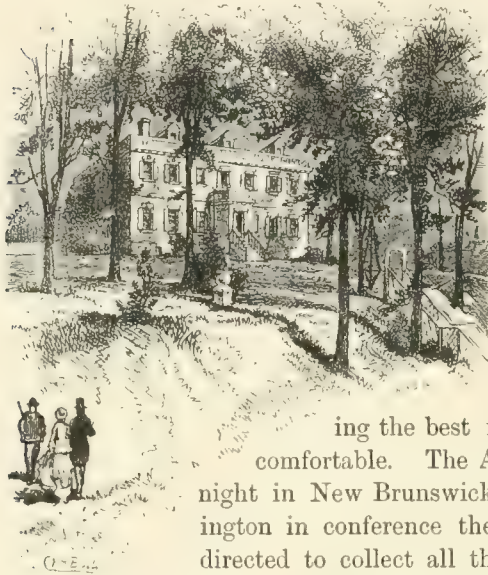
a brisk march southward, intending to enclose the garrison between the Hudson and Hackensack Rivers. A farmer brought the tidings to Greene. It was evident that the safety of the troops depended upon the celerity with which they could reach and cross the bridge to the Nov. 20. other side of the Hackensack, where Washington and his main army were encamped. The deplorable want of horses and wagons rendered the loss of much baggage and valuable stores inevitable. There was no help for it. Tents were left standing, and fires burning with the soldiers' breakfasts cooking over them. A large, flat, scorched stone is to this day pointed out as the oven where the bread was baking for the officers' table. The vanguard of the British reached the bridge almost as soon as the Americans, but the latter escaped, and Cornwallis did not esteem it worth while to attempt the crossing.

Washington posted troops along the western bank of the Hackensack, as a show of defense, while he moved his heavy artillery and stores farther inland. But he had no intention of remaining upon this level peninsula, hemmed in by two rivers, without an intrenching tool, and with hundreds of men destitute of shelter from the November elements. He wrote to Lee, at North Castle, to join him quickly with the troops under his command. Towards evening of the same day of hurry and excitement, an express from Heath (who was guarding the Highlands) came upon the scene with a letter for Washington. He met Reed, who, sitting on his horse, wrote to Lee upon a scrap of brown wrapping paper, "Dear General, we are flying before the British. I pray —" and the pencil broke. He added the remainder of the message verbally — "you to push and join us," and bade the horseman speed without loss of time to North Castle. The commission was faithfully executed, and the messenger related also what he had seen with his own eyes. On the 21st Washington Nov. 21. crossed the Passaic River; and on the 22d entered Newark, where he remained six days. The diminution of the army through the departure of soldiers whose terms of enlistment had expired was a source of dismay at this juncture. Washington was attended by less than thirty-five hundred troops. Mercer's flying camp was dissolving, his men having engaged to serve only until December 1. Lee did not come to the front as ordered. Schuyler, always on the alert to send help where it was wanted, responded to Washington's appeal to hasten from the North the troops of Pennsylvania and New Jersey to his assistance, but the march was long, their terms nearly expired, and they refused to re-enlist. Mifflin was dispatched to Pennsylvania, where he possessed great influence, to endeavor to raise reinforcements; and Reed was sent to Governor Livingston to press upon his notice the absolute need of unusual exertions to prevent the State of

New Jersey from being overrun by the enemy. Livingston made the most strenuous efforts to have militia in the field in time to oppose the invading force. He issued circulars and he wrote letters; but a panic had seized the mass of the population. Congress was at the same time writing to the North and South, entreating for troops, and begging blankets and woolen stockings for the freezing soldiers. Pennsylvania was

paralyzed by anarchy, and by profitless disputes concerning the new constitution. Yet Mifflin was destined to be successful in and about Philadelphia, and men were soon enlisting with enthusiasm.

On the 28th Washington left Newark, as the advanced guard of Cornwallis entered the city,—the British officers quartering themselves in the best houses and demand-



Home of
General Philip Schuyler, Albany.

ing the best furniture to make their rooms comfortable. The American army slept the same night in New Brunswick. Livingston was with Washington in conference the following morning, and was directed to collect all the boats on the Delaware for a distance of seventy miles above Philadelphia, and place them under a strong guard. The first day of December came, and also the British van, in full view upon the other side of the Raritan. The Americans broke down the bridge in the face of a heavy cannonade, which was answered by a spirited fire from the battery of Alexander Hamilton, while the barefooted, tattered American army quitted New Brunswick in haste, and marched by night to Princeton. The dazzling, warmly clad, and successful Englishmen seemed to be sweeping all before them; the inhabitants in vast numbers flocked to them for protection; and the Howes cunningly seized this opportunity to issue another proclamation, offering full pardon to all who would within sixty days appear before an officer of the crown and take the oath of submission to Royal authority.

It was now that Washington began to display his great moral and intellectual qualities to advantage. His mind seemed to expand with the darkness of the situation. The deeper the gloom, the brighter and the clearer his mental vision. Livingston had not yet been able to raise one

company of recruits in all New Jersey. Reed, while on his mission to the New Jersey government, sent his commission to Congress, through unwillingness to follow "the wretched remains of a broken army." The prospect of the censure he was likely to encounter induced him at the end of four days to retract his resignation; but Washington's affectionate confidence in him was forever impaired. A sarcastic and self-constituted rival was also unexpectedly revealed in Lee, whose neglect to obey orders in this emergency deprived Washington of the aid of a considerable number of soldiers upon whom he had counted with certainty. Men of influence were daily going over to Howe; the State of Maryland was willing to renounce the declaration of the Fourth of July for the sake of an accommodation with Great Britain; and it was rumored that Connecticut had appointed a committee to make peace with the king's commissioners. In Washington's own immediate family officers were criticising each other, and making the character and military conduct of their commander-in-chief the subject of disparaging comments.

Cornwallis halted six days in New Brunswick, not being able to proceed further without positive orders from Howe. Washington left Lord Stirling with twelve hundred men in Princeton, while he went forward to Trenton and transported his remnant of military stores and baggage beyond the Delaware. He then faced about. On the 6th of December Howe joined Cornwallis at New Brunswick, and after deliberate preparations continued the pursuit. Washington, on the counter-march Dec. 8. to Princeton, December 8, met Stirling retiring before a superior force, and returning to Trenton, crossed the Delaware in safety. Had Howe, instead of resting seventeen hours at Princeton, pushed forward immediately, the year 1776 might have ended with a very different record. As it was, Cornwallis reached Trenton just in time to see the rear guard of Washington land upon the western bank of the Delaware; he made several unsuccessful efforts to seize boats, and seemed surprised to find them all beyond his reach. He marched thirteen miles up the river to Coryell's Ferry, sending a column also below as if he would entrap the Americans in the acute angle made by the bend of the river opposite Bordentown. But an able disposition of troops on the opposite bank of the Delaware by Washington, and the want of boats, discouraged special efforts. A noted loyalist, in censuring Howe for not crossing immediately and annihilating the American army, said, "There was a board-yard entirely full and directly back of the house in which the commander-in-chief had his headquarters, and which he must have seen every time he looked out of his bedroom window. Besides, there was in Trenton a number of large barns and storehouses, built of boards, out of which rafts

might have been made, in the space of two days, sufficient to have conveyed the whole British army, with their baggage, artillery, and provisions, across the river."

Putnam was now detached to take command of Philadelphia and put it in a position of defense. Congress retired to Baltimore. Ever since the army separated at White Plains, Lee had acted a mysterious part. His reputation was at its zenith, and not only Congress but the country at large pinned unlimited faith to his knowledge of the art of war. When ordered to New Jersey he raved about the insanity of one army reinforcing another, as if he was holding a separate command. He glibly discussed saving the community regardless of Congress, and wrote to Congress reflecting severely upon Washington's judgment. He was an ambitious aspirant for power. Finally the repeated mandates of his superior admitted of no further evasion, and his division crossed the Hudson December 3. His progress after that was vexatiously slow. He was in Pompton on the 7th; from Morristown he wrote to Congress, December 8, that Washington was all wrong, and that he had no idea of joining him; and to Washington he reported his division as consisting of four thousand noble-spirited men, with whom he would "hang on the enemy's rear." Again ordered peremptorily to the Delaware, he moved forward leisurely, caviling at everything done by others, and in four days had only reached Baskinridge, where he very indiscreetly lodged, with a small guard, in Mr. White's tavern, near the church, some distance from the main body of his troops. A loyalist in the neighborhood rode in all haste with the intelligence to Colonel Harcourt, afterwards Earl Harcourt, who, with a scouting party of seventy dragoons, was watching for an opportunity of distinguishing himself. Early next morning he reached the spot by a rapid march, surrounded the house, and in four minutes was bearing off in triumph the capricious general who had just written boastful letters to the effect that he was reconquering the Jerseys. Lee was at first treated as a deserter from the British service, and not as a prisoner of war. Howe refused to see him at Princeton, and he was taken under a close guard to New York.

The command of Lee's division devolved upon Sullivan, who promptly joined Washington on the 20th, the very date of Franklin's arrival in Paris. Gates arrived the same day with some Northern troops, and the army once more numbered nearly seven thousand effective men. In ten days, however, the enlistments of most of the regiments would expire.

It was not a pleasant December, but cold, stormy, and dismal. Howe was tired of discomfort, and preferred winter-quarters in New York, where all was mirth and jollity. He accordingly cantoned some four thousand

troops at Trenton, Bordentown, Mount Holly, Princeton, New Brunswick, Amboy, and other points, scattering them even to the Hackensack. Trenton, the most southern of the cantonments, was left guarded by fifteen hundred Hessians, who could not speak a word of English, commanded by Colonel Rahl, a brave officer, but a notorious drunkard. He was averse to taking the trouble to fortify; and when told that Washington contemplated recrossing the Delaware, he laughed at the idea. Was it not December? How could starving men, with neither shoes, stockings, nor blankets, come out to fight in such an inclement season? The rebels were nothing, anyhow, but a pack of cowards. "Let them come," he said, "we will at them with the bayonet."

Howe pompously reported his surprising successes. He was master of New Jersey. He was also master of Rhode Island, having sent Sir Henry Clinton, with ten thousand men, in one hundred transports, escorted by fourteen men-of-war under Sir Peter Parker, to secure Newport, a feat accomplished December 8 without the firing of a gun, since there was no garrison to resist. And Canada had been altogether restored to England by the valiant and humane Carleton.

The game of war, however, was not yet won, as Howe was shortly to learn to his intense mortification. Washington was preparing for a bold dash upon Trenton. Christmas night was fixed for the hazardous undertaking. Gates, like Lee, indulged in the censure of Washington, and was impatient of his supremacy. When desired to take command of a party at Bristol and co-operate in the spirited expedition, he pleaded ill health, and asked leave to go to Philadelphia, actually intending to proceed to Baltimore and lay plans of his own before Congress, with the hope of eclipsing his commander-in-chief. Symptoms of an insurrection obliged Putnam to remain in Philadelphia; but Greene, Sullivan, Mercer, and Stirling were among the general officers; and Stark of New Hampshire, Hand of Pennsylvania, Glover and Knox of Massachusetts, Webb of Connecticut, Scott, William Washington, and James Monroe of Virginia, and Alexander Hamilton of New York, were among the field and other officers with Washington. From the wasted regiments twenty-four hundred men only could be found strong enough and sufficiently clothed to accompany their leaders. The weather was excessively cold, the wind high, the river full of ice, and the current difficult to stem. They began their march at three in the afternoon, with eighteen field-pieces, each man carrying cooked provisions for three days, "and forty rounds." They reached Mackonkey's ferry at twilight. The Marblehead mariners, who did such good service on the retreat from Long Island, bravely manned the boats, Knox superintending the embarkation. At eleven o'clock it

Dec. 25.

began to snow. It was four in the morning of the 26th before the troops and cannon were all over the Delaware, and their nine-mile march commenced. Washington's plan included a simultaneous attack from
Dec. 26. several points. Nearly opposite Trenton, Ewing, Nixon, and Hitchcock were posted with troops, directed to cross and intercept the retreat of the Hessians, or prevent Donop at Burlington from affording relief; and at Bristol, Cadwallader and Reed were also to cross for a similar purpose. The ice rendered it impracticable for the execution of either of these orders. The troops with Washington were formed in two divisions about three miles from the ferry, Sullivan leading one column along the road near the river, and Greene guiding the other upon a road to the left. These roads entered the town at different points, but the distance was nearly the same. Washington was with Greene, whose advanced guard was led by Captain William Washington, with James Monroe (afterwards President of the United States) as first lieutenant. The stinging cold, the beating storm, and the tiresome march were borne bravely by all. At eight o'clock in the morning Trenton was reached. On the route Sullivan sent a messenger in haste to Washington to say that the storm had ruined many of the muskets. "Then use the bayonet, for the town must be taken," was the crisp reply. The snow deadened the tread of the troops and the rumbling of artillery. Thus the surprise was complete. While Washington advanced on the north of the town, Sullivan approached on the west, and Stark was detached to press on the south end of the village. Some five hundred of the enemy at this latter point, seeing Washington coming down in front, as Stark thundered in their rear, fled precipitately by the bridge across the Assanpink, towards Donop, at Bordentown. Washington rode into Trenton beside the artillery, giving directions when and how to fire, but he was presently flying from point to point regardless of his personal safety, and from the swiftness of the manœuvres of his troops the Hessians were allowed no time to form, therefore their firing was all at random and without effect. In thirty-five minutes the action was over. Rahl, in attempting to rally his panic-stricken guard, had fallen mortally wounded, and they immediately surrendered. Washington took possession of nine hundred and fifty prisoners, six brass field-pieces, twelve hundred small-arms, standards, horses, and plunder in immense quantities; this last he advertised, and restored to all such persons as came forward and proved their title to the stolen goods,—an act so humane and just, and so totally unlike the manner in which the people of New Jersey had been treated by their so-called protectors, that there was an immediate revolution in public sentiment which was of lasting importance. Had the two divisions crossed the river as Washington expected,

none of the Hessians could have escaped. And in this brilliant achievement the Americans lost only two privates killed, two frozen to death, and two officers and four privates wounded. The whole scheme was as ingenious as it was executed with remarkable vigor. To Howe's startled senses it was as if some energetic apparition had risen from the dead.

The victory of Trenton turned the wheel of American destiny into a new light. Washington commended his officers and men in the warmest terms, pronouncing their conduct admirable without a solitary exception. He recrossed the Delaware into Pennsylvania with his prisoners, as Trenton in itself was of no account, and made immediate arrangements to follow up his success and drive the British back into New York. Before the last day of the year he had a second time crossed the Delaware with his forces, and all England was presently to look with amazement upon their own retreating legions. Lord Germain said, "Our hopes were blasted by that unhappy affair at Trenton."

The prisoners taken at Fort Washington were crammed into every available building in New York City at this moment, — churches, sugar-houses, stores, and jails. The Middle Dutch Church was stripped of its pulpit and pews, and nearly three thousand men, sick and well, were huddled indiscriminately within its walls.

On the 27th Congress passed a resolution investing Washington with such extraordinary military powers, that he was said in Europe to have been appointed "Dictator of America." These trusts were confided to him for six months, that he might enlist and organize an army which would have more solidity and permanence than the phantom he had hitherto attempted to control. The news reached him on the 29th. Dec. 29. The action of Congress authorizing the commissioners in France to borrow two millions sterling at six per cent for ten years, together with an order for the emission of five million dollars in paper on the faith of the United States, came to his knowledge also on the same date.



CHAPTER IV.

1777.

THE YEAR OF BATTLES.

MONEY. — VICTORY AT PRINCETON. — STARTLING ACHIEVEMENTS. — NEW JERSEY RECONQUERED BY WASHINGTON. — ARMY AT MORRISTOWN. — LORD STIRLING. — RAIDS. — BURNING OF DANBURY. — STORMING OF SAGG HARBOR. — CAPTURE OF GENERAL PRESCOTT. — CONSTITUTION OF NEW YORK. — AUGUSTUS JAY. — BATTLE OF SCOTCH PLAINS. — FALL OF TICONDEROGA. — BATTLE OF ORISKANY. — BATTLE OF BENNINGTON. — DISCUSSIONS IN PARLIAMENT. — LAFAYETTE. — THE NEW JERSEY GAZETTE. — OPENING OF THE SUPREME COURT OF NEW YORK. — BATTLE OF THE BRANDYWINE. — FALL OF PHILADELPHIA. — BATTLES OF SARATOGA. — BATTLE OF GERMANTOWN. — BURNING OF KINGSTON. — SURRENDER OF BURGOYNE. — VALLEY FORGE. — WEST POINT.

THE New Year dawned upon a great chieftain almost without an army. And yet many of the disbanding regiments, whose terms of enlistment expired with the old year, were so electrified with delight at the victory of Trenton, that they agreed with one voice to remain six weeks longer, without any stipulations of their own in respect to compensation. The grave question of how to pay off the troops agitated Washington at this moment beyond all others; he had pledged his own fortune, other officers had done the same, the paymaster was out of funds, the public credit was exhausted. Until the bills ordered by Congress could be executed, he was left penniless even of paper money. Robert Morris was in Philadelphia, at the head of a committee from Congress, and to him Washington wrote, December 30, "Borrow money while it can be done. No time, my dear sir, is to be lost." Very early on New Year's morning, writes Bancroft, Morris went from house to house in the Quaker City rousing people from their beds to borrow money; and before noon he sent Washington fifty thousand dollars.

While Washington was hurriedly reorganizing his army at Trenton, Cornwallis (who, about to sail for Europe when the news of Washington's master-stroke at Trenton reached Howe, had been sent back into New Jersey to repair the mischief wrought) was making ready at Princeton to

lead seven thousand veteran troops upon the devoted heroes. Of this Washington had timely notice. The cold of the past week had abated, and the roads were soft ; thus the march of the British, which commenced on the morning of January 2, was painfully slow. And ^{Jan. 2.} they were delayed at various points by skirmishers. Leslie, with a brigade, was left at Maidenhead as a reserve. At Five Mile Run they encountered the brave Hand with his riflemen, who disputed every step henceforward until they reached Trenton. At Shabbakong Creek the column was embarrassed for two hours by Americans secreted within the woods on the sides of the road. When within a mile of Trenton, Greene met them with two field-pieces and six hundred or more musketeers, and held them in check for some time, then withdrew in good order. Late on that wintry afternoon Washington, mounted upon a white horse, placed himself in the rear, and threw the few troops remaining in the town across the bridge of the Assanpink, beyond which the main body of his army stood in admirable battle array, silent in their ranks, protected by batteries. The sight was imposing ; it was nearly sundown, and fogs and exceptional darkness threatened. Cornwallis encamped his tired troops on the hill above, confident in having driven Washington into a situation from which he could not possibly escape, and with vigilant guards stationed along the little stream, went to sleep in anticipation of a desperate struggle on the morrow.

The American camp fires for more than half a mile along the opposite shore of the Assanpink, blazed and flickered, throwing a glare over the town ; and ever and anon from this wall of flame rose flashes, as fresh heaps of fuel were added, illuminating the heavens for a great distance. The British sentries watched lazily, listening to the perpetual sound of digging near the bridge, where the Americans were apparently scrambling to throw up intrenchments, working the whole night long.

At daylight there was not a soul to be seen ! The American army had vanished like a dissolving-view ! Cornwallis could scarcely credit the evidence of his own eyes ! Mounted officers tore madly through ^{Jan. 3.} the streets. Where, oh, where was the foe they had come so far to fight ? A distant rumbling like that of cannon in the direction of Princeton told of a twin achievement to that of the week before, which a distinguished foreign military critic has pronounced the best planned and executed military manœuvre of the eighteenth century. If possible, this attack upon Princeton, in its audacity and its inspiring results, excelled that of Trenton. Cornwallis was appalled lest Washington should reach and destroy the British magazines at New Brunswick ! He broke up his camp and forthwith marched rapidly towards Princeton.

Washington, knowing the by-ways leading out of Trenton, the cross-cuts and the roundabout roads, had soon after dark silently removed the baggage of his army to Burlington. About midnight he had forwarded his troops in detachments by a circuitous route to Princeton. The weather changing suddenly to crisp cold, aided him materially in moving his artillery. The party left to deceive the enemy by maintaining fires and noise of labor performed their parts well, and with the early dawn hastened after the army. At sunrise Washington reached the outskirts of Princeton, and wheeled by a back road towards the colleges. Three British regiments had been left here, under marching orders for Trenton, and two of these had already started, one being about a mile in advance of the other. With each there was a sharp and severe conflict. In the first, near the bridge at Stony Brook, the lion-hearted General Mercer was killed. This was one of the moments when all the latent fire of Washington's character blazed forth. He rode squarely to the front, less than thirty yards from the enemy, reined in his horse, and waved his hat to cheer on his troops. Scarcely twenty minutes later the British were flying over the fences and fields, vigorously chased for three or four miles. Washington took Hitchcock by the hand and thanked him in the presence of the soldiers for his gallantry; and he also warmly complimented Hand for efficient services. Meanwhile Stark, Reed, and Stirling drove the other resisting regiments into the college buildings; from which, to escape certain capture, the majority fled through the fields into a back road in the direction of New Brunswick. Nearly three hundred surrendered, including fourteen officers; the British loss in killed was between two and three hundred. The American loss in numbers was small.

Washington would have proceeded instantly to New Brunswick but for the fatigue of his men, who had been in constant service two days and one night, without shelter and almost without refreshment. After breaking up the bridge at Kingston over the Millstone River, he marched toward

Jan. 5

the high mountain ridge, and halted for the night at Somerset Court-house. He reached Morristown on the 5th, and there, among the barriers of nature, established winter-quarters. But he did not sit down idle. He sent out detachments to assail and harass Cornwallis, and with such address were these expeditions conducted that the British commander was actually compelled to evacuate all his posts westward of New Brunswick, and concentrate his forces for the safety of his stores at that place. George Clinton, with troops from Peekskill, looked down upon Hackensack on the day that the army reached Morristown, and the British force fled from that point.

Taking advantage of the consternation of the enemy, Maxwell, with a

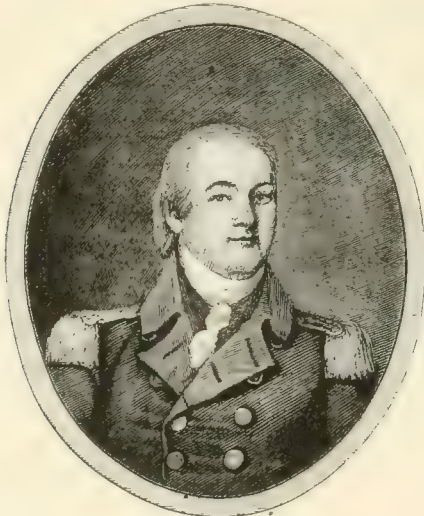
company of militia, suddenly descended from the Short Hills and drove the British out of Newark, had a skirmish with them at Springfield, compelled them to leave Elizabeth, and fought them at Rahway for two hours. On the 9th the British were fairly cooped up in New Brunswick and Amboy ; and there they remained the rest of the winter, subject to constant alarms for their own safety. Not a stick of wood, a kernel of corn, or a spear of grass, could they procure without fighting for it, unless sent over from New York.

The glory of these startling achievements was rendered doubly conspicuous by their immediate effects. The army which was supposed to be on the verge of annihilation had in three weeks dislodged the flower of the British soldiery from every position it had taken, save two, in the whole province of New Jersey. The reaction of public sentiment was marvelous. Despondency was dispelled as by a charm. Washington's sagacity, intrepidity, and generalship were applauded both by friend and foe. The greatest personages of Europe lavished upon him praise and congratulation. He was compared to the renowned commanders of antiquity. Van Bulow writes, "The two events of Trenton and Princeton are sufficient to elevate a general to the temple of immortality." Botta, the Italian historian, says, "Achievements so astonishing gained for the American commander a very great reputation, and were regarded with wonder by all nations, as well as by the Americans." Horace Walpole, in a letter to Sir Horace Mann, said, "I look upon a great part of America as lost to this country."

When the people of New Jersey, who had fled to the mountains for safety upon the advent of the armies in December, ventured to return in January, they found their houses plundered, fences used for fire-wood, and gardens and grounds in open common. Those who had remained in their dwellings learned to their sorrow (as did the inhabitants of Long Island and Westchester) that neither neutrality nor loyalty protected them from barbarous and indiscriminate pillage. Churches were desecrated, libraries destroyed, and the furniture, clothing, and eatables of private families taken whenever want or inclination dictated, expostulation only resulting in wanton mischief—such as the breaking of glass or the ripping open of beds by which feathers were scattered to the four winds. Infancy, old age, and womanhood were brutally outraged. The Hessians bore the blame chiefly, but the English soldiery were scarcely less to be dreaded. The country rose against the invaders. Every foraging party sent out from New Brunswick was driven back with loss by such gallant leaders as Spencer, Maxwell, and Littell. Hundreds of skirmishes occurred before spring ; individually unimportant per-

haps, and yet brilliant in their relations to the events which had gone before and were to follow in immediate succession.

Lord Stirling wrote to Governor Livingston, "Now is the time to exert every nerve." New Jersey in her great peril had no more efficient, faithful, and fearless champions than these two officers. Both were New-Yorkers by birth, education, and family interests. Stirling's wife was Livingston's sister. Stirling himself was the son of New York's famous lawyer, James Alexander, and a descendant of the De Peysters through



Lord Stirling.

his mother. Lady Mary, the elder of his two daughters, was married to Robert Watts, son of Counselor John Watts, and residing in New York at the present crisis, — her husband, however, taking no part on either side in the conflict. Stirling's country-seat was at Baskinridge, a few miles from Morristown, the house one of the finest in the State, fronting a spacious lawn, with gardens, fields, and a fine deer-park stretching off to the right and left. The stables and coach-houses were perhaps the most striking features of the estate, ornamented with cupolas and

gilded weather-vanes, and encircling a large paved court in the rear. They sheltered the handsomest horses and the most stylish equipage at that time in the State.¹ Quiet homes in this mountainous region had been secured by many New York families. John Morton, styled the "Rebel banker" by the British, lived near Lord Stirling, and with this gentleman General Lee was to have breakfasted the very morning of his capture. Morton's daughter, Eliza Susan, then quite young, after-

¹ Lord Stirling was in serious financial embarrassment, consequent in part from the costliness of his residence in England some years before, one of the incidents of which was his unsuccessful claim to the title and estates of the Earl of Stirling. Just prior to the Revolution, he obtained Legislative permission to sell his property by lottery, but the tickets had not yet found buyers when the confusion of affairs stopped proceedings. His lands known as the Cheesecocks, Richbills, Provoost, Herdenburgh, and Minisink Patents, in the counties of Orange, Ulster, Albany, and Westchester, with other real estate, were mortgaged to Mrs. Anna Waddell, one of the wealthiest citizens of New York City, of whom he had borrowed large sums of money, — which lands subsequently fell by foreclosure to the daughters of Mrs. Waddell, who married into the families of the Taylors and Winthrops. Mrs. Anna

wards married the distinguished scholar and statesman, Josiah Quincy. Mrs. Governor Livingston and her daughter were the guests of Lady Stirling the entire winter, hastily abandoning "Liberty Hall" when the enemy approached Elizabeth.

The governor was upon his horse daily, regardless of cold, fatigue, inclement weather, or personal danger. He convened the Legislature, and he conferred with Washington, attending to innumerable conflicting duties at various points between Trenton and Morristown. Washington issued mandates which Livingston emphasized relative to the suppression of lawless rapine among the American soldiers. The offer of full pardon to all inhabitants of New Jersey who would surrender their protection-papers to the nearest officer and swear allegiance to the United States, resulted in a considerable accession to the patriot ranks. But there were Quakers in Western New Jersey who fondly cherished the non-resistance doctrine, to the infinite embarrassment of the framers of the new militia laws of the State. Sharp lines were drawn between friends and foes, dividing families and scattering households, but the public safety demanded rigorous measures. Every man who was unwilling to take the oath was obliged to retire within the British limits. Upon the recommendation of Livingston, the Legislature finally, on the 5th of June, passed a bill confiscating the personal estates of all such as still adhered to the British interest. This provoked the bitterest hostility on the part of the refugees, notwithstanding the act provided a period of grace in which without loss of property they might renew their allegiance. Henceforward to the end

Waddell was the widow of John Waddell, the grandson of Captain John Waddell who, for great naval victories gained by him, was specially endowed by Charles II. "in perpetual remembrance of his glorious achievements, to him and his heirs male forever," with a coat of arms — ten fire-balls, etc., and a crest of a demi-lion rampant, out of the battlements of a castle, bearing a banner of St. George. John Waddell came from Dover, England, and was married in 1736 to the lady above mentioned, the ceremony taking place in the old Government House. The wedding chairs used on this occasion are still preserved in the family. (See page 191.) He was one of the first subscribers to the New York Society Library. After his death, Mrs. Waddell became one of the trustees, the only lady whose name appears in the Royal charter of that institution. Their eldest son, William Waddell, was an alderman during the Revolution, and a man of civil and social distinction. Henry, eldest son of William Waddell, married Eliza, the daughter of Lloyd Daubeny (entitled to the Peerage of Lord Daubeny) and Mary Coventry, a descendant of the Earls of Coventry. The eldest son of Henry and Eliza Daubeny Waddell, Coventry Waddell, who was United States Marshal under President Jackson, financial agent of the State Department under Secretaries Edward Livingston and John Forsyth, and subsequently Official and General Assignee in Bankruptcy for New York City, is now the only living representative of the three families of Daubeny, Coventry, and Waddell in this country.



Waddell Arms.

of the war these men were far more to be feared than the British or Hessian soldiers, as they were constantly fitting out expeditions into their old neighborhoods for revengeful murder and plunder. Their inroads were similar to the border forays in Scotland. They made sundry attempts to burn "Liberty Hall," and threatened the governor's life with fierce intent. His family removed in the early spring from Lord Stirling's home at Baskinridge to Percepany. On the night of July 27, while the governor was paying a flying visit to them, the house was surrounded by a band of refugees; but, knowing that gentlemen guests were within from whom they might not be able to distinguish their victim, they laid down in the grass waiting for daylight, and overslept themselves. When roused by the sunshine, Governor Livingston was galloping over the roads, miles away, to meet some important appointment, wholly unconscious of what he had escaped.

The right wing of Washington's army was at Princeton under Putnam, who had hardly as many men as miles of frontier to guard; the left wing was under Heath in the Highlands, and cantonments were established at various points along this extended line. Wooster, Scott, Lincoln, Parsons, McDougall, and Benedict Arnold were all in the Hudson River division, and were stationed at various times as far south as North Castle, New Rochelle, Dobb's Ferry, and even Kingsbridge, but nothing of importance transpired. Parties of the enemy prowled through the neighborhood of New York City for cattle, horses, hay, and grain, whenever it was practicable. In March, Colonel Bird, with a detachment
March 23 of five hundred troops under a convoy of one frigate and some smaller vessels, suddenly appeared at Peekskill, where the magazines and stores of Heath were collected, and, driving McDougall with his small force from the town, captured a considerable amount of booty. Colonel Willett with sixty men dashed upon them before they had finished their business, with such vigor that they fled precipitately to their vessels. Heath was at the time in Massachusetts, having been appointed on the 14th to the command of the Eastern department.

April was notable for the British raid upon Danbury, Connecticut, where the Americans had stored supplies and munitions of war. Tryon commanded the expedition, and was accompanied by Sir William Erskine and General Agnew, with two thousand men. They landed at Compo beach, just east of Norwalk, from twenty-five vessels, and marched
April 26. twenty-two miles inland, reaching Danbury Saturday afternoon,

April 26. The guard was too small for effective resistance, and withdrew. The inhabitants fled for safety into the country to the north and east. Sergeant Nathaniel Hoyt, of Washington's Continental Artillery,

lery,¹ chanced to be home on a furlough, and hastily removed his wife and young children to New Milford upon an ox-cart, passing out of the town just as the red-coated legions came in. His cousin, Comfort Hoyt, was less fortunate in escaping, his handsome horses being discovered by the invaders and taken from his wagon on the road. The families, suddenly abandoning their homes, took such valuables as they could carry, but the greater portion of their household goods were left to the mercy of the foe. The church was packed to the galleries with provisions in barrels, and several barns and other depositories were full to the roof; these were rolled into the street in a pile, and the torch applied. Eighteen hundred barrels of pork and beef, seven hundred barrels of flour, two thousand bushels of wheat, corresponding quantities of rye, oats, corn, and hay, and a large invoice of tents, were consumed, the smoke filling the air with a suffocating odor, and the melted pork running in streams through the streets. Rum was found and drank by the British soldiers, and the night was made hideous with their revelry. The country was aroused far and near. Wooster and Arnold were both in New Haven on furloughs, but were quickly speeding by a forced march to the rescue, and Silliman was on the wing. Late in the evening a flying messenger for aid reached Colonel Luddington in Carmel, New York, whose men were at

¹ Sergeant Nathaniel Hoyt, born 1750, was one of the rear-guard in the retreat from Long Island, and also from New York City (see page 127). He served in the Continental Army during nearly the whole period of the conflict. His home was in Danbury. He was descended in the direct line from Simon Hoyt, who came to Salem, Massachusetts, in 1628, with Governor Endicott, and who was one of the founders of seven different towns. He was of the party who traveled on foot from Salem through the woods to explore and settle Charlestown. In 1636 he was among the founders of Windsor, Connecticut, and a deacon in Rev. Thomas Hooker's church. He bought an extensive territory of land in Fairfield County, and with his sons aided in the settlement of Fairfield, Norwalk, Stamford, and Danbury, and also Deerfield, Massachusetts. His eldest son, Walter Hoyt (born 1618), was the fifth of the ten proprietors named in the instrument when Norwalk was incorporated in 1653, they having owned the land for twenty years. Walter's son, John Hoyt (born 1644), was one of the eight original proprietors of Danbury in 1685. John's son Benjamin had a son Nathaniel, who was the father of Sergeant Nathaniel Hoyt, whose son Nathaniel was a resident of Western New York, an honored and useful citizen, within the memory of the present generation. The Hoyts have intermarried with the Benedicts, Trowbridges, Fields, Nashes, Lockwoods, Welds, and other eminent families, and have held many offices of trust civil and military. Among the distinguished descendants, through their mother, Mary Hoyt, are John Sherman, present Secretary of the Treasury, and General William Tecumseh Sherman. The Deerfield branch of the Hoyts descended from Nicholas, the second son of Simon Hoyt of Windsor. Several generations of the family lived in the famous old Indian House in that town. General Epaphras Hoyt, historian and antiquarian writer (born 1765), was one of four brothers, all of whom were military officers and members of the legislature. Their sister married Justin Hitchcock, and was the mother of President Edward Hitchcock of Amherst College.

their homes scattered over the distance of many miles; no one being at hand to call them, his daughter Sibyl Luddington, a spirited young girl of sixteen, mounted her horse in the dead of night and performed this service, and by breakfast-time the next morning the whole regiment was on its rapid march to Danbury. But the mischief had been accomplished. The British, apprised of the approach of the Americans in the early morning of the 27th, burned all the dwelling-houses in the town, and retreated upon the Fairfield road towards the sound. Wooster, effecting a junction with Silliman, pursued and harassed them, and about noon a sharp fight was maintained for upwards of an hour, in which Wooster fell mortally wounded at the very moment while shouting, "Come on, boys, never mind such random shots!"¹ Arnold behaved with remarkable intrepidity; his horse was killed when within ten yards of the enemy, and a soldier leaped upon him with fixed bayonet, whom he instantly shot. The skirmishing continued until the whole force had re-embarked for New York. The enemy were so hotly pursued that they were only able to cross the Segatuck bridge by running at full speed. Their loss was between three and four hundred. General Agnew was among the wounded. Howe never considered the advantages gained by this exploit equal to the costs.

May was marked by an act of retaliation on the part of the Americans which evinced so much ability of plan and boldness of execution that the British generals were confounded. Parsons,² commanding in Con-

¹ Major-General David Wooster, born in Stratford, Connecticut, March 2, 1710, had been a valuable officer in the French War; but for twelve years prior to the Revolution was collector of the port of New Haven, and surrounded with all the comforts and elegances of wealth. His wife was the daughter of President Clapp of Yale College. His mansion in Wooster Street, then isolated among country scenes, had an unobstructed view of the beautiful bay of New Haven, and was the resort of the learning and polish of the time; his style of living, his bountiful table, his troupe of black domestics, his horses and his phaeton, were all in the highest elegance of the olden period. He was offered a high commission in the British army, which he spurned, and enrolled himself upon the side of America with the first knell of hostilities, drawing from his own ample fortune to equip and pay his officers and men. His death was deeply lamented.

² Samuel Holden Parsons was a lawyer, and one of the most scholarly writers of the Revolution. He was the son of Rev. Jonathan Parsons, pastor of the church in Lyme, Connecticut—afterwards at Newburyport, Massachusetts—a *protégé* of Rev. Jonathan Edwards, and the intimate friend of Whitfield. The mother of Samuel Holden Parsons was Phebe Griswold, the sister of Governor Matthew Griswold, and his wife was a Miss Mather, of Lyme, descended from the distinguished Boston Mathers. Ezra Lee, who experimented with Bushnell's machine for submarine navigation (see pages 98, 99), married a sister of Mrs. General Parsons. Inheriting brilliant qualities from both father and mother, carefully educated, and trained in legal lore by his accomplished uncle, Governor Matthew Griswold, General Parsons was well fitted for public life. He was admitted to the bar in 1759, when

necticut, sent Colonel Meigs to destroy the military stores and provisions which the enemy had collected at Sagg Harbor. He sailed from New Haven May 21, with two hundred and thirty-four men in thirteen whale-boats, but the sea being rough anchored in Guilford harbor until the 23d; in the afternoon they crossed the sound undiscovered by the British cruisers with which it was alive, and at midnight landed, ^{May 24} concealed their boats in the woods, and marched four miles. It was two o'clock in the morning when they reached and stormed Sagg Harbor, destroying twelve vessels — brigs, schooners, and sloops, one of which was armed with twelve guns — one hundred tons of pressed hay, twelve hogs-heads of rum, grain, merchandise, and other stores in immense quantities, and captured the whole guard of ninety men, carrying them across the sound to Connecticut. All this was accomplished without the loss of a man; and about noon on the 24th the victorious party arrived in Guilford, having been absent less than twenty-four hours. Meigs¹ was warmly complimented for his gallantry by Washington; and was voted (August 3) thanks and a sword by Congress.

Meanwhile the Convention of New York, long since elected for the express purpose of establishing a state government, had been tossed from place to place — meeting at White Plains, Harlem, Kingsbridge, Philipse Manor, Fishkill, and now at Kingston — its members performing every class of public duty. A committee was appointed August 1 (1776) to prepare and report a constitution, consisting of John Sloss Hobart, William Duer, General John Morin Scott, Colonel John Broome, Charles De Witt, William Smith, Henry Wisner, Samuel Townsend, Robert Yates, Abraham Yates, Robert R. Livingston, Gouverneur Morris, and John Jay, who was made the chairman. Such, however, was the critical urgency for energetic action in other directions, that no time was found for the completion of the task until the beginning of 1777. The shaping of the instrument fell chiefly to Jay, Livingston, and Morris. They were young men — Jay thirty-two, Livingston thirty, and Morris only twenty-five — each possessing the best education of the time, belonging to the wealthiest families in the State, and by birth and opportunity certain of Royal

twenty-two years of age, settled in Lyme, and was elected to the Assembly of Connecticut in 1762, and successively for eighteen sessions. After peace was restored he was appointed by Washington first judge of the Northwestern Territory.

¹ Return Jonathan Meigs was born in Middletown, Connecticut, in 1740; he belonged to one of the best families in New England, and was an officer of great ability. In 1788 he was one of the first settlers of Marietta, Ohio. His son, Return Jonathan Meigs, the distinguished jurist and statesman, was born in Middletown in 1765. He also settled in Marietta, was Chief Justice of the Ohio Superior Court in the early part of the present century, United States Senator from 1808 to 1810, and four years governor of Ohio.

favor should they choose otherwise than peril their lives for civil liberty and self-government. We shall see how they chose the latter. On the 12th of March the draft in the handwriting of Jay was first read to the Convention by James Duane. It was discussed by sections, and ^{April 20.} in all its bearings, until April 20, when it was adopted almost in its original form. It recites in full the Declaration of Independence, and the unanimous resolution of the Convention (9th July) instructing the New York delegates at Philadelphia to give it their support; and, providing for the naturalization of foreigners, for trial by jury, for a militia service with recognition of the Quakers, for the protection of Indians within the State limits, and for absolute religious liberty, it is equal in the scope of its provisions and in dignity of expression to any similar instrument ever prepared by the hand of man. We may well pause with wonder at the vigorous ease with which these government-makers wielded the public affairs of New York at the very moment when nearly every county within her borders was invaded by the enemy, her chief city captive, her vessels burned and her store-houses empty, and hostile forces gathering strength at the North for a descent with fire and sword upon the smiling valleys of the Hudson. The Empire State was the last of the thirteen colonies to frame an individual government, but when accomplished, in the face of greater dangers than overwhelmed any other, it excelled them all in the largeness of its humane liberality.

The Constitution was published on Tuesday, April 22, the church-bell ^{April 22.} calling the people of Kingston together at eleven o'clock in the morning. Vice-President Van Cortlandt, with the members of the Convention, appeared in front of the court-house, and the secretary, Robert Benson, mounted upon a barrel, read the immortal document to the assembled multitude. Three thousand copies were immediately printed for distribution by John Holt, at Fishkill.

The committee appointed to report a plan for organizing the government were John Jay, Robert R. Livingston, Gouverneur Morris, General John Morin Scott, Abraham Yates, and John Sloss Hobart. Before its adjournment this remarkable Convention empowered fifteen of its number to govern the State until an election could be held for governor, lieutenant-governor, legislature, etc. It was called the Council of Safety, and wielded an absolute sovereignty. The judicial power was vested by the Constitution in a chancellor and judges of the Supreme Court; local county courts and a probate judiciary were constituted; while a final appellate court, both in law and equity, was to be formed by the senate, the chancellor, and the judges of the Supreme Court. For the immediate execution of the laws, Robert R. Livingston was elected chancellor, John



Jay chief justice, Robert Yates¹ and John Sloss Hobart² judges of the Supreme Court, and Egbert Benson³ attorney-general. Each county was provided with judicial officers, that the courts so long closed might be reopened. The first judge for the county of Albany May 3. was Volkert Peter Douw, and the other judges were Jacob C. Ten Eyck, Abraham Ten Broeck, Henry Bleecker, Walter Livingston, and John A. Ten Eyck. For Dutchess County, Ephraim Paine, Zephaniah Platt, and Anthony Hoffman were elected; for Ulster County, Levi Pawling and Dirck Wyncoop.

The day following was Sunday. But there was no rest for the weary legislators. Three commissioners were appointed, John Jay, Colonel Henry Luddington, and Colonel Thomas, to quell and subdue insurrections and disaffection in the counties of Dutchess and Westchester, and directed to co-operate with Robert R. Livingston, Zephaniah Platt, and Matthew Cantine (the committee for a like purpose in the manor of Livingston), and to call aid from the militia of George Clinton and McDougall whenever needful. The commissioners were also commanded to use every means in their power (torture excepted) to compel the discovery of spies or other emissaries of the enemy.

John Jay declined the nomination for governor.⁴ The office was bestowed upon George Clinton, who was elected in June and inaugurated July 30. Pierre Van Cortlandt, as president of the Council of Safety and of the new senate, became lieutenant-governor of the State.

Before the end of May Washington had formed his plans for the disposal of his army in such a manner that the widely separated parts might reciprocally aid each other. It was supposed that Burgoyne, who was now in command of the British forces at the North, would endeavor to take Ticonderoga and penetrate the Hudson, and that Howe would either attack the Highlands or Philadelphia. As a convenient point from which to move as soon as the enemy's intentions were further developed,

¹ Robert Yates was born in Schenectady, New York, Jan. 27, 1738. Received a classical education in New York City, became a lawyer, and was admitted to the bar in Albany in 1760. He was a jurist and statesman of distinction; was chief justice of the State from 1790 to 1798.

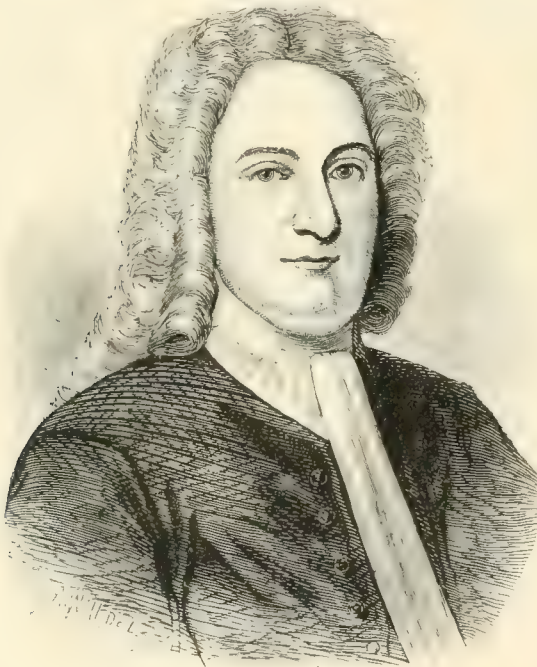
² John Sloss Hobart was born in Fairfield, Connecticut, in 1738; he was the son of the eminent Fairfield clergyman, Rev. Noah Hobart, and had been carefully educated in every phase of ancient and modern lore. After the war he was one of the three judges of the Supreme Court of New York; and was also United States Senator from New York.

³ Egbert Benson, who subsequently held a high rank in jurisprudence and in letters, was then thirty years of age. He was born in New York City, June 21, 1746, and was one of the early graduates of King's (Columbia) College.

⁴ The intellect, character, culture, and social distinction of John Jay, and the prominence

Washington advanced from Morristown to the ridge of strong and commanding heights in the rear of Plainfield and Scotch Plains, where from the rocks in front of his camp he could look down upon the Raritan, the road to Philadelphia, and a considerable portion of the country between Amboy and Trenton. Sullivan was at Princeton, and Lord Stirling, Greene, and other officers were upon the plains which intervened between the main army and New Brunswick. Arnold was with Mifflin in Philadelphia,

with which he figured in our national development, leads us to penetrate beneath the surface of historical narrative for further light respecting his origin and the influences under which



Augustus Jay.

Born at La Rochelle, France, March 23, 1665, died at New York, Nov. 16, 1755.
[From the portrait in the possession of Miss Eliza Clarkson Jay.]

he was reared. To the Huguenot movement, which brought so much of the best blood of France to our shores, America is indebted for this great jurist and statesman. His grandfather, Augustus Jay, came to New York in 1686, when twenty-one years of age. He was the son of Pierre Jay, of La Rochelle; he was born March 23, 1665, and at the age of fourteen was sent to England for his education. He was absent in 1685, on an exploring expedition to the coast of Africa, when his father's family found refuge from persecution in England. (See Vol. I. 696, 697.) He came to New York, and obtained letters of denization from Governor Dorgan on the 4th of March. While on a voyage to Hamburg in 1692, he was captured by pirates, but effected his escape, and reached La Rochelle, France, where he was secreted by his mother's sister, Madame Mouchard, and

embarked on a vessel for Denmark; from there he proceeded to Plymouth, England, and visited his father's family. His brother Isaac was in the Huguenot regiment which fought so bravely for William III., under Count Schomberg, and died from wounds received at the battle of the Boyne. His sister Frances married Stephen Pelaquin of Bristol, England, whose son David was afterwards mayor of Bristol. Returning to New York, Augustus Jay married, in 1697, Anna Maria, daughter of Balthazar Bayard. He was a man of unblemished character, and possessed all the graces and accomplishments which distinguished the French of that period; his wealth and scholarship, together with his fine presence and engaging manners, rendered him one of the notable personages of his time. His son, Peter, born in 1704, and educated in Europe, who married Mary Van Cortlandt, was the father of John Jay, residing in the evening of his life in Rye, New York.

preparing for its defense. Howe's object was the Quaker City, and he evidently preferred the straight route across New Jersey; the demonstration was made, on the 13th of June, of being about to force his way, but he was so harassed by small parties without drawing Washington into a general engagement, that he suddenly retreated to Amboy and began to pass his troops over to Staten Island. To cover the light parties detached to injure the British, Washington moved with the main army to Quibbletown, the van under Stirling proceeding to the Metuchen meeting-house, with orders to act according to circumstances, but in no case to bring on a general engagement. Howe wheeled suddenly about, recalling his troops from Staten Island, and on the night of the 25th marched in two columns for the heights and passes on the American left.

Washington received timely intelligence and fell back to his ^{June 26} stronghold at Middlebrook. During this retrograde movement, Stirling encountered the British right column under Cornwallis, and a spirited engagement ensued at Scotch Plains; but he joined Washington upon the heights without severe loss. Upon the brow of the mountain in the rear of Plainfield is a bold projecting rock, at an elevation of four hundred feet, where tradition says Washington often stood during these five days, taking observations. Baffled in his main design, Howe ^{June 30} withdrew from New Jersey. On the 30th he embarked with sixteen thousand troops, the fleet prepared apparently for a long voyage.

The purposes of Howe were inexplicable to Washington. According to the science of war he would naturally aim to effect a junction with Burgoyne, who was marching with a strong force against Ticonderoga; and his route would be the smiling valley of the Hudson. Therefore the American posts in the Highlands were strengthened. But the fleet, after lolling in the hot July sun for two weeks, finally disappeared from New York harbor, and Washington must needs make Philadelphia his principal care. He moved his main army to Germantown, and conferred with Congress, which had returned to Philadelphia.

In the interim a brilliant achievement raised the spirits of the army. The British General Prescott commanded in Rhode Island, and was quartered in a house about five miles from Newport. Colonel William Barton, an intrepid young officer from Providence, learned the situation through a deserter, and with forty men rowed across Narragansett Bay in the dead of night, July 10, passed three frigates unobserved, ^{July 10} landed noiselessly and stole along three fourths of a mile to headquarters, passing the general's guard not two hundred yards from his window, seized the sentry, burst into the house, and reached Prescott's door before an alarm could be given; as this was not opened instantly

on demand, the colored guide broke in the panels with his head, and Barton, springing forward, saw a man sitting up in bed. "Are you General Prescott?" he asked. "I am, sir," was the reply. "You are my prisoner," said Barton. "I acknowledge it," replied Prescott. Silence was compelled, and the humiliated general was hurried, undressed, into the night-fog, over a fence, and through a rye-field where blackberry briars prevailed, much to his discomfort; he was desired to run, but he said he was an old man and could not. Therefore a strong hand taking him under the arm on each side enabled him to run. "Gentlemen, do you mean to kill me?" he exclaimed. "No, we mean to exchange you for General Lee, and after that we do not care how soon the devil has you," was the reply. They reached the boats and rowed back the same way they came, passing the men-of-war and forts undiscovered. When they were nearing Warwick Neck, fire rockets and alarm-guns revealed the consternation upon the island. A flag was sent in the morning for the general's clothes.

This admirably conducted enterprise furnished Washington the means of exchanging an officer of equal rank with Lee, which was accomplished in due course of events. Had Lee's character been as well understood then as now he would not have been wanted by the Americans at any price. He had been busy, while Congress and Washington were tenderly guarding his interests and striving for his release, in writing out and presenting to Lord and General Howe an elaborate plan for reducing the Americans. The evidence of this treason, the document itself, dated March 29, 1777, has been discovered and given to the world by the eminent scholar, George H. Moore.¹ Lee commanded little respect in the British mind, and his counsels were in the main unheeded. If he influenced in any slight degree the southern movement of the Howes, they had less reason than before to honor his military judgment.

Swiftly following the capture of Prescott came tidings of the loss of that enchanted castle in popular imagination, Ticonderoga. It had been invested by Burgoyne; and evacuated by General St. Clair on the night of July 5th. The indefatigable exertions and appeals of Schuyler for an increase of military strength were counteracted by the intrigues of Gates; Schuyler had even been displaced, at the very moment when Burgoyne's splendidly appointed army was crossing the ocean, and it was late in May before he was restored to the command. The peril then was close at hand, and it was impossible to collect men; thus the garri-

¹ *Treason of Major-General Charles Lee*, by George H. Moore; *Bancroft's Hist. United States*; *F. Moore's Loyalist Poetry of the Revolution*; *Shaw to Elliot*, March 4, 1777; *Sir Joseph Yorke to the Foreign Office*, March 7, 1777; *DeLancey's Notes to Jones's History*, Vol. 1. 672; *Watson's Annals of Philadelphia*.

son was totally inadequate for the defense of the position against such a brilliant pageant as swept over the historic waters of Lake Champlain on the 1st of July. The importance of this fortress was overestimated both in England and America, as proven by subsequent events. Still the people of New York, having regarded it as the bulwark of their safety, were terror-stricken, not knowing whither to fly. They feared the savages more than the British, and the Hessians more than the savages; and the forests were swarming with wildcats and wolves. The Tories were jubilant. And when the news reached England the king rushed into the queen's apartment, exclaiming, "I have beat them, I have beat all the Americans!" Even Lord Germain announced the fall of Ticonderoga in Parliament, as if it had been decisive of the fate of the colonies.

The Council of Safety at Kingston sent Gouverneur Morris and Abraham Yates immediately to Schuyler's headquarters at Fort Edward, to confer as to the most efficient measures for the protection of the State. They encountered rumors of disaster and depredation at the North and West which were appalling. They found Schuyler hopeful amid his perplexities, hastening to assemble his army at Moses Creek, five miles from hence, and employing scores of brave men in the woods to fell trees across the road, letting them drop from both sides, their branches mingling; they tumbled trees into the fordable rivers, and interposed every other obstacle which ingenuity could devise to embarrass Burgoyne; at the same time cattle were driven beyond his reach, and bridges and saw-mills destroyed. Within the twenty-one miles which he must needs march to reach Fort Edward, the country was so broken with streams or swamps that he was obliged to construct not less than forty bridges, one of which, a log-work over a morass, was two miles long. It was a wet season, and when dry was not a pleasant land to journey through. But the exceptional difficulties at which Burgoyne stood aghast were the result of Schuyler's sagacity. Brockholst Livingston, son of Governor Livingston of New Jersey (afterwards a judge residing in New York City), then twenty years of age, was Schuyler's most efficient aide-de-camp, and was constantly conveying orders through the woods; Matthew Clarkson, Livingston's cousin, joined Schuyler's staff at this point. The committee thought that Schuyler, from being personally acquainted with the passes and defiles, might with suitable aid effectually defeat Burgoyne.

But all eyes having been turned towards Ticonderoga as the Gibraltar of the Americans, its abandonment caused a panic of alarm and disappointment. The voice of censure against its commanders resounded from one end of the continent to the other, and was industriously sustained by Gates and those whom he had won over to his interests. Both

Schuyler and St. Clair were accused of military negligence, and even of complicity with the enemy. Party spirit, fomented by jealousies of long standing, deafened the public ear to the true reasons of the case,—or their palliating circumstances. Time and investigation proved that St. Clair had acted the part of a judicious and skillful officer. And the vista of a century reveals Schuyler's wisdom, integrity, breadth of vision, and nobility of character, in a light which will radiate undimmed in all the future. He was the real conqueror of Burgoyne, and thereby rendered services to the country second only to those of Washington in importance and extent. He had the sympathy of the New York government and the confidence of Washington through all his trials; Congress, slighting the very authority it had bestowed upon Washington so recently, sent Gates to supersede Schuyler, to whom the latter gave, upon his arrival in camp August 19, the cordial reception of a soldier and a gentleman.¹

But thrilling events had transpired ere Gates, with the powers and the aid hitherto entreated by Schuyler in vain, reached his destination. The storm had broken upon Central New York. News passed like a whirlwind through the Mohawk Valley that St. Leger with picked soldiers, accompanied by Sir John Johnson and his Royal Greens, and Brandt at the head of one thousand Indians, were coming eastward from Lake Ontario down the Mohawk River—and it was said they had offered twenty dollars for every American scalp. It was a terrible hour. The country was roused with horror. Sir John Johnson was known to be a powerful leader of men. He possessed the magnetism which inspired devotion. His regiment was composed of his kinsmen, neighbors, and tenants. Even his slaves were provided with weapons ready to obey his slightest nod. He was both a knight and a baronet. His princely domain was here, stretching off beyond the horizon; broader and more valuable than any other private estate in the colonies, save perhaps those of William Penn and Lord Fairfax. After he broke his parole and went through the woods into Canada, his wife, Mary Watts, daughter of Councilor John Watts, a lady of great beauty, was taken to Albany as a hostage for his good behavior. She was allowed to reside with a venerable aunt, accompanied by her sister and children, but given to understand that if her husband appeared in arms against the Americans, or if she attempted to escape, she would be the victim of retaliation. The following November she

¹ *The Burgoyne Campaign*, by John Austin Stevens; *Lord Mahon's History of England*, *Major-General Philip Schuyler and the Burgoyne Campaign*, by General John Watts de Peyster; *Bancroft's Hist. United States*; *Central New York in the Revolution*, by Douglass Campbell; *Burgoyne's Surrender*, by William L. Stone; *Address of Horatio Seymour*; *Oration* by George William Curtis; *DeLancey's Notes to Jones's History of New York*; *Stedman*; *Lossing*; *Sparks*; *Irving*.

applied to the Convention for permission to go to New York, which was denied; but she was allowed to take up her abode with the family of Cadwallader Colden, at Coldenham, in Ulster County. The first thing she did was to send a trusty messenger to Johnson Hall, for one of Sir John's tenants to come to her with a sleigh and a pair of good horses. The man appeared as directed, and her ladyship and sister, Miss Watts, disguised in servants' dresses, started in the evening, traveling all night, and reached Paulus Hook next morning, where Sir John, who was in New York City, received and provided for her. Thus no restraint could now be imposed upon Sir John's movements, since his family were safe under British protection, and he plunged into the strife with a bitterness scarcely to be equaled. And he was as brave and energetic as he was vindictive. Jones says that he did more mischief to the rebel settlements upon the frontiers of New York than all the partisans in the British service put together.

The inhabitants of the region, who paled with terror at the approach of this foe, were nearly all patriots, the Tories having either followed Sir John, otherwise escaped, or been imprisoned by the existing authorities. On the site of Rome stood Fort Stanwix, the garrison commanded by Colonel Peter Gansevoort, a young officer of twenty-eight, cool and resolute, aided by the bold and experienced Marinus Willett. The militia of Tryon County were quickly assembled to aid in its defense, and eight hundred, led by General Nichols Herkimer, chairman of the County Committee of Safety, were hastening to the fort on the dark, hot, sultry summer morning of August 6; when within six miles (and two miles west ^{Aug. 6.} of the Oriskany Creek, which is some eight miles from Utica), they were obliged to cross a bog and small stream in a ravine, by a primitive corduroy road, and found themselves all at once in a deadly ambush prepared by Sir John Johnson, who had been notified of their movements by the sister of Brandt. Here in this deep defile for six doubtful, desperate hours, without lines, or fort, or artillery, hand to hand, with knife and rifle, with tomahawk and spear, swaying and struggling, slipping in blood and stumbling over the dead and dying, raged the most bloody battle of the seven years' war for American Independence — and, indeed, of all modern history. After the smoke cleared from the first exchange of rifle-shots, the hollow became a whirlpool of vengeance; neighbors and kinsmen recognized as they slew each other; even brothers with uplifted spears rushed into deadly embrace. The Indians were crazed with the horrible scene and slaughtered indiscriminately. With the first volley Herkimer was mortally wounded and his horse killed; but, ordering his saddle to the foot of a tree against which he could lean for support, he calmly

directed his troops. There were no Briton born soldiers, no Hessians, no professional fighters in this combat, but New York men, children of the soil almost exclusively, kindred struggling with kindred for supremacy. The courage exhibited on both sides was marvelous. Sir John's brother-in-law, Stephen Watts of New York City, a gallant young officer of twenty-two, who led the advance-guard of the enemy from Oswego, was pierced many times with a bayonet, and lost one of his limbs, but was found alive three days after the battle and conveyed to camp by Sir John's Indians. He recovered. Colonel Willett sallied from the fort and vigorously attacked the main army of St. Leger, which diversion enabled the militia to beat off the adversary. But, alas! full four hundred were dead or wounded, including many leading and influential men. St. Leger wrote to Burgoyne that almost all the principal movers of the rebellion in Tryon County were among the slain. There was scarcely a habitation in the Mohawk Valley that was not in mourning for the loss of father, husband, brother, or son. Never had militia, caught in a trap, defended themselves with more valor, or died to better ulterior advantage for their country. Willett's exploit, without losing a man, resulted in bringing into the fort twenty or more wagon-loads of captured articles, including the gala fur robes and blankets of the Indians, and five English flags which were triumphantly displayed before evening on the flag-staff directly beneath the first "stars and stripes" ever unfurled under the Act of Congress of June 14. This pioneer United States banner was a curious piece of needlework, the white stripes having been cut out of ammunition shirts, the blue stripes fashioned from a camlet cloak which Willett had taken from the enemy at Peekskill in March, and the red stripes made of stuff contributed by one and another of the garrison. St. Leger was stunned by the obstinacy of the resistance, and Albany began to seem to him a great way off. He invested the fort, but the Indians had lost, with eighty or more of their number, including several favorite chiefs, their taste for fighting, and hearing that Arnold, sent by Schuyler, was coming up the valley with "thousands of men," they robbed the British officers of their clothes, plundered the stores, and ran away. St. Leger's forces were demoralized, and he finally retraced his steps to Canada. The blood of Central New York was not shed in vain; the sacrifice rendered Burgoyne's right arm powerless.

Before Burgoyne learned the fate of St. Leger, he sent (August 11) an expedition to capture an American depot of supplies at Bennington; it was commanded by Colonel Baum, and consisted of five hundred Hessians, a select corps of British marksmen, a numerous party of Tories, and a hundred or more Indians. But they never reached Bennington. New

England was as belligerent as New York had been at Stanwix. The hero, John Stark, was a favorite commander, although not at this time holding any commission, and the militia of New Hampshire sprang from their summer work at his call. Anticipating Burgoyne's measure, he had reached Bennington on the 9th, William Whipple, a signer of the Declaration of Independence from Maine, commanding one of the accompanying brigades. The news of the enemy's approach brought out the militia from every quarter. Berkshire was all activity. Parson Allen came from Pittsfield in his chaise, and complained because Stark did not begin the conflict in the midst of a heavy rain on the 15th. "If the Lord shall once more give us sunshine," exclaimed Stark in reply, "and I do not give your men of Berkshire fighting enough, I'll never ask you to come out again." That same day the Indians began to desert Baum. They said the woods were "full of Yankees." He had intrenched upon an eminence, within sight of the Bennington steeples some seven miles distant, upon the soil of Hoosac, New York. And dripping in the storm, harassed with uncertainty about the tactics of the Americans, irritated by the conduct of his savage allies, and subjected to the perpetual stings of skirmishing parties, his situation was anything but enviable. On the 16th Stark skillfully surrounded the whole British force, attacking upon every side simultaneously at a given signal; the ^{Aug. 16.} farmers swept up the hill with fiery and resistless fury, seized the blazing guns, drove the veteran troops as if they were wild animals threatening their homes, and became masters of the field. As they swarmed over the breastworks Baum attempted to cut his way out, but fell mortally wounded, and his worn-out troops surrendered. The contest lasted two hours; then came a brief lull and a reinforcement from Burgoyne, which had occupied thirty hours in marching twenty-four miles, and the onset was renewed, Colonel Seth Warner aiding Stark with a fresh regiment from Bennington. The second fight raged until sunset, when the foe retreated upon a run, chased by the Americans until quite dark. The arms, artillery, and ammunition-wagons captured were of special value at this crisis. The prisoners in the hands of Stark numbered seven hundred, while the loss of the British was over two hundred in killed and wounded. The Americans lost less than one hundred. It was a victory which quickened the pulse of the nation; a victory won upon the soil of New York by the sons of New England, and which rendered the left arm of Burgoyne powerless.

It was now that the haughty Burgoyne, who had airily boasted in London that with an army of ten thousand men he could promenade through America, found himself brought to a halt. He saw that he had

been deceived as to the sentiment of the country. He discovered that the Indians were irresponsible beings, and like spoiled children grew more unreasonable and importunate with every new favor. And he learned the unwelcome truth that while within forty-seven miles of the chief town of a great agricultural region he must look to Canada for his daily food; it was almost a month before he had accumulated supplies necessary for any further advance. And these triumphs had all been accomplished before Gates assumed command of the Northern department.

The outlook of the British campaign of 1777 had been interesting upon paper. Burgoyne was to move southward by Lake Champlain, Howe northward by the Hudson River, and St. Leger eastward from Lake Ontario. They were to meet at Albany. The whole strength of the English nation was aimed at the heart of New York. The fleets, the armies, and the savage allies were to follow converging lines and unite in the final blow. The study of America had convinced England that New York, physically as well as morally, was the great objective point to be conquered. That, once in possession of the stronghold of her commanding system of mountains and valleys, the American rebellion would be crushed.

In the session of Parliament from the 31st of October, 1776, to the 6th of June, 1777, America was the principal topic of discussion. Opinions clashed perpetually. Lord Rockingham in one house wished rather to give up America and embrace her as an ally than to carry on so destructive a war. Lord Cavendish in the other declared the war useless and unjust, and the conduct of it ineffectual, barbarous, and inhuman. Lord Sandwich was for forcing the Americans to submit even to the last drop of their blood. Lord Shelburne was not afraid to declare that America was justifiable in her resistance from the beginning. Another member described the Americans as a cowardly banditti who talked loudly, and ran lustily when faced by men of courage. Fox called the affair of Long Island "terrible," and saw nothing in it worthy of triumph. In relation to the bill empowering His Majesty to secure and detain persons charged with or suspected of high treason committed in North America, he cried out, "Who knows but the ministers in the fullness of their malice may take it into their heads that I have served on Long Island under General Washington?" "Our own liberties are in danger," exclaimed Wilkes. The Duke of Grafton expressed day by day the most marked abhorrence of the course pursued against America. Edmund Burke would have made peace on any terms. In the early part of May, 1777, David Hartley advised a measure in the shape of an address to the king "to rescue the honor of England from being brought to disgrace by the attempt of impossibilities." It was in substance to make a gift of independence to America, while

England might be said to have anything in her power to give. He urged for an immediate suspension of hostilities. In his opinion America was the rising world, which would in a few years be multiplied an hundred-fold, and her friendship was worth preserving. He warned Parliament of the misrepresentations or ignorance of the ministry as to the general sense of the people of America, and predicted certain defeat and disasters, with an enormous waste of public money. A few days before the session terminated (May 30) Lord Clatham, after two years of sickness and seclusion, came to the House of Lords, wrapped in flannels, to lift his voice once more against this mad and impracticable war. "You cannot conquer the Americans," he said. "Your powerful forces may ravage; they cannot conquer. I might as well talk of driving them before me with this crutch! You have sent too many to make peace, too few to make war. We are the aggressors. We have invaded them. We have tried for unconditional submission; try what can be gained now by unconditional redress." His motion was for the redress of all American grievances, and the right of Americans to dispose of their own property. The debate which ensued called forth the highest energies of both contending parties. But the motion was lost. The ministry had already obtained the vote of Parliament for one hundred thousand men and ten millions of money. David Hartley wrote: "Coercion, and not conciliation, was from the very first the secret and adopted plan. The decisive periods were during the first three sessions of this Parliament; the first, opening in November, 1774, laid the foundation of the war, the other two threw away the pearl of peace, when it was in their hands, and drove America to the irrevocable extremities of independence and foreign alliance."¹

The arrogant ministry, who had uniformly withheld every document of information from Parliament, watched the moves on their great American chess-board with exultant pride. The failure of St. Leger was hushed into silence. Lord Germain through sheer negligence omitted to sign and send the explicit orders for Howe's movements, which had been prepared, but which were found in the minister's office in London late in the Autumn.² Had this fact been known at the time, the mystery of Howe's ocean dance about the capes of Delaware while the king's forces at the North were in such dire peril would not have been so difficult of solution. Howe had resolved to take Philadelphia by sea, and a circuitous route had wasted nearly the whole month of August; he finally landed Aug. 25 at the Head of Elk on the 25th, farther from the Quaker City than he was in June, while at New Brunswick. Here he recruited his

¹ *Hartley's Letters on the American War*, 3, 31; *Parl. Hist.*

² *Foulstun's Burgoyne*, 232, 233.

army for several days, permitting an indiscriminate plunder not only of horses, cattle, and sheep, but of everything else that fell in the way of the soldiers, without distinction of Whigs and Tories.

Meanwhile the Marquis de Lafayette, with the veteran Baron de Kalb, and ten other French officers seeking service, arrived in Philadelphia by the way of the Carolinas, creating no little sensation. The romance attending the manner in which this rich young nobleman had baffled every obstacle to reach and offer his services to America as a volunteer without pay, made him an object of interest alike to the army and to the world. He was less than twenty years of age, the husband of a beautiful woman, a daughter of the illustrious house of Noailles, himself of high birth, and with ample means for every luxury. While preparing in secret a vessel for his voyage, he visited London, where his kinsman, the Marquis of Noailles, was ambassador. He was presented to King George and graciously received. He also met Sir Henry Clinton at the opera, who had come home on a winter leave of absence. And he declined an invitation to visit the naval armament at Portsmouth, as, mindful of his own hostile designs, he did not deem it proper to pry into the military forces of the kingdom. His first introduction to Washington was at a dinner-party in Philadelphia which included several members of Congress; before they separated Washington invited him to become a member of his military family, which invitation was gratefully accepted. Through him Washington learned more clearly the temper of France. Franklin's visit had produced a profound impression. The amiable Louis XVI. hesitated about involving the nation in another war with England, but it was generally understood that the United States would receive secret succors and warlike stores.

John Jay and Gouverneur Morris traveled to and from Philadelphia during the hot days of August; tarrying a few hours in Percepany, New Jersey, where Mrs. Jay and her infant son, Peter Augustus, were spending the summer months with the family of her father, Governor Livingston. They were obliged to journey with the utmost caution, as marauding expeditions from New York and Staten Island were prowling continually on the Jersey shores and far into the country. Sullivan, who had been left with his command when Washington quitted the State, attempted retaliation by crossing with a force of one thousand to Staten Island, August 22, of which Aaron Ogden and Frederick Frelinghuysen were conspicuous officers, and captured two loyalist regiments from New Jersey, with eleven officers. The prisoners were sent off in a prize vessel; but the American rear-guard was attacked before they could re-embark, and after an obstinate conflict forced to surrender; the loss was one hundred and sixty-

two. Sullivan found orders, when he regained his camp, to join Washington, who, parading his army decked with sprays of green through the streets of Philadelphia on the 24th, proceeded to the highlands beyond Wilmington, to meet Howe on his route to Philadelphia. On the 25th, General Francis Nash, brother of Governor Abner Nash of North Carolina, with his brave North Carolinians, marched also through the streets of Philadelphia and joined Washington. Meanwhile Sir Henry Clinton, retaliating upon Sullivan, sallied out of New York with three thousand troops and overran a considerable portion of the eastern section of New Jersey, causing much alarm and distress, robbing and insulting the inhabitants and seizing their valuable live stock. With the uprising of the militia he returned to the city with slight loss.

The details of these outrages were published in the American newspapers, frequently magnified, but with sufficient foundation in truth to alienate any people from the perpetrators. Governor Livingston had already begun to make his pen useful in the cause of America; and to counteract the effects of Rivington's loyalist paper in New York, he aided Isaac Collins in establishing *The New Jersey Gazette* at Burlington, which, removing from town to town as



John Jay.

[From a portrait by the artist, grandson, Hon. John Jay.]

policy or prudence dictated, continued throughout the war the leading vehicle of information in this State. Livingston's essays, through their bold reasoning and scoffing ridicule of kingly threats, did more to prevent vacillation and fear, and convince the New Jersey patriots that ultimate success on the part of Great Britain was impossible, than any other agency. And while he was presiding over the Council of Safety, sometimes at Trenton, sometimes at Morristown, and anywhere in the mountains or woods between, his bright and gifted daughters wrote his caustic articles for him.

On the 9th of September, two days before Howe met Washington below Philadelphia, while Burgoyne was moving slowly down upon Albany from the North like a terrible cloud, and Sir Henry Clinton was Sept. 9. menacing the Hudson River passage to form a junction with him — shortly to reduce the building where the scene occurred, together with the whole village, to ashes — John Jay, the first chief justice of the new State of New York, opened its supreme court in Kingston, charging the grand jury that the people of New York had chosen their Constitution under the guidance of reason and experience, and that the highest respect had been made to those great and equal rights of human nature which should ever remain inviolate in every society. "You will know," he said, "no power but such as you create, no laws but such as acquire all their obligations from your consent. The rights of conscience and private judgment are by nature subject to no control but that of the Deity, and in that free situation they are now left." He stood in his robes, this tall, straight, slight, self-poised young man, a power more formidable than fleets and armies, as he uttered these lofty ideas, declaring that "Divine Providence had made the tyranny of princes instrumental in breaking the chains of their subjects." On the 10th, George Clinton, the first governor, met the first legislature of the new State at Kingston, and its noble Constitution received the first principles of life.

And just across the borders, in Connecticut, during the same hour of threatened calamity at every point of the compass, the clergymen who comprised the corporation of Yale College elected a new president. There is something almost sublime in the calm, business-like faith of this action, in the midst of the tumults which affected all colleges, and with the picture before their eyes of Nassau Hall, at Princeton, used as barracks above and a stable below, and its fine library, the gift of Governor Belcher, scattered to the four winds by the enemy. These clerical trustees were established over parishes in different parts of the State. They were the Reverends Eliphalet Williams, Warham Williams, Moses Dickinson, John Trumbull, Moses Mather, Eliezer Goodrich, Samuel Lockwood, Mr. Pitkin, Nathaniel Taylor,¹ Mr. Beckwith, and the accom-

¹ The Rev. Nathaniel Taylor was pastor of the church in New Milford, in the north-western part of Connecticut, adjoining Dutchess County, New York. He was a trustee of Yale College twenty-six years, a pastor fifty years. He was a famous Hebrew scholar, ranked high in the pulpit, and possessed a fine graceful figure and a magnificent voice. He served as chaplain to a Connecticut regiment of troops, and remitted one year's salary to aid his people in their contributions to the war. His mother was a descendant of Thomas Benedict (see Vol. I. 202); his wife was a sister of Governor Boardman, and daughter of the first minister of New Milford. He was the grandfather of the learned theological professor, Rev. Dr. Nathaniel W. Taylor of Yale, who died in 1858, and of Dr. George Taylor of New Milford. Among his great-grandchildren is the wife of President Noah Porter, of Yale; also the wife of Hon. Thomas E. Stewart, of New York City.

pished Stephen Johnson of Lyme. Rev. Ezra Stiles, one of the purest and best gifted men of his age, who had been pastor of the church in Newport from 1756 until the invasion by the British, was their choice. He was informed of his election by Rev. Chauncey Whittlesey. Stiles said he thought "the diadem of a college president but a crown of thorns in such tumultuous times, especially when he must control from one hundred and fifty to one hundred and eighty young gentlemen students, who were a bundle of wildfire, some leaving for the army, and many coming in from other colleges." But he accepted the position, and the instruction of the rising men of the nation went forward among the leafy shades of New Haven, as if Revolution was not stalking abroad in the land.

The crash of arms came between Howe and Washington on the morning of September 11, at the same moment when Burgoyne, supposing that Howe was pushing up the Hudson, announced to

Sept. 11. his camp that

he had sent the lake fleet to Canada, virtually abandoning his communications, and that his army must fight its way or perish. Upon the banks of a beautiful creek bearing the genial name of Brandywine, and flowing into the Delaware River, Washington,

posted across the direct road of his adversary, awaited his approach ; he had made the best possible arrangement of his forces for resistance or attack, and as he rode up and down his lines there was one prolonged shout of enthusiasm. Knyphausen soon appeared at Chad's Ford and feigned an attack, while Howe and Cornwallis were hastening to cross the river seven miles farther up and obtain the rear of the Americans. Receiving this information, Washington ordered Sullivan to check their course, while he would give Knyphausen a chance to fight in



Mrs. John Jay.

Sarah, daughter of Governor William Livingston
[From a portrait in the possession of her grandson, Hon. John Jay.]

earnest. Just as Greene at the river's edge was about to begin the attack, a message from Sullivan came, saying that he had disobeyed orders because the "information upon which those orders were founded must be wrong." By two o'clock in the afternoon it was found, however, that the enemy's columns, having taken a wide circuit of seventeen miles, were in a position where they were likely to complete the overthrow of the Continental Army, and a sharp and complicated battle ensued. In the heat of the engagement on the right, Knyphausen crossed the Brandywine in one body and attacked the American left. It was near nightfall when Washington withdrew, and darkness ended the contest. His officers had displayed great personal courage. Lafayette was wounded, but kept the field till the close of the battle. Washington announced his defeat to Congress without casting blame upon any one; he stated his loss at about one thousand. The British lost nearly six hundred. Howe had made a vigorous attempt to crush the whole army between his two divisions, in which he signally failed.

Washington conducted his army to Germantown, then recrossed the Schuylkill and, watching the fords and roads, disputed the progress of the British at every step. Howe advanced compactly and with caution, never sending detached parties beyond supporting distance. There were severe skirmishes at various points. Congress took alarm and moved to Lancaster, thence after one day's session to Yorktown, in Pennsylvania. Washington was too weak to risk another battle. Howe managed to cross one of the lower fords and throw himself between Washington and

Sept. 26. Philadelphia. The rest was easy. On the morning of the 26th the British army marched into the city with music and banners and gay huzzas. Thus fell the capital, so long the seat of Congress. But the blow was light compared to what it would have been ten months before, when the British were at Trenton. "It will take so large a force to maintain it, that they will wish they had spared themselves the trouble," said Schuyler. When the news was announced to Franklin at Paris, he exclaimed, "No, no, it is not General Howe that has taken Philadelphia, it is Philadelphia that has taken General Howe!"

While yet the crack of the rifle was echoing along the banks of the Delaware, seven days before Howe's triumphal entry into the Quaker City, Burgoyne had begun his great contest with the American army at Saratoga.¹ He found himself, on crossing the Hudson upon a bridge of boats September 13th, in the presence of a foe hidden in the same dense forest

¹ This contest, or series of contests, is called variously the battle of Saratoga, Stillwater, and Bemis Heights. I have adopted the simple and better-known name of Saratoga, that the reader may have no confusion of ideas respecting the locality.

where he struck his own tents, whose drum-beat he could hear, but whose numbers and position he did not know. Gates had moved north on the 12th to a hill in Saratoga, where fortifications had been constructed under Kosciusko, the famous Polish nobleman, then only twenty-one, and from a watch-tower in the top of a high tree was kept informed of every movement of the British. Burgoyne's had been a slow-toiling army through the wilderness, undoing the tangles day by day which Schuyler had prepared for them, and a cloud of red savages had preceded and hung on their trail, driving farmers and their families, faint and sick with terror, flying before their glistening tomahawks. The most shocking atrocities were of daily occurrence. Mrs. Schuyler (Catharine Van Rensselaer) was returning from a visit in Albany to her summer home in Saratoga, and when within two miles of the mansion met a crowd of fugitives who told her that Burgoyne had crossed the Hudson, and also recounted the thrilling story of the murder of Jenny MacCrea, which had occurred near that very spot, and warned her of the danger of proceeding farther. She was alone in her carriage, and her only escort was a servant on horseback. "I must go for my daughters," she said; "besides, the general's wife ought never to know fear." And she drove on. She remained in her beautiful home only long enough to take a few valuables, as the servants informed her that Indians were already lurking in the shrubbery that adorned the grounds, and with her family escaped to Albany. Burgoyne's scarlet host boldly advanced two miles on the 19th, with all the glittering pomp and circumstance of war, accompanied by the wives and children of officers, as if the expedition were a vast pleasure-party — calashes for the ladies, horses, cannon, baggage, and stores in endless array; suddenly they were confronted by a bulwark of breastworks, artillery, and an eager foe. The Hudson was behind them, communication with Canada gone, and they had no alternative but to fight. At one o'clock the action commenced, Burgoyne leading the central division, General Riedesel the right, near the river, and General Frazer the left, making a circuit to assail the American right upon the heights; three hours later the combat was general and desperate; at five o'clock Burgoyne's army was in mortal peril; at sunset Riedesel with one regiment and two cannon struggled through a thicket and up a hill, and made a vigorous charge which stayed the fatal blow; with darkness the battle ended. The British bivouacked on the field, and huddled their dead into the ground promiscuously. They had lost five hundred. The Americans retired within their lines for the night. Their loss was less than four hundred. The glory of the day was due to the several regiments fighting with most obstinate courage in unison against regi-

Sept. 19

ments. There was no manœuvring. Just praise was awarded to Morgan with his famous Virginia riflemen, and to Scammel of New England. But no men did more efficient service on this memorable occasion than the sons of New York, led by Colonel Philip Van Cortlandt and other gallant officers, who, in disputing the pathway to their own broad acres, were contending for a continent. They resented the removal of Schulyer from the chief command, and declared that an able general might have utterly routed Burgoyne. And Arnold came up afterwards and urged an attack upon the enemy while they were disconnected and without intrenchments. Gates refused, waiting for more troops, and a quarrel ensued.

The next day Burgoyne received a message from Sir Henry Clinton in cipher, informing him that he should commence attacking the strong places along the Hudson September 22, on his route to Albany; and Burgoyne, catching at the phantom of hope, replied that he could maintain his position until October 12. This communication was placed in a hollow silver bullet, which the bearer was ordered to deliver into Clinton's own hands; he crept along the wooded country by night, concealing himself by day, until he reached Fort Montgomery, where, in response to his inquiries for General Clinton, he was conducted into the presence of Governor George Clinton! Seeing his mistake, he swallowed the bullet. An emetic was promptly administered, the dispatch discovered, and its bearer hanged as a spy. But Burgoyne, knowing the extraordinary difficulties of communication, had taken the precaution to send several messengers by different routes, one of which reached his destination after a succession of perils and hardships.

Days passed away wearily to the inactive Britons, encamped so near the Americans that every joyful gun or shout was distinctly heard, but the tidings of Sir Henry Clinton's nearness for co-operation never came. Their camp was harassed on every side. The alarm was constant. Officers and men slept in their clothes. Horses grew thin and weak. The rations of the soldiers were clipped. Eight hundred sick and wounded were in the hospital. Finally Burgoyne saw that he had provisions for but a few days longer, and on the evening of October 5 summoned his generals to a final council relative to the policy of attacking the Americans.

Had they known what had occurred the day before at Germantown, they would have been less despondent. Washington, passing suddenly from the defensive and retreating to the audacious, had swooped down upon Howe's encampment in this pretty suburb of Philadelphia. It was then a small village of one street two miles long. Washington had planned a simultaneous attack upon the wings, front, and

Oct. 4.

rear, to be swiftly and vigorously made, from which the troops might expeditiously retreat if unsuccessful. He marched from his post on the Skippack road twenty miles from Philadelphia in the evening of the 3d, and the attack was made at dawn. It startled all the British legions in the vicinity; Howe sprang from his bed and rode to the scene just in time to see one of his battalions running away. Cornwallis, in Philadelphia, was wakened by the cannon, and his grenadiers ran the whole distance, although not reaching the ground until the action terminated. Washington dashed into the thickest of the fight. He thought for a time that victory was in his grasp. Greene was three quarters of an hour too late to perform his part of the programme, and then conducted his men carelessly, by which the divisions became mixed and caused serious confusion. Washington, at half past eight, gave the order to retreat, sending it to every division, and care was taken to remove every piece of artillery. He had lost in killed, wounded, and missing about one thousand. Among the officers killed was the accomplished General Nash. The enemy, according to Howe's report, lost five hundred in killed and wounded. General Agnew and Colonel Bird were both killed. This attack of Washington so soon after the defeat at Brandywine was a partial success, inasmuch as it convinced the world that defeat was not conquest. The British fleet soon attacked the Delaware forts, and several severe engagements occurred. At Redbank the Hessians were repulsed, and their commander, Count Donop, taken prisoner, mortally wounded, dying in the fort tenderly cared for by Duplessis de Maudit, a French officer of engineers who had joined the Americans.

While Burgoyne was making his preparations for the fatal battle of October 7, Sir Henry Clinton, four thousand strong, disembarked Oct. 6 at Stony Point on the Hudson. He had first landed at Verplanck's Point to deceive Putnam at Peekskill, who quickly rallied a force to oppose his advance up the eastern bank of the river. Having thus diverted attention, Clinton crossed quietly in a fog, and from Stony Point, on the west bank, marched over Dunderberg Mountain, a distance of twelve miles, to attack forts Montgomery and Clinton, which were not defensible in the rear, they having been simply constructed to guard the river. Governor Clinton, with the first intimation that the British were on the move, had prorogued the new legislature, sitting at Kingston, and hurried to the points of danger, ordering militia to his aid, the regular troops having been drawn off to Saratoga and elsewhere in the great emergency, leaving the garrisons feeble. His brother, General James Clinton, commanded one of the fortresses and himself the other. They were surprised simultaneously by the descent of the British from the mountain in two

columns, and a desperate battle ensued. The New-Yorkers went out to meet the British and Tories in the open field, and after protracted resistance gave way only at the point of the bayonet, spiking their cannon before retiring. The British then vigorously attacked both forts on all sides, which were defended with spirit. At five o'clock in the afternoon a summons to surrender as prisoners-of-war was rejected by the Americans with scorn. The attack was renewed, and the works finally forced at nightfall by overpowering numbers. The Americans fought their way out, and many of them escaped. Governor Clinton leaped a precipice in the darkness and reached the water's edge, where he found his brother James about to enter a skiff, which would hold but one man with safety, and who insisted upon the governor's taking it instead of himself. The governor indignantly refused unless his brother could go also, which was impossible; and to end the dispute James fairly pushed the governor into the skiff and shoved it off, springing upon a loose horse near by and dashing through a squad of British troops, by whom he was wounded in the thigh with a bayonet, but reached next day his home in Orange County. The British loss was about one hundred and forty. Of the Americans, three hundred were killed and captured, nearly all of whom were New-Yorkers; and, as at Oriskany, their blood was not spilled for naught. Sir Henry Clinton received a check which delayed the execution of his plans, and thereby prevented his aiding the Northern British army, notwithstanding that, after clearing away the chain stretched across the Hudson at Anthony's Nose, he sailed into Newburgh Bay, sending a message gayly to Burgoyne, "Here we are! Nothing between us and Albany." The message, however, was intercepted.

The next morning broke in mocking splendor. The woods about
Oct. 7. Saratoga were clad in their gayest foliage. The air was soft and balmy. Burgoyne had determined to hazard a battle, and was astir early. At ten o'clock his divisions were in readiness. Seconded by Riedesel, Philips, and Frazer, and with fifteen hundred picked troops, the best in his army, he advanced in three columns, sending skirmishers ahead, and, forming in line about three fourths of a mile from the American works, sat down in double ranks, courting battle. Ten guns were well posted. The grenadiers under Major Ackland were in the forest on the left; Frazer commanded the light infantry to the right, and sent foragers to cut wheat in a field with which to feed their starving horses, while some Canadians, loyalists, and Indians should attempt to get in the American rear, in order to discover the best place for forcing a way through towards Albany. The indications were quickly known in the American camp on Bemis Heights, which formed the segment of

a circle, the convex towards the enemy, and drums beat the alarm. Swiftly, as a rocket shoots into the sky and suddenly divides into manifold parts, a column bristling with fiery determination issued from the works into the open field, commanded by the invincible Morgan, and slightly curving in its swift approach opened to the right and the left in one fierce assault upon Frazer's forces, shouting and blazing with deadly aim; at the same instant General Enoch Poor, with his New Hampshire men, and General Abraham Ten Broeck,¹ with three thousand New-Yorkers, faced, unmoved, the cannon and grape-shot with which they were greeted, as, emerging from the woods, they fell furiously upon the British left. The dash and the courage of the Americans amazed and appalled the haughty Britons; they seemed to multiply into countless numbers, pouring a deadly fire upon each flank, then closed, and, grappling hand to hand, the mad mass swayed to and fro for half an hour, more than once, five times taking and retaking a single gun. The right wing of the British staggered and recoiled under the blow of Virginia, as Colonel Henry Dearborn, with a body of New-Englanders, descended impetuously from superior ground, and with flaming muskets broke the English line, which wildly fled; they rallied and reformed, when the whole American force dashed against their center held by the Germans; Frazer, the inspiring genius of the day, hurried to form a second line in the rear to cover a retreat, but received his death-wound. With his fall the British heart was stunned. The Americans saw their advantage, and pressed forward jubilant with certain victory. Burgoyne's first aid, Sir Francis Clarke, sent to the rescue of the artillery, was mortally wounded before he could deliver his message; thus eight British guns were captured. The grenadiers retreated, leaving Major Ackland bleeding upon the field.

It was but fifty minutes since the action began. The British, dismayed and bewildered, had scarcely regained their works, when Benedict Arnold, stinging under the smart of the refusal of Gates to give him a command, put spurs to his horse, outriding Major John Armstrong, who was sent to recall him, and without authority, save that of his own mad will, whirled from end to end of the American line, vociferating orders

¹ General Abraham Ten Broeck married Elizabeth, daughter of General Stephen Van Rensselaer, the fourth Patroon in the direct line from Kiliaen (see Vol. I. 61, 62), and his wife Catharine, the accomplished daughter of Philip Livingston, signer of the Declaration of Independence. General Ten Broeck was the son of Direk Ten Broeck, many years recorder, and also mayor of Albany. He was born in 1734; he was a member of the New York Assembly from 1761 to 1775, also of the Revolutionary congress, and of the convention which organized the State government; he was afterwards state senator, mayor of Albany from 1779 to 1783, and filled other positions of trust.

which were obeyed as if by a charm, hurled the whole force against the strongest part of the British redoubt, continuing the assault for a full hour without success; then flinging himself to the extreme right, swept the Massachusetts brigade with him and streaming over the breastworks overpowered the Germans, killed Breymann, their colonel, and held the point which commanded the entire British position, the next instant falling badly wounded as his horse was killed beneath him. Ordering Matthew Clarkson at the most critical moment to bring up some regiments under Learned, the youthful aid had asked, "Where shall I find you, sir?" "Where you hear the hottest firing," was the quick response. Burgoyne exposed himself fearlessly; a musket-ball passed through his hat, and another tore his waistcoat. Night at last drew its curtain over the scene and the combatants rested.

In a little house on the river-bank the Baroness Riedesel and Lady Harriet Ackland spent the day in agonizing fear. A dinner awaited the four accomplished generals who went out in the morning expecting to return to the banquet at four. As the hour approached, the gallant and beloved Frazer was borne in dying instead. The table was removed and a bed improvised, in its place. The baroness put her three young children to bed that they might not disturb the sufferer; wounded men were constantly being brought in; they were laid in the entries and in all available parts of the house. Lady Ackland was in extreme distress concerning the fate of her husband, who was within the American lines. At ten o'clock in the evening Burgoyne ordered a retreat, but he had only transferred his camp to the heights above the hospital at daylight next morning. All day the two armies exchanged a sharp fire without any positive action. General Lincoln was severely wounded while riding by the side of Gates reconnoitering the British position. That evening, in a cold autumn rain, Frazer, who had been the life and soul of the invading army, was solemnly buried; immediately after which touching service Burgoyne stole away in the stormy darkness, leaving his sick and wounded to the mercy of the Americans. His few days' provisions were confided to boats on the Hudson, but the difficulty of guarding them was very great. His guns were dragged along the muddy roads. Towards daylight the no longer boastful Britons halted for rest. It rained all day on the 9th; in the evening the main portion of the drenched army forded Fish Creek, waist-deep, and bivouacked on the opposite bank in the open air. Burgoyne remained upon the south side with a strong guard, and passed the night in the mansion of General Schuyler. The next day he burned it, with all its valuable barns, mills and outbuildings — an elegant villa property. The ladies of the British officers suffered every

discomfort during this humiliating retreat. Lady Harriet Ackland, in the midst of the driving storm of the 9th, obtained permission to visit the American camp and ask to be allowed to share her husband's imprisonment and alleviate his sufferings. She set out at dusk in an open boat, accompanied by her waiting-maid, her husband's valet, and a chaplain, and was kindly received by Gates.

Burgoyne found himself unable to retreat to Lake George. The Americans had blocked the way. He encamped on an elevated plateau northeast of the village of Schuylerville; and the army of Gates was presently encamped all around him. He was subjected to a fire on flank and rear and front. His outposts were perpetually engaged. The soldiers dared not lay down their arms night or day. The whole camp became a scene of constant fighting. There was no safety for baggage, and no safe shelter for the wounded even while the surgeon was binding up their wounds. No water could be obtained, although close to Fish Creek and the Hudson River, for the trees were filled with Morgan's sharp-shooters. Provisions were nearly exhausted, wounded officers crawled into the cellars of houses; eleven cannon-balls crashed through one house where Baroness Riedesel was ministering to sufferers in the cellar. Rifle-balls were every moment perforating the tents, and on the 13th a cannon-ball swept across the table where Burgoyne and his generals were seated. On the 14th a cessation of hostilities until terms of capitulation could be arranged was proposed by Burgoyne. His aid, Colonel Kingston, was received at the crossing of the creek by James Wilkinson, the young adjutant-general of the American army, and conducted blindfolded into the presence of Gates. An unconditional surrender was at first demanded; but on the 16th Gates consented to more generous terms. In the night intelligence of the reduction of the Hudson River forts and Clinton's northerly advance reached Burgoyne, and he wavered for a moment, hoping to avoid surrender. But it was too late. He could not honorably recall his word. At nine o'clock on the morning of the 17th he attached his signature to the convention.¹ Two hours later his troops marched out of their lines and deposited their arms on the river-bank, the brave veterans so overcome with sorrow and shame that many sobbed like children as they grasped for the last time weapons they had borne with honor, some kissing their guns with the tenderness of lovers, others stamping upon them with oaths of rage. The scene was be-

¹ Burgoyne had earnestly desired that the treaty should be called a *concentration*, and not a *capitulation*. This matter of taste was conceded, inasmuch as it did not alter the facts, or deprive the American arms of one leaf of the laurels they had won. For treaty in full, see Appendix A.

held by no American eyes except those of the two young aids of Gates, Morgan Lewis¹ and Wilkinson. The delicacy of the arrangement reflected the greatest credit upon the Americans. A few moments later, Burgoyne and his suite rode to the headquarters of Gates. The two commanders exchanged the compliments of soldiers. Burgoyne glittered in scarlet and gold a large, well-formed, handsome man with courtly manners; Gates, smaller of stature and without the airs of fine breeding or pretension, was clad in a plain blue overcoat—and Schuyler stood by him in citizen's dress. "The fortune of war has made me your prisoner," said Burgoyne, with hat in hand, as he took the extended hand of Gates. "I shall always be ready to testify that it has not been through any fault of your Excellency," was the graceful reply. The generals entered the tent of Gates and dined together on boards laid across barrels. During the same hour the Royal troops were served with bread by the Americans, as they were destitute, even without flour to make it; they had not more than one day's provision of any kind remaining. The generals courteously conversed; Burgoyne spoke very flatteringly of the Americans, praised their discipline and their dress, and particularly their numbers. "Your fund of men is inexhaustible; like the Hydra's head, when cut off seven more spring up in its stead," he remarked. At the close of the repast Burgoyne toasted Washington and Gates toasted the King of England. Then, as the captured army approached on their march to Boston, the two commanders stepped out in front of the tent, and standing together conspicuously in full view of both armies—the conquerors and the conquered—Burgoyne drew his sword, bowed, and presented it to Gates, Gates, bowing, received the sword, and returned it to Burgoyne.

No simple ceremony in the world's history was ever more significant. No martial event from the battle of Marathon to that of Waterloo—two thousand years—exerted a greater influence upon human affairs than the conquest of Burgoyne. Of the fifteen battles decisive of lasting results, during more than twenty centuries of human progress, the conflict of Saratoga is one. Up to that hour the Americans were esteemed "rebels" by the powers of the earth. Henceforward they were patriots attempting to rescue their country from wrong and outrage. The agents of Congress were no longer obliged to hold intercourse with the monarchs of Europe in stealthy ways. They met with open congratulations. A new power

¹ Morgan Lewis was born in 1754, hence was twenty-three years of age at this epoch; James Wilkinson was twenty. Morgan Lewis was the son of Francis Lewis, signer of the Declaration of Independence; he had been a student of law in the office of John Jay. In June, 1775, he joined the army in Cambridge, and was made captain of a rifle company. His subsequent career will be noted in future pages.

was recognized. A new element had entered into the diplomacy of nations. This victory determined the French alliance, and the French alliance was instrumental in securing the final triumph.

The figure of Philip Schuyler rises grandly above all others in this connection. To his judicious and distinguished efforts, his ingenious contrivances and unceasing vigilance, was due the glory. And yet he uttered no complaint at seeing his laurels worn by another; he even congratulated Gates (who had displayed no professional skill whatever,) in the true spirit of chivalrous courtesy and devotion to the common cause, and ministered to the personal comfort of the fallen foe. Riedesel sent for his wife and children as soon as the Royal army had passed by. They came in a calash, and a gentleman of dignified bearing, devoid of military insignia, lifted the children from it, kissing them and caressing them, and gallantly assisted the baroness to alight, offering her his arm and conducting her to the tent of Gates, where the generals were assembled; presently he suggested that his own tent was more quiet, and invited the lady to accept its hospitalities. "I then learned," writes the baroness, "that he was the American General Schuyler." Burgoyne spoke feelingly to Schuyler concerning the destruction of his Saratoga property. "Don't speak of it; it was the fate of war," was the magnanimous reply. And when Burgoyne moved on his journey to Boston, Schuyler sent an aide-de-camp to conduct him to his own home, — "an elegant house,"¹ said Burgoyne, "where, to my great surprise, I was presented to Mrs. Schuyler and her family; and where I remained during my whole stay at Albany, with a table of more than twenty courses for me and my friends, and every other possible demonstration of hospitality."

On the same day that Burgoyne at Saratoga assented to the terms of surrender, Sir Henry Clinton, having caused the destruction of every American vessel on the Hudson as far as the mouth of Esopus Creek, added to the general distress and terror by sending General Vaughan to strike a death-blow to Kingston, the temporary capital of New York. In size, wealth, and importance it was the third town in the State. Its population numbered between three and four thousand. Some forty-eight stone dwellings, of which several were large and elegant, with three or more hundred houses of wood, and two good-sized hotels, stood within an area of about twenty-five acres; together with a court-house built of blue limestone, and a Dutch Church with an extensive burial inclosure. It numbered among its inhabitants numerous families of distinction; as, for instance, the Van Gaasbecks, the Tappans, the Bruyns, the Elmendorfs,

¹ Sketch of Schuyler Mansion, page 146 (Vol. II.); *Speech of Burgoyne in the House of Commons*, on Mr. Vyner's motion, May 26, 1788.

the Bogarduses, the Hasbroucks, the Hardenburghs, the Van Burens, the Kierstedts, the Van Steenburghs, the Du Boises, the Van Deusens, the Banckers, and the Vanderlyns. John Vanderlyn, the painter, was then an infant. A boys' boarding-school flourished under Dominie Doll, in which the afterwards distinguished Edward Livingston (youngest brother of the Chancellor), then thirteen years of age, was a pupil. It was this institution to which he referred twenty years later, when he said, "I learned some lessons besides those found in the good teacher's *curriculum*. At my first dinner, potatoes and a piece of pork composed the whole bill of fare. The knife and fork were put in the solitary dish, and the school-boy invited to partake. 'I don't like pork, we never eat it at home,' was my reply. 'Very well, my little man,' said my host, 'nobody obliges you to eat.' Consequently a potato was my repast. The second day brought no variety. On the third, fastidiousness succumbed to hunger, and I endured the pork and potato diet without variation through the term." Kingston was the refuge of numerous New York families of wealth and position, who with their liveried negro slaves and stylish equipages had retired from the city before the British entered and took possession of their costly homes. Philip Livingston, the signer of the Declaration of Independence, lived in a spacious house near the Hudson, which was also the present home of his daughter Sarah, and her husband, Rev. Dr. John Henry Livingston. The Rev. Dr. John Rodgers, of the Brick Church, New York City, residing near them, was aroused in the middle of the night of the 15th by an unlettered German whom he scarcely knew, and warned to immediately remove the household goods which he had stored in a small building on the river-bank; he did so, and with the Livingstons escaped to Sharon, Connecticut. James Beekman, whose fine mansion on the East River was proving so delightful to the British officers, had rented a farm near Kingston, and with his clever and accomplished wife (Jane Keteltas) was devoting himself to the education of his children. Some of the new state officials were attended by their families. Mrs. John Jay had recently joined her husband. The stately ceremonials, together with the showy costume of the period — wigs, ruffles, velvet coats, white silk stockings, and shoe-buckles of the gentlemen, and the court hoop, brocaded silks, and mountains of powdered hair, flowers, and feathers of the ladies — and the host of colored retainers, gave to the scene the effect of a little feudal court. The approach of the enemy was known in time for the flight of the people, some of whom were able to remove a portion of their personal property. Vaughan landed at Rondout, burning every habitation on the two-mile route to Kingston by two roads, where within the next three hours he accomplished the total destruction of the defense-

less town, burning every house and barn and building but one, including twelve thousand barrels of flour and a large quantity of other stores; then hastily retreated, fearing speedy vengeance. He presently crossed the Hudson, marched in various directions, burned the dwellings of all well-known Whigs, and committed wanton outrages which provoked universal condemnation, even among those who were attached to the king's cause. Two British officers, a wounded captain and his surgeon, were being hospitably entertained by Mrs. Judge Robert R. Livingston, the mother of the Chancellor and of Edward Livingston, at her beautiful home at Clermont, as the red smoking column, bearing the torch aloft, neared her dwelling, and they gratefully proposed to extend the protection of their presence and influence to save her property, which she politely declined; burying a part of her furniture, the remainder was packed upon wagons; and with her large family and retinue of servants she set forth on a weary journey to Salisbury, Connecticut; at the moment of starting, the figure of a favorite servant, a fat old negro woman, perched in solemn anxiety on the top of one of the loads, caused a burst of hearty merriment. Mrs. Livingston did not leave one moment too soon, as the smoke and flames rising from her mansion told her ere she was two miles away. The news from Saratoga suddenly checked these useless atrocities, and Sir Henry Clinton called in his troops and fell back to New York.

Gates sent Wilkinson to bear the victorious tidings of Burgoyne's surrender to Congress; while on the route he stopped at the quarters of Lord Stirling, in Reading, where in a free conversation he repeated part of a letter which Gates had received from Conway, a boastful, intriguing officer, who had joined the army at Morristown under an appointment from Congress. The letter contained strictures on the management of the army under Washington, with many disparaging comments. Stirling, prompted by friendship, communicated the matter to Washington, and a correspondence followed between Washington, Gates, and Conway, the incidents springing from which revealed an underhanded conspiracy that had been for some time in progress to secure the removal of the commander-in-chief. The success of the Northern army emboldened Gates, and Congress for a time was seriously influenced in favor of the aspirants. But public sentiment expressed itself in a manner so emphatic that the scheme was subsequently abandoned. As the winter approached Howe took observations of Washington's encampment at Whitmarsh, but after, as Jones quaintly remarks, "viewing the front of the American right, marching to the center and taking another view, from thence to the left and stealing a peep there," he decided that the works were invulnerable, and that he had better leave them in repose; and with some

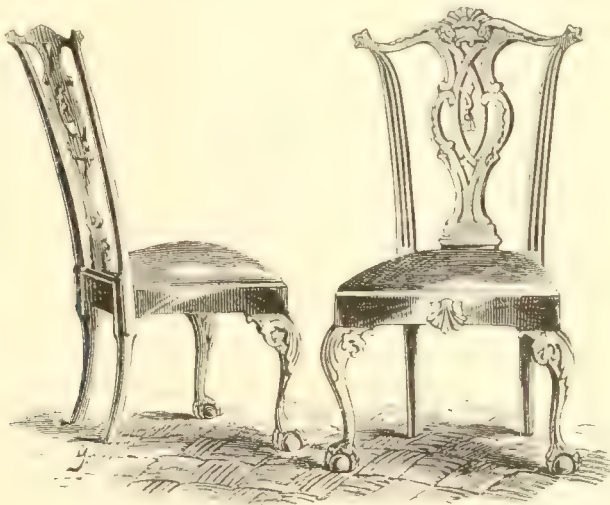
skirmishing, in which a few were killed on both sides, marched back to the warm December fires and snug quarters of Philadelphia. Washington soon after this removed his weary and destitute army to Valley Forge; such was the want of shoes and stockings among his men, that it is said they might have been tracked over the hard frozen ground the whole distance from Whitemarsh by the blood of their feet. Governor Livingston appealed eloquently to the ladies of New Jersey to contribute from their superfluous woolen habits to the scanty clothing of the suffering soldiers; and every nerve was strained to prevent an absolute famine in camp. Within twenty miles of each other the two hostile armies thus lay quietly until spring.

Putnam went into winter-quarters in the Highlands. While he was striving with his accustomed energy to provide needful shelter and food for his forces, Burgoyne's army was destroying every latent spark of sympathy with Great Britain, which had in Massachusetts survived the shock of horrors that distinguished this bloody year, through their conduct along the route to and in Boston, from whence they were to embark for England. The houseless inhabitants of Kingston were at the same time shivering in meagre hovels in country places; some few had found accommodations in Hurley, four miles from the ruins of the little capital, where the new state government lighted in its flight, and where the boarding-school of Dominie Doll continued to prosper. In all directions within the vicinity of New York the British forays had left ashes, desolation, and anguish along their track. It seemed as if everything useful to man was plundered or consumed. Meigs, with a detachment of Parsons's brigade, descended upon a band of freebooters in West Chester, capturing fifty, with the cattle and horses they had stolen. But it remained for Tryon to crown the cruelties of the year, by sending an expedition, under Emmerick, with blazing torches, through Tarrytown and neighborhood, which executed its mission with a degree of barbarity seldom equaled in civilized warfare. Among other outrages, Peter and Cornelius Van Tassel, noted Whigs, were dragged from their dwellings which were set on fire, and led to the British lines with halters about their necks, naked

Nov. 18. and barefoot, although the night was intensely cold; and women and children were mercilessly abused and exposed. Parsons wrote a letter of expostulation to Tryon, in which he said that if disposed to retaliate he could easily burn the Philipse or the De Lancey mansion, but had refrained from doing so because of the wanton and unjustifiable inhumanity of such acts. Tryon promptly replied that with more authority he "would burn every committee man's house within his reach." The result followed swiftly. A party of Americans landed from a whale-

boat at Bloomingdale within a week, surprised and captured a small guard at the landing, proceeded to the beautiful country-seat of Oliver De Lancey, and destroyed it, with everything it contained. The terrified ladies made their escape as best they could; Mrs. De Lancey concealed herself in a stone dog-kennel under the stoop until the party had recrossed the Hudson; Miss Charlotte De Lancey (afterwards Lady Dundas), with her brother's child in her arms, Miss Floyd, a guest of the family (afterwards the wife of John Peter De Lancey and mother of Bishop De Lancey), and Mrs. John Harris Cruger, De Lancey's oldest daughter, fled into the woods and bushes in the darkness, remaining in the open air all night.

The last important event of 1777 was the selection of a new site for a fort to replace Forts Montgomery and Clinton; Governor George Clinton with Lieutenant-Governor Van Cortlandt, John Jay, and one or two members of the New York Legislature, made observations along the Hudson, and afterwards in council with Washington, determined upon West Point. Early in January, with the snow two feet deep, devoid of tents or suitable tools, Parsons's brigade, under Putnam's direction, threw up the first embankment. From that hour until to-day no foreign power has ever been able to pass up and down the Hudson River without doing homage to the American flag.



The Waddell Chairs.

(Engraving 1857.)

CHAPTER V.

1778, 1779.

VARIED EVENTS.

PARLIAMENT. — THE FRENCH ALLIANCE. — CAMP AT VALLEY FORGE. — BARON STEUBEN. — GARDINER'S ISLAND. — GENERAL HOWE SUPERSEDED BY SIR HENRY CLINTON. — THE BATTLE OF THE KEYS. — EVACUATION OF PHILADELPHIA BY THE BRITISH. — BATTLE OF MONMOUTH. — GENERAL LEE. — ARRIVAL OF THE FRENCH FLEET. — DESTRUCTION OF WYOMING. — NEW YORK CITY UNDER THE BRITISH. — THE PRISONS. — CITIZENS. — COLONEL LUDDINGTON. — FORAYS IN ALL DIRECTIONS FROM NEW YORK CITY. — DR. JOHN COCHRANE. — WINTER-QUARTERS. — WASHINGTON IN PHILADELPHIA. — THE VERPLANCK MANSION. — CONDITION OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK. — NEW HAVEN ATTACKED. — BURNING OF FAIRFIELD. — BURNING OF NORWALK. — STORMING OF STONY POINT. — PAULUS HOOK. — SULLIVAN'S EXPEDITION AGAINST THE INDIANS. — THE SOUTHERN ARMY. — NEWPORT. — WASHINGTON AT MORRISTOWN.

THE news of the disaster to the British arms at Saratoga fell like a thunder-stroke upon the Court of England. Lord Petersham was the bearer of Burgoyne's dispatch, penned in the Schuyler Mansion at Albany. The public admired the grace and dignity with which he told his melancholy tale. "The style is charming," said a minister in the Royal presence. "He had better have beaten the rebels and misspelt every word in the recital," said the king.

The fourth session of Parliament, from November, 1777, to June, 1778, was a continued scene of controversy. The Opposition was growing every day more powerful. The employment of savages to fight the Americans was the well-spring of a blaze of eloquence seldom equaled in the history of the English language. Its condemnation brought Lord Chatham to his feet in one of the most brilliant speeches of his life. Lord North threw out hints in debate that he might make some proposition of accommodation, and the straw was seized by those who were eager to end the contest. Lord Chatham motioned that the door of reconciliation be opened by a treaty, before France, who was helping the Americans in an underhanded way, should take a bolder stand; but

the motion was lost. Franklin, from Paris, wrote to David Hartley (in October), that some act of generosity and kindness towards the American prisoners might soften resentment and facilitate negotiations. And the philanthropic Hartley, acting upon the hint, started a charitable subscription for that end to which large sums were added freely. In December, the situation being well known to Hartley, he addressed Parliament, urging the immediate opening of a treaty with the Americans while they were discontented with the cool and dilatory proceedings of the Court of France. "Do it before you sleep," he said. "But they slept and did it not," he wrote to the mayor and corporation of Kingston upon Hull, a few months afterward. No steps of importance were taken until the latter part of February.

By that time France had thrown off her veil, and all Europe was ringing with the news of England's disappointment. When Lord North rose in the House of Commons to introduce his Conciliation Bills, admitting that he and his party had been all in the wrong with regard to America, the astonishment of the crowd of members and peers present, says Walpole, was totally indescribable. A dull oppressive silence for some time succeeded his speech. "Not a single mark of approbation was heard from any man or description of men within the walls of Parliament." Charles Fox finally rose and ironically complimented Lord North on his happy conversion, and congratulated the Opposition on having obtained so powerful an ally, then with cutting emphasis inquired if a commercial treaty with France had not been signed by the American agents in Paris within ten days? Lord North was thunderstruck, and remained silent. When forced up by the clamor, he owned that he had heard such a rumor, but had received no official intelligence to that effect.

In Paris, during the greater part of January, Franklin, portly and seventy-two, had been weighing and chiseling the forty-four articles comprised within the two treaties—one of amity and commerce, the other offensive and defensive—which had been prepared for consideration. Arthur Lee was in a tumult of impatience, and wished Franklin "would make more haste." Temple Franklin said that his "grandfather's dining out every day prevented any business from being done." Whereupon Lee jotted in his journal that it "was an unpromising state of things when boys made such observations on the conduct of their grandfathers." As every phrase of the two treaties must be critically scanned and agreed upon by four men of differing opinions, then translated accurately into English, it was serious as well as protracted labor. In the midst of it letters from home told Franklin that his daughter, with an infant four months old, had retired from Philadelphia twenty miles into the country, carrying his library

and papers with her, and that André and other British officers were domiciled in his house, playing with his electrical apparatus, his musical glasses, his harps and harpsichords. Ralph Izard of South Carolina, who had been sent by Congress to the Court of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, resided in Paris, and was every day in counsel with Franklin and his associates. The wife of Ralph Izard was Alice De Lancey, daughter of Peter De Lancey, and sister of Mrs. John Watts of New York, of the powerful family at that moment arrayed upon the side of Great Britain. On the evening of February 6 the treaties, having been perfected and approved, were duly signed and sealed by M. Gerard for France, and by Franklin, Arthur Lee, and Silas Deane for America.

On the 13th of March the French Minister in London, Marquis de Noailles, placed in the hands of the English Secretary of State a note announcing the significant event, couched in terms almost of derision. The very next day Lord North offered his resignation to George III., and advised that Lord Chatham be appointed Prime Minister in his stead. The king vehemently refused to consent; but when advised again and again that Chatham was the only minister who might reconcile all parties, and that if Lord North retired no other administration on the same basis could be formed, and, also, that in the estimation of Lord Barrington, Secretary of War, the nation had not one general equal to the emergency should Great Britain or Ireland be invaded by the armies of Europe, he found that his aversion must yield to the overwhelming tide of circumstances.

On the 20th the treaties were publicly acknowledged by France, and the American envoys presented to the king. Franklin was ^{March 20.} dressed in a suit of black velvet, with snowy ruffles at wrist and bosom, white silk stockings, and silver buckles. Nothing more elegant was ever worn by a man of seventy-two in any age or country. Yet it was only the prevailing costume of an American gentleman of that date at dinners and fêtes at home. It is said that he had ordered a wig, but when the peruke-maker came with it and tried it upon the head it was destined to disfigure, it would not fit. The man manipulated until Franklin ventured to hint that perhaps the wig was too small. "O no, Monsieur, impossible," he replied. Then after a few more vain efforts he exclaimed, throwing it down angrily, "No, Monsieur; it is not the wig that is too small, it is your head that is too large." Franklin finally relinquished the idea of obeying arbitrary edicts of any character, and went to court without a court dress; and all Europe applauded. After the ceremony of presentation to the king, the envoys drove to the magnificent residence of Vergennes to partake of a dinner given in their

honor, the guests comprising some of the most distinguished of the French nobility. In the evening they were presented to Marie Antionette, who was charmingly enthusiastic over the new relationship.

The next day Lord Stormont left Paris for London. He found Lord North pressing his conciliatory measures in the hope of averting war with France, but determined to resign. The ministerial party were in bad humor, said they had been deceived and betrayed, and talked loudly about the disgraceful capitulation with the Americans. The Opposition doubted the acceptance of the proposals offered, and without opposing made their support as disagreeable as possible; they said that the Ministry, having failed in their secret designs, and being baffled and beaten, were trying to excuse their unexampled barbarity and devastation by pretences that were unreal. Both parties, however, in reality acquiesced.

Meanwhile Sir Guy Carleton had resented the course pursued when Burgoyne was given the command of the Northern Army, and had written to Lord Germain with so much asperity that his removal from the government of Canada followed. General Howe had been offended by the criticisms of his superiors and the lack of attention to his call for men and means, and requested permission to relinquish his command in America, which was promptly granted, Sir Henry Clinton being appointed in his stead. And Lord Howe had taken umbrage at what he esteemed a slight from his sovereign, and retired from the service. In choosing commissioners to the American Congress, innumerable objections to the gentlemen proposed were advanced. Lord Carlisle was then only known to the public as a man of fashion and pleasure. Against his appointment much was said both in and out of Parliament. The Duke of Richmond stated, in the course of an animated debate, that one of the governors in America made objection to the Congress because some of them sat in council with woolen caps on. "How inadequate must such an embassy be (referring to the fashionable lord) to men in woolen night-caps!" he cried. Indeed, the Duke of Richmond was bent on making peace upon any terms which would secure the good-will of the Americans and retain them as allies. Lord Chatham entered the House of Lords April 7, walking with feeble steps, and leaning with one arm on his son William, with the other on Lord Mahon. With the sad scene of that day the world is familiar. The noble statesman yielded up his life while in the very act of performing a service for America. Had he survived even a few days longer he would probably have been called to the helm of public affairs and invited to solve the problem which he had himself propounded.

Hardly less doubtful and divided as to the proper course to be pursued

were another body of men, assembled in a little Pennsylvania town. The distressing condition of the army at Valley Forge, the growing depreciation of the paper-money, the ruinous loss of trade, and the augmented burdens of the war were variously discussed. A large party in Congress had become bitterly opposed to Washington through the industrious agencies at work to undermine his power. The dominant influence of Gates, and the feuds and factions and intrigues of jealous rivals, darkly clouded the whole winter sky of American interests. As Congress always sat with closed doors, the public knew no more of what passed than it was deemed expedient to disclose. But Washington was alive to the situation, and insisted upon the aid and counsel of a committee of five from Congress in forming a new system for the army. Hence Reed, Folsom, Dana, Charles Carroll, and Gouverneur Morris were sent to Valley Forge in January, and remained nearly three months in camp. "The mighty Senate of America is not what you have known it; the State of Pennsylvania is sick even unto death," wrote Morris to Jay. In reply, Jay remarked: "Your enemies talk much of your Tory connections in Philadelphia. Take care. Do not expose yourself to calumny." As a portion of the family of Morris were loyalists, his mother's residence within the British lines during the whole war, and numerous relatives on intimate terms with the enemy, much anxiety was engendered on his account.

Mrs. Washington arrived at Valley Forge in February, and resided at headquarters until spring. A log-cabin was built for a dining-room, and numerous comforts were added to the rude establishment of her husband in consequence of her presence. Lady Stirling and her daughter Kitty, Mrs. Knox, and several other ladies also joined the little party, and two of the daughters of Governor William Livingston spent a few weeks in camp by invitation of their aunt, Lady Stirling.

Baron Steuben, the great Prussian disciplinarian, arrived at headquarters on one of the last days of February. He was forty-eight years of age, of exceptional dignity and princely bearing, was richly dressed on all occasions, wearing a medal of gold and diamonds designating the order of "Fidelity" suspended at his breast, and from having been an officer of Frederick the Great, Grand Marshal of the Court of the Prince Hohenzollern-Hechingen, and the intimate associate of potentates and noblemen, he possessed a fascination for the half-frozen, discontented, and almost revolting army, that turned for a time the whole current of thought. Washington, advised of his approach from the seat of Congress at York, rode out with his staff to meet him on the road. Steuben was accompanied by an imposing suite of aids, one of whom was Major L'Enfant,

afterwards famous for planning the city of Washington. Every eye was fixed with curious interest upon the brilliant cavalcade that swept through the miserable village of huts where the half-clad soldiers were congregated. And a stately dinner-party assembled that evening, which, with the presence of the ladies, and the sparkle of the jewels of the new-comers, was in strange contrast with the roughness of the log-cabin where the table was spread. Steuben had left Europe in the autumn, at the suggestion of Count St. Germain, who desired for America the services of a thoroughly experienced military scholar. Washington asked the baron to organize an inspectorship, and ere long the whole army was under drill, and a select military school in practical operation. Officers were trained as well as the men. The baron took upon himself the humblest duty of a drill-sergeant. He marched with the men, musket in hand, to show the manual exercise he desired to introduce. He rose at daybreak, sipped his coffee and smoked his pipe while a servant dressed his hair, and by sunrise was in the saddle, equipped at all points, and rode to the parade alone if his suite were not ready to attend him. He adapted his tactics to the nature of the army and country, and Washington found him a most intelligent and consummate officer. His greatest difficulty was his ignorance of the English language. When the men blundered in their exercises, he blundered in his explanations; his French and German were of no avail; then he usually lost his temper and swore in all three languages at once. But his generous impulses and his personal magnetism soon made him a favorite with the men. His discipline extended to their comforts; he examined the doctor's reports, visited the sick, saw that they were well lodged and attended, and inquired into their treatment by the officers, not infrequently sharing his last dollar with those who were in want and suffering.

During the spring months Long Island was in great tribulation. That portion of the inhabitants who consigned themselves to British protection in 1776, were under a delusion that the troops raised among themselves, commanded by Oliver De Lancey, John Harris Cruger, Gabriel Ludlow, and other loyalists, were for their own specific defense. They learned to their sorrow the value of foreign guardians, who were constantly committing depredations; an instance where Dr. Tredwell, a Long Island gentleman of fortune and position, and a well-known loyalist, riding one of his own valuable horses through a wood, was stopped by a party of British dragoons, and ordered to dismount and carry his saddle home on his back while they took his horse, was but one of the multitude of similar outrages. But the loyalists' battalions were now ordered elsewhere, the forts where they had been stationed were demolished, and to all com-

plaints the answer came from British headquarters, "Raise militia and defend yourselves." The energetic patriots speedily communicated this condition of affairs to the forces in Connecticut, and whale-boats were at once fitted out, manned by from twenty to twenty-four men each, for purposes of retaliation, capturing Tories, and destroying the resources of the British in New York, keeping Long Island in perpetual alarm and commotion from one end to the other. These whale-boats, after crossing the Sound, were frequently dragged across the narrow point of the island, known as "the canoe place," and launched into the South Bay, where they effectually broke up a lucrative trade in which at least one hundred and fifty small vessels were engaged in supplying the New York markets, through bartering merchandise with the country people for hogs, lambs, calves, poultry, butter, cheese, shell-fish, and other produce; the patriots ventured even to Rockaway (within fifteen miles of New York City), and captured or destroyed every boat in their way, sending those of value round Montauk Point to New London. The coasters on all sides of the island shared the same fate. In vain the loyalists begged for cutters to stop the mischief; General Howe had nothing to do with it, and Lord Howe chose to keep his cutters taking prizes at sea, along the coasts of the Delaware and Chesapeake, to one eighth of the proceeds of which he was personally entitled; therefore the reply came again and again, "You have a militia, defend your own trade." The eastern extremity of Long Island was as a rule devoted to the American cause. Neither threats nor bribes had induced its inhabitants to resign the principles to which they had plighted their faith. Abandoned to the mercy of the foe, they had borne insults and robberies with patience. The British posts at Sagg Harbor and Southampton overawed them, but in no wise weakened their patriotism or integrity. Their carts and teams were impressed, oxen killed, and hay and grain seized, whenever the wants of the enemy demanded. Payment was sometimes made, but never in full, nor was any consideration shown by the inferior officers when the farmers protested against parting with the necessaries wanted for their own families. The beautiful manor of Gardiner's Island, the first founded of all the manors of New York, was stripped every year of its produce, and some of its finest timber cut and carried away by the British. One of its trustees, Colonel Abraham Gardiner, was arrested at his home in Easthampton and threatened with all the penalties of martial law for refusing, when ordered by Tryon, to call out the militia to defend the coasts from the whale-boats of Connecticut. His unflinching decision in the matter finally convinced the British officers of the folly of forcible measures, and they liberated him; nor did they make much effort after-

wards to subdue the spirit of the people of that region, whose bitter hatred they had so thoroughly invoked. The son of Gardiner was even then an officer in Washington's army, although the fact was not known to the invaders. The manor-house upon Gardiner's Island, built in 1774, was a favorite resort for the British officers when on hunting or holiday expeditions, the marks left where they pitched quoits in the dining-room on rainy days being still in existence.

In the mean time Sir Henry Clinton proceeded to Philadelphia, and assumed the chief command of the British army. General Howe prepared to sail for England. The winter had been without incident of a military character, save the skirmishes which attended every foraging party who ventured miles from the Quaker City. The inventor, David Bushnell, contrived a large number of machines in kegs, which were set adrift on the Delaware River, the design being chief upon the fleet they created no nation. Two vessels anchored at Philadelphia, and a little conster-boys went out in a small boat to pick up the first keg that was seen, and while rolling it into their craft it burst with a great explosion, kill- ing the unfortunate boys. An alarm was spread through the city. Other



Gardiner's Island Manor-House, and View of Gardiner's Bay.

[Engraving by David B. Barclay, from the "Gardiner's Island" by John L. Smith, New York, 1874.]

kegs came in sight, and the wharves and shipping were manned; some of the ships of war poured whole broadsides into the Delaware, "as if," says a humorous writer of the day, "the kegs were filled with armed rebels, who were to issue forth in the dead of night as the Grecians did of old from their wooden horse at the siege of Troy, and take the city by surprise." The affair furnished food for an endless amount of clever sarcasm and healthful laughter, and became the subject of Francis Hopkinson's famous satirical ballad, "The Battle of the Kegs."

Copies of Lord North's plans for conciliation were sent on a swift sailing vessel to America, immediately upon the news reaching England that the treaty had actually been concluded at Paris. The Ministry thought thus

to forestall effects. Congress unanimously resolved, upon receiving these drafts about the middle of April, that no conference could be held with any commissioners from Great Britain, or treaties considered, until that power had withdrawn its armies and fleets, and acknowledged the independence of the United States. On the 2d of May a mes-

May 2 senger arrived from France with the two treaties, which on the 4th were ratified by Congress, and at once published throughout the country. The 6th was observed as a day of public rejoicing at

May 6 Valley Forge. The terms of the treaties were read by the chaplains to the several brigades, solemn prayers were offered, and eloquent discourses delivered. Then followed a grand review, a national discharge of thirteen guns, and a banquet; the tables were arranged in a sort of amphitheater where all the officers of the army could be seated. Mrs. Washington graced the occasion with her presence, also Lady Stirling and her daughter, Mrs. Knox, Mrs. Greene, and several other ladies. The French gentlemen of rank who had joined the army were especially gratified with the demonstrations of delight with which the tidings were welcomed that henceforward the flags of the two countries would go together into the battle-fields of America.

The noise of jubilant cannon had scarcely died away at Valley Forge, when Philadelphia was astir with revelry. Howe had May 18. been absorbed with amusements and dissipation while discreditably besieged all winter by the army he affected to despise — less than half as large as his own. His gay young officers had also been killing time with private theatricals and all manner of loose diversions. Now they thought to compliment their indulgent commander by giving a magnificent entertainment prior to his departure for England, which should also be a graceful return to the ladies of Philadelphia for their civilities and courtesies during the season. Major André was one of the most efficient of the twenty-two chivalrous young Britons who projected the fête, to which was given the Italian name *Mischianza* — medley — and with Oliver De Lancey, Jr., of New York, painted the chief of the decorations. It was a tournament on a grand scale, a brilliant mingling of regatta, naval, and military procession, knightly evolutions and feats of arms, fireworks, and a ball. This brilliant farewell was doubly dear to General Howe, from the fact that he felt wronged by the Ministry. But it called more attention to his inefficiency than any other event of the war. Why had he given his officers leisure for such performances! With twenty-four thousand of the best troops in the world, why had he not attacked the little shivering, half-fed army by whom he was imprisoned! And what sort of a general must he be to peaceably allow the saucy New Jersey Legis-

lature, with Governor Livingston at its head, to hold its sessions in Trenton, only thirty miles away! The festival was universally pronounced a ridiculous and untimely farce. The next afternoon it was discovered that Lafayette, with twenty-five hundred men, had taken post on Barren Hill — about half-way from Valley Forge — as if to watch the movements in and about Philadelphia. At ten in the evening Howe sent Grant with above five thousand troops by a circuitous route, to gain the rear of Lafayette; going out early the following morning himself, attended by Clinton and Knyphausen, with nearly six thousand men, to meet the Americans after their expected rout. But there were no routed Americans to meet. Lafayette, discovering the danger, threw out small parties into the woods to show themselves as the heads of attacking columns, thus bringing Grant to a halt to prepare for action, while he crossed with his main force the ford of the Schuylkill. Way-worn and crestfallen, Howe returned to Philadelphia. On the 24th he resigned the command to Clinton, and embarked for home. May 20.
May 24.

A few days later, orders from the Ministry, prepared in consequence of the impending war with France, reached Clinton to evacuate the hard-won city of Philadelphia, and concentrate his forces at New York. While military quarters were in the stir and bustle of preparation, and heavy cannon and hay and horses were being shipped, the commissioners under the Conciliatory Bills, empowered to negotiate for the restoration of peace, landed, after a voyage of six weeks. Their secretary was Adam Ferguson, the celebrated Scotch philosopher and historian. They were surprised and indignant to find their plan of operations so completely disconcerted by the lords of England. They said they should never have undertaken the mission had they known of the orders for evacuation. Lord Carlisle wrote, "Three thousand of the miserable inhabitants have embarked on board our ships, not daring to remain in the city, as they can expect no mercy from those who come after us."

There was not the shadow of an opening for the messengers of peace. Even their private letters were angrily resented. Lafayette, because of some reflections on the conduct of France in the public letter of the commissioners to the President of Congress, challenged Lord Carlisle to meet him in single combat. The streets of Philadelphia were cumbered with heaps of furniture, and auctions were taking place daily on the sidewalks. The people were in the utmost consternation. "A more affecting spectacle of woe I never beheld," said Governor Johnstone. Becoming convinced that the commission could do no good as long as independence was tacitly acknowledged by the retreat from Philadelphia, the commissioners re-embarked, and with the retiring fleet sailed down the Delaware.

Meanwhile Clinton and his army crossed the river and commenced a slow, tiresome journey through New Jersey by land. The wagons laden with stores and provisions were so numerous that they alone formed a line twelve miles long. The bridges were all gone, wells filled up, and every conceivable obstruction thrown in the way of their progress. The weather was excessively hot for June. Small bodies of Americans harassed the column perpetually in the rear. Washington placed Arnold in command of Philadelphia, and followed the British. The traitorous Lee had been exchanged, and reinstated in the army, and when Washington summoned a council of war to discuss the policy of an attack upon Clinton, he not only opposed the measure with spirit, but influenced the majority of the officers to do the same. Washington, however, was determined to execute his purpose, and intrusted a fit command for the oldest major-general to Lafayette, who marched towards the enemy with the utmost alacrity. The following day Lee was ordered forward with two brigades, to command the whole advance party. Just after midday on the 27th, Washington summoned his officers to headquarters and directed them to engage the enemy on the next morning, and ordered Lee to concert with his officers the mode of attack. But when Lafayette,

June 28. Wayne, and Maxwell came to Lee at the hour named, he refused to form any plan. The next morning he moved languidly, and his conduct was such that the suspicions of Lafayette were aroused, who sent a message to Washington that his presence was needed on the field. Twice were similar messages sent by John Laurens, son of the statesman. The officers were constantly receiving orders and counter-orders from Lee; Wayne was on the point of engaging the enemy in earnest, when Lee enjoined him only to make a feint. There was marching and counter-marching, crossing and recrossing a bridge, and a halt for an hour. Thus Clinton was given ample time for preparation; finally he sent out a division to attack the Americans, who retreated. Washington was coming up with the main body to support the advance as he had promised, when he encountered the fugitives. He asked an officer the meaning of it all, who smiled significantly, saying he had retreated by order; another officer exclaimed with an oath that they were flying from a shadow. A suspicion flashed across Washington's mind of the treachery of Lee, and he galloped furiously forward, exclaiming in a voice of anger as he met the latter, "What is the meaning of all this, sir?" Lee stammered, at first confused, and then in an insolent tone said, "You know the attack was contrary to my advice and opinion." Washington sharply replied, "You should not have undertaken the command unless you intended to carry it through." But there was no time for words. The British were

coming down the narrow road, and would be upon them in fifteen minutes. Washington swiftly formed his retreating regiments into a barricade, and planted other troops upon higher ground. Lee was ordered to the rear, and while sitting idly upon his horse, explaining to by-standers that the attack was madness and could not possibly be successful, Washington effectually checked the advance of the enemy, and after a pitched battle drove them back to the ground which Lee had occupied at first. At night two brigades hung on the British right, a third on their left; while the rest of Washington's forces planted their standards on the field of battle, and lay on their arms to renew the contest at daybreak. Washington himself, wrapped in his cloak, reclined at the foot of a tree. When the morning dawned the British had departed. Clinton had not even given his weary troops opportunity for a nap, but at ten o'clock in the evening had marched after the division with the baggage-train, abandoning the severely wounded and leaving his dead unburied. The loss of the British was more than four hundred; and during their march through New Jersey above eight hundred deserted their standard. The American loss in the battle, which took its name from the adjacent village of Monmouth, was in killed and wounded two hundred and twenty-nine.

A court-martial found Lee guilty of disobedience, misbehavior before the enemy, and disrespect to the commander-in-chief, and suspended him from command for twelve months. Congress confirmed the sentence, and in 1780, provoked by an impertinent letter, dismissed him from the service. His chief consolation in his disgrace was the most virulent railing against Washington.

When Clinton reached New York, his army went into quarters upon Manhattan, Staten, and Long Islands. Washington encamped his forces at New Brunswick, Elizabeth, Newark, Hackensack, and White Plains. Aaron Burr and other energetic young officers were sent on reconnoitering expeditions to Bergen, Hoboken, and various points of observation, to obtain information concerning the intentions of the enemy. The French fleet commanded by Count D'Estaing anchored at the mouth of the Delaware on the 8th of July. A less rough voyage, and it might have intercepted Lord Howe's squadron. Having dispatched a frigate with the illustrious M. Gerard, the first French Minister, and Silas Deane, to Philadelphia (Congress having returned to that city on the 2d of July) the fleet followed Lord Howe to Sandy Hook, and would have entered and offered battle in New York Bay could pilots have been found to take its largest ships through the channel. New York City was thrown into the most violent commotion. The loyalists had the mortification of seeing the British fleet blockaded and insulted in their own harbor. The

metropolis was indeed surrounded by an enemy. Clinton wrote to Germain that he should probably be compelled to retire to Halifax. Young Laurens was sent to Count D'Estaing as aid and interpreter. A frank and cordial correspondence with Washington finally induced the Count to trim his sails for Newport; and Greene and Lafayette were sent to join Sullivan in command of Rhode Island, who was to co-operate in an attempt to recapture that stronghold from the British. Lord Howe, whose intended successor, Admiral Byron, had not yet arrived, sailed in pursuit of the French. The two fleets were on the point of engaging when separated, wrecked, and scattered by a violent storm. The enterprise against Rhode Island proved a failure in all respects, and the disappointment led to bitter jealousies between the Americans and their allies.

The ceremonials to be observed at the reception of the first minister plenipotentiary to the United States, were a matter of no little study. Richard Henry Lee, Samuel Adams, and Gouverneur Morris comprised the committee who drafted the form of presentation; this was discussed five days by Congress. It was necessary that the details should be in harmony with the peculiar condition of the government, therefore no absolute precedent could be followed.

On the memorable occasion Richard Henry Lee and Samuel Adams, in a "coach-and-six," waited upon the Minister at his house. Presently the Minister and the congressional delegates entered the coach together, the Minister's chariot following, with his secretary. The carriages having arrived at the State House, the Minister was conducted to his chair in the congress chamber, the President and Congress sitting. The Minister being seated, he gave his credentials into the hands of his secretary, who advanced and delivered them to the President. The secretary of Congress read and translated them, after which Mr. Lee announced the Minister to the President and Congress who all rose together; the Minister bowed to the President and to the Congress, they each bowed, and all seated themselves again. In a moment the Minister rose and made a speech to Congress, the members sitting; after which the President and the Congress rose, and the President pronounced an answer to the speech, the Minister standing; this being ended, all were once more seated. The President, Congress, and the Minister then again rose together, the Minister bowed to the President, who returned the salute, then to the Congress, who also bowed in return, and withdrew, attended home in the same manner in which he had been brought to the house. During this august scene the door of the congress chamber was thrown open, and about two hundred gentlemen of distinction were permitted to witness

the ceremony, among whom were several foreign noblemen. An elegant dinner given to the Minister by Congress was the final event of the day.

Ere these auspicious occurrences had warmed the heart and quickened the pulse of America, Western New York was crimsoned with blood. Niagara was a British post, the common rallying-place of Tories and savages, of refugees and vagabonds. Brandt had retired hither after St. Leger's repulse at Fort Stanwix. And here many a dark deed of vengeance was planned. In June a party sallied forth, eleven hundred strong, composed of desperadoes and Indians, led by John Butler, formerly in some official connection with Sir John Johnson, and one of the valiant in the battle of Oriskany, who, after laying waste the country on the route, descended upon the fair settlement of Wyoming in the Susquehanna Valley, which consisted of eight townships each five miles square, massacring its inhabitants in the most brutal and fiendish manner. The able-bodied male population—one thousand or more—were chiefly away in the army; Colonel Zebulon Butler, an officer in the Continental army stationed at West Point, was home on a furlough, and gathering the old men and boys, and such of the farmers as he could hastily collect in the emergency, commanded the defense. But his force, all told, numbered less than four hundred, and the horde of invaders, more than twice as numerous, knew the woods well, and had come to destroy and deal death, not to recover and hold. In the engagement nine tenths of the heroic defenders were killed and scalped. The British leader boastfully reported having burned a thousand houses and every mill in the valley. He omitted to state that in several instances men, women, and children were shut into buildings and all consumed together; or that monsters in human shape, painted like Indians, took the lives of their nearest of kin with diabolical fury. A horrified group of survivors fled through a pass in the hills to the eastern settlements. Then the bloodthirsty marauders left the smoking scene of solitary desolation, and turned towards the region of Rochester to continue their terrible work. Early in November Walter, the son of John Butler, commanded the war-party that repeated the terrible drama of Wyoming at Cherry Valley. Humanity itself was disgraced by the wholesale slaughter, and a thrill of horror vibrated from one end of the country to the other.

Washington passed much of the summer at White Plains, although he visited West Point frequently, and was at the various posts in New Jersey from time to time. On the 7th of August another disastrous fire raged violently for several hours in New York City, commencing ^{Aug. 7.} in Pearl Street, near Broad; sixty-three houses and a number of stores

were consumed. The following day, in the midst of a heavy thunder-storm, a sloop at anchor in the East River, with two hundred and forty-eight barrels of gunpowder on board, was struck by lightning, and the explosion unroofed a number of houses, and demolished windows and furniture in every direction. Lord Stirling while in camp at White Plains obtained permission for his wife and daughter Kitty to visit his eldest daughter, Mrs. Robert Watts, in New York City, where they spent the month of August, and were treated with the utmost civility by the British officers. They found Mrs. Watts prostrated from the effects of the alarm of the fire and the explosion, and her husband "heartily sick of British tyranny." They spoke in their letters of courtesies received from Walter Rutherford, whose wife was Lord Stirling's sister; from Andrew Elliot, collector of the port under the Crown; from Lord Drummond, son of the Earl of Perth, who was in America to look after his father's interests as proprietor of East New Jersey; from Nicholas Bayard, whose country-seat was on the eminence above Canal Street; and from William Smith, the historian, afterwards chief justice of Canada. "They were our constant visitors, and desired to be remembered to you," wrote Lady Stirling to her husband. Smith had been an influential opponent of the British measures until a recent date, an intimate friend of Stirling, Governor Livingston, John Morin Scott, John Jay, and Gouverneur Morris. The latter had been a student of law in his office. Suddenly he was apprehended, examined, and confined a state prisoner in Livingston Manor, for having sent intelligence to the enemy (it was said); and finally, with his wife and family, library, household effects, servants, chariot, and horses, was banished to New York City. On the same sloop with Smith were Major Colden, eldest son of the late Governor Colden, and Samuel Bayard, former secretary of the province, who for refusing to take the oath of allegiance to the new State were ordered beyond the British lines.

Walter Rutherford lived in the fine substantial house of the sketch, which stood on the present site of the Astor House. The adjoining dwelling was the home of William Axtell, who prior to the war was one of the governor's council, and whose wife was the daughter of Abraham De Peyster, the treasurer. He had favored the American cause at the start, but when his estate came into the power of the conquerors his sentiments changed, and he became a loyalist of the first magnitude. He had an elegant mansion in Flatbush, Long Island, and when commissioned as colonel of a regiment of loyalists the men raised, numbering about thirty, were encamped in his courtyard, apparently to guard his premises. Jones says he had a secretary, an aide-de-camp, a chaplain, a physician, and a surgeon in full pay. And to him was confided the power of grant-

ing licenses to all the public-houses in the county, and passes over the Brooklyn Ferry, which were the sources of a large revenue.

New York City, with its piles of ruins and its poisonous prisons, was no longer the gay progressive metropolis of former years. The late fire had been less extensive than that of 1776, but the wealthy loyalists were great sufferers. The Cruger family lost

six houses, Gerardus Duyckink seven, William Bayard six houses and stores, and Peter Mesier and his family not less than fifteen buildings. A strange village of huts had sprung up on the site of the fire of 1776, called "Canvas Town," which was tenanted by banditti, and soldiers who obtained the means of dissipation by plunder, or starving wretches



Home of Walter Rutherford. Home of William Axtell.

who turned highwaymen in despair; it was, in short, a hideous plague-spot. A sense of insecurity destroyed all comfort. No citizen dared walk out after sunset without a guard. Robberies were of nightly occurrence. The faith pinned to the arms of Great Britain was becoming sadly weakened. The flight of Clinton from Philadelphia, chased across the Jerseys by Washington, the presence of a French fleet cruising off Sandy Hook, and the knowledge that the city was beleaguered on every side by the American army, were not conducive to happiness. The editors of the Tory newspapers exerted themselves to keep up the spirits of the anxious by furnishing exaggerated accounts of "rebel misfortune" and misery. They said Connecticut was in chaotic confusion all through her borders; that in Maryland only forty recruits responded to the call of Congress; that fevers were raging in Philadelphia and the people were longing for King George; that the whole South was weary of the war, and would rise at the first landing of a British army and shake off the usurping tyranny of Congress; that the inhabitants were starving and rebellious in Boston, and that all their food was transported from the South by a land-carriage of seventeen hundred miles; in short, that the chief supplies of the Eastern States were wholly cut off, trade sunk, gold and silver gone, not a piece of coin to be seen anywhere, a cartload of the Continental currency not worth a dollar, and the "rebel army such a miserable set of ragged creatures as was never scraped together before." There were some who believed these statements, but the majority grimly trembled. The loyalists and refugees formed themselves into companies to aid in

the defense of the city should it be besieged as expected, and commanded by Major David Matthews, paraded in the fields, making a fine appearance.

The poverty-stricken were in a perishing condition, and the rich loyalists and many of the British officers contributed liberally to their needs. Trade had ceased, there was no employment for laborers, and provisions and fuel were scarce and extravagantly high. And if such was the condition of the inhabitants at large, what must the prisoners of war have suffered! They were confined by thousands. In the Middle Dutch and other churches wounded men would crawl to the windows begging aid, and a sentinel, pistol in hand, would turn back the gifts of the charitable. In the gloomy old sugar-houses hundreds were chained, and those might almost as well have been who were allowed to walk about within their narrow confines. The coarsest food was doled out in scanty measure, and the men devoured it like hungry wolves, or ceased to eat at all. From ten to twenty died daily, and their remains were thrown into pits without a single rite of burial. In the old Provost, where officers chiefly were incarcerated, so closely were they packed that when their bones ached at night from lying on the hard planks, and they wished to turn, it was done by the word of command, and the whole human mass turned at once. In Wallabout Bay, across the river, the hulk of the *Jersey*, an old sixty-four gun-ship, unseaworthy, with masts and rigging gone, was a scene of human suffering, which even now at the end of a century chills the hand that would draw a pen picture however inadequate. No warmth in winter, no screen from the scorching summer sun, no physician, no clergyman, soothed or consoled the dying in that center of contagious disease, which was never cleansed, and constantly replenished with new victims. It is estimated that eleven thousand of its dead were buried on the Brooklyn shore. Many a New York citizen tried to alleviate the horrors of the prisons and prison-ships, for there were several of the latter, but military law prevailed; no communication with prisoners was allowed, and aid conveyed to them by stealth only doomed the benefactor to a similar fate. Washington was constantly doing all in his power to exchange prisoners; and when he remonstrated with the British officers as to the emaciated and dying condition in which his brave men were returned to him, the reply came that they were lodged in roomy buildings and fed the same as the British soldiers.

Many of the citizens who remained in New York during the war, taking no active part in the unhappy disputes, had hoped to pursue their avocations undisturbed, or to protect their property interests by their presence. The Stuyvesants were of the latter class. Gerardus Stuyvesant

resided in the old gubernatorial homestead; his two sons occupied with their families the comparatively new mansions, known respectively as "Petersfield" and "The Bowery House."¹ Frederick Philipse, third lord of Philipse Manor, was living in the city. He had intended in the beginning to maintain a strict neutrality; but having no faith in the success of the American arms, and in constant intercourse with the husbands of his two sisters, Colonel Beverly Robinson and Colonel Roger Morris, who had joined the king's forces, he was soon suspected of favoring the enemy, and compelled to take the oath of allegiance to Congress or a final farewell of his ancestral home; thus he removed to New York. He was an ardent Churchman, and a courtly gentleman of scholarly tastes. He lived in a style of great magnificence. His wife, an imperious woman of fashion, was in the habit of appearing upon the roads of Westchester, skillfully reining four splendid jet black horses; she was killed by a fall from her carriage just before the Revolution. Philipse mixed very little in public affairs, disliked politics, and opened his purse generously for all charitable purposes.

Andrew Hamersley, for whom Hamersley Street was named, an alderman of the Dock Ward, and a vestryman of Trinity Church, was a rich importing merchant who unostentatiously went about doing good while the city was in gloom and despondency.² The Revolution seriously im-

¹ See sketches, Vol. I. 217; Map of Stuyvesant Bowery, Vol. I. 188.

² Andrew Hamersley was born in 1725. His father was William Hamersley, of the same baronial family as Sir Hugh Hamersley, born in England in 1687; he was an officer in the British Navy, who resigned the service in 1716, and took up his abode in New York; he became a shipping merchant in the Mediterranean trade, and was a vestryman of Trinity Church from 1731 to 1752. Of his three sons, Andrew was the only one who married; his wife inherited the interests of one of the Lords Proprietors of New Jersey, which has been handed along in the slow process of division to the Hamersley family of the present day. Andrew Hamersley had three sons: 1. William, who was the first professor of the Institute of Medicine at Columbia College, having received his medical degree from Dr. Robertson, the historian, at Edinburgh, and was thirty years connected with the New York hospitals; he married Elizabeth Van Cortlandt De Peyster, and of their two sons, Andrew was a distinguished author, and William was mayor of Hartford. 2. Thomas, a gentleman of great learning, who was pronounced by Lorenzo du Ponte the best Italian scholar in America; he married Susan Watkins, daughter of Colonel John W. Watkins and Judith, fifth daughter of Governor William Livingston of New Jersey. 3. Louis Carré Hamersley, who married in Virginia; his sons are A. Gordon Hamersley, who married Sarah, daughter of John Mason, and John William Hamersley, who married Catharine Livingston, daughter of Judge James and Sarah Helen Hooker of Dutchess County. Mrs. Hooker was the daughter of John Reade, for whom Reade Hoeck (Red Hook) was named, who was the son of Joseph Reade, one of the governor's council (see Vol. I. 756), for whom Reade Street in New York City was named; Lawrence Reade, the father of Joseph Reade, was born and married in England, removing to New York in the early part of the eighteenth century; he was descended from a line of wealthy British noblemen of the name, who for centuries were a power in themselves, Sir

paired his fortune, but an inherited estate in the West Indies, from a maternal uncle, Louis Carré, a Huguenot, subsequently retrieved the disaster as far as his children were concerned. He was one of those who made exceptional exertions to alleviate the anguish of the sick and dying prisoners; and he inspired universal confidence through the strength, beauty, and symmetry of his Christian character. His wife was the grand-daughter of Thomas Gordon, son of Sir George Gordon. Thomas Gordon was one of the twenty-seven original Lords Proprietors of East New Jersey; he came to live in this country in 1684, and was made one of the governor's council, and chief justice of the Supreme Court of New Jersey. Lord Drummond while in New York was a guest of Andrew Hamersley, and pronounced his household one of the loveliest within the circle of his knowledge.

Military rule in New York was far from being agreeable to her citizens. They felt aggrieved because the courts of justice were closed, and believed that the laws of the land ought to prevail. It was to secure the re-establishment of constitutional civil authority that the petition to the Howes, in the autumn of 1776, was projected by Chief Justice Horsemanden, Judge Ludlow, and others, and signed by nearly one thousand men of all degrees and conditions in life, and of all denominations of Christians. Lord Howe received the delegation who presented it with courtesy, read the petition, and promised to consult his brother, Sir William, who was then in New Jersey with the army. But no answer was ever vouchsafed to the petitioners.¹ It was perceived that

William Reade and Sir Richard Reade being his more immediate ancestors. The mother of Mrs. Hooker was Catharine Livingston, great-granddaughter of the first Lord of Livingston Manor, and granddaughter of Colonel Henry Beekman, "the great patentee" of Dutchess County. The only sister of Mrs. Hooker's mother married Commissary-General Hake, and their only daughter was the mother of Frederick De Peyster, president of the New York Historical Society. One of the sisters of Mrs. Hooker married Nicholas William Stuyvesant; another sister married Philip Kearney. The children of John William Hamersley and Catharine Livingston Hooker are: 1. Mary, died in infancy; 2. James Hooker; 3. Virginia, married Cortlandt De Peyster Field; 4. Helen; 5. Catharine L., married John Henry Livingston, great-grandson of Chancellor Robert R. Livingston.

¹ *Jones's Hist. N. Y.* Vol. II. 116, 117, 118, 433-453. "No single incident in the Revolution," writes De Lancey, "has been more misunderstood, and none more misrepresented, than this attempt of the people of New York to obtain the re-establishment of constitutional civil power in place of military rule." The petition was the first step that could be taken in that direction. The style and language was only that in common use at the time in public documents, and no evidence in itself of "Slavish Submission." Historical writers have through the entire century past spoken of the petition as a "complimentary address," etc., and called the names of the signers the "Black List." "These misrepresentations," continues De Lancey, "it is believed, in case of later writers especially, have been simply the result of mistake and misapprehension of the object and purport of the petition." To the document is attached a certificate from William Waddell and James Downes, who superintended the signing, that the signatures were all affixed voluntarily.

the Howes designed to govern by the law military wherever the conquests of the royal army extended, which many of the most intelligent loyalists esteemed a violation of right and inconsistent with the manifest design of the Ministry. Thus the whole city, incorporated by a royal charter, became virtually a garrison town; and the inhabitants writhed under the arbitrary courts erected by the proclamation of a military commander.

During the latter part of September Chief Justice Horsemenden died at his residence in Flatbush, in the eighty-eighth year of his age, and was interred in Trinity Churchyard. At this time numerous New York families whose names have become familiar to the reader occupied country-seats in the fair, rich town of Flatbush, long noted for its pleasant homes; Mayor David Matthews, Augustus Van Cortlandt, Miles Sherbrooke, David Clarkson, Mrs. Van Horne, Jacob Suydam, Major Moncreiff, and Theophylact Bache were among the householders. Captain Alexander Graydon, taken prisoner at the surrender of Fort Washington, was billeted upon the Suydams; and up to the 15th of June, 1778, saw little prospect of an exchange. That night William Mariner, one of the daring spirits of the day, crossed from New Jersey with eleven men, landed at New Utrecht, made a dash upon Flatbush, liberated Graydon, and carried off Major Moncreiff and Mr. Bache, reaching Middletown at six o'clock the next morning. The prisoners were taken to Morristown, and soon after exchanged; the object of their capture having been to obtain the means through which to procure the release of some American officers in the New York prisons.

Sir Henry Clinton sent out several exasperating expeditions from New York in the early autumn, which served to widen the chasm between England and America, and render the present conciliatory system hopeless, whatever might have been its chances under other circumstances. One party crossed into New Jersey and ravaged the country; discovering that a body of Virginia cavalry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Baylor, styled "Mrs. Washington's Guards," were sleeping in barns at Old Tappan, near Hackensack, General Gray, of marauding renown — afterwards Earl Gray — stealthily surrounded them in the night, and with the bayonet slaughtered them indiscriminately, without regard to their naked and defenseless condition or cries for mercy. Three days afterward Tarrytown and the country as far as Dobb's Ferry was overrun by one or two hundred Hessians, who plundered and destroyed everything within their reach, until checked by detachments of Americans under Major Henry Lee and Colonel Richard Butler. Little Egg Harbor, on the eastern coast of New Jersey, was visited about the same time by three hundred British troops and a band of Tory volunteers, under Captain Furguson, and became the

scene of a massacre similar to that of the Virginia cavalry. It was a night attack, and fifty of the American infantry were butchered on the spot. On the Long Island shore, about Buzzard Bay, at Fairhaven, and at Martha's Vineyard American vessels were taken or destroyed, store-houses, dwellings, and churches burned, and sheep, oxen, hogs, and horses carried to New York.

Washington's headquarters after leaving White Plains was at Fredericksburg, now Kent, New York, where he gave special attention to repairing the roads and bridges through Connecticut to Boston, in order to facilitate the marching of troops. He was frequently at the house of Colonel Henry Luddington, a large commodious mansion a few miles north of Lake Mahopac, in what is now Carmel, Putnam County, then the northern border of the "neutral ground." Colonel Luddington was in command of the militia of the region, and, through his resolute vigilance, performed services of the utmost moment to the country. His troops were in constant requisition to quell the turbulent Tory spirit, repress the vicious lawlessness of the "Cowboys" and "Skinners," intimidate the foraging gangs from New York City, and assist in active operation with the Continental army. His independence of character, sterling integrity, and military skill inspired confidence upon every hand. He had in numerous instances completely thwarted Howe's designs, and a large reward was offered for his capture, dead or alive. His house was surrounded one night by a band of Tories from Quaker Hill, while on their route to join the British in New York, and but for the presence of mind and spirit of his two young daughters, Sibyl and Rebecca, he would undoubtedly have been taken. These fair maidens were keeping watch as sentinels, with guns in their hands on the piazza. "They discovered the approach of the foe in time to cause candles lighted in every room, and the few occupants of the house passed and repassed the windows continually. The ruse led the assaulting party to believe the house was strongly guarded, and, hiding behind the trees and fences, they watched until day-break for signs of repose. Ere it was light enough to discover by whom they had been held in check, they vented their disappointment in un-earthly yells and rapidly fled.

Washington found Colonel Luddington a ready and efficient counselor, and together they planned various methods for learning the intentions of the British in New York.¹ Enoch Crosby, the original of Cooper's "Harvey

¹ Colonel Henry Luddington was born in 1739, at Branford, Connecticut. He was the third son of William Luddington, who was descended from the William Luddington who was one of the first settlers of Charlestown, Massachusetts. He married his cousin, Abigail Luddington, and with other members of his family removed to what is now Putnam County, New York. He served in the French war with much credit — was at the battle of Lake

Birch," was often admitted to the house for rest and concealment on his adventurous travels; and the regiments and tenantry of Colonel Luddington furnished other successful spies who procured intelligence of great consequence to Washington. The British army was found to be gradually dispersing in different directions. Admiral Byron, the successor of Lord Howe, came and refitted the fleet, and sailed for Boston to entrap, if possible, Count D'Estaing. An expedition was sent to Georgia, and another to the West Indies. Therefore nothing important in the neighborhood of New York would probably be attempted.

Sir Henry Clinton had been ordered to carry the war into the Southern States. The Continental troops of Georgia and the Carolinas were chiefly with the main army at the North, and it was deemed a propitious moment for obtaining possession of their strongholds. The Ministry were in no mood to discontinue hostilities. It was told in Parliament that the Conciliatory Bills had been treated with contempt in America, that the British army had received them with inexpressible indignation, and that the rebel army trod them under their feet, or caused them to be burned by the common hangman. Fox declared it his deliberate opinion that "the dependency of America was no longer a thing to be dreamed of." Burke inveighed bitterly against those who had reduced the nation to such an acme of humiliation. David Hartley moved an address to the king to represent that recent events were such as to call for speedy measures to put a stop to the progress of the war; but it was negatived. The next day he moved another address, praying the king not to prorogue Parliament for the present. He said: "I am very confident that the day will soon come when the house will regret having been so touchy upon every proposition that has but the shadow of American independence. It is want of prudence in the extreme to become more and more attached

George, where his uncle and cousin were killed by his side. He was one of the foremost in espousing the cause of America at the outbreak of hostilities, and received his first commission as colonel from the Provincial Congress, which commission was superseded in May, 1778, by one from Governor George Clinton. His duties were multifarious, never-ceasing, and attended with great danger. His own house was his headquarters throughout the war. He filled many positions of trust, public and private, before and after the war. He served in the legislature of the State, was deputy sheriff of the county, for a long time justice of the peace, and through the whole of an honored life was one of the most public spirited men in that part of the State. He died in 1817. He left six sons and six daughters. His youngest son, Lewis, removed to Milwaukee, Wisconsin, in 1840, and afterwards founded the city of Columbus, in Columbia County, Wisconsin; he died at Kenosha in 1857, aged seventy-two. Among the well-known grandchildren of Colonel Henry Luddington are Ex-Governor Harrison Luddington of Wisconsin, Nelson Luddington of Chicago, James Luddington, founder of the city of Luddington in Michigan, and Charles H. Luddington, of New York City; also Major Edward E. A. Ogden of the United States army (who died at Fort Riley, Kansas, in 1855), son of Sibyl Luddington, who married the Hon. Edward Ogden.

to impossibilities in proportion as they became more evidently such. The Americans, you all know, are, in fact, at this moment independent. If you regret that independence, you have your ministers alone to thank for the event. Your force is now, in all effect, defeated in America. One army entire is taken prisoners; what remains is so far from being adequate for conquest, that I fear it will find great difficulty even to defend itself. The Ministry of this country first introduced foreign forces into the contest. The Americans have now, in their turn, called in a foreign power." After combating for some time with the arguments of those who still insisted upon the possibility of bringing the Americans into their former relations, Hartley submitted certain points to the consideration of the Ministry as the only grounds upon which a negotiation could at present be based: "That the United States be declared independent of Great Britain; that the two countries agree mutually not to enter into any treaty offensive to each other; that an open and free trade and a mutual naturalization be established; and that commissioners be appointed on each part to negotiate a federal alliance between Great Britain and North America." His motion was seconded by Sir George Saville, and warmly supported by Burgoyne, now in his place in Parliament, who in a powerful speech denounced the false policy and incapacity of Lord Germain. One of the staunch adherents of government sprang to his feet and denied all the premises upon which Burgoyne had based his remarks; and contended that, as a prisoner of war, Burgoyne had no right to speak, much less to vote in that house, continuing in a strain of offensive personality until called to order. Fox made an eloquent address in support of the motion, declaring that "the Ministry were as incapable of making peace as of carrying on the war": the motion was, however, ultimately lost upon a division of one hundred and five against fifty-three. The refugees from America, embittered by the advice of Congress to the several states to confiscate their property, thronged the antechamber of the Minister and counseled sanguinary measures to punish and subdue. The king believed the colonies would soon beg for pardon. Clinton was not thus deluded, and although he reluctantly obeyed the peremptory instructions received for the conquest of Georgia, and the service of the West Indies, he wrote to the Secretary of State in December, "Do not, my Lord, let anything be expected of one circumstanced as I am."

Washington established for the winter a line of cantonments around New York from Long Island Sound in the vicinity of Danbury, Connecticut, where Putnam was in command, to the Delaware, choosing Middlebrook, New Jersey, for his own headquarters. By a plan of alarm-signals one post would reinforce another in case of an incursion of the enemy

to any particular point; thus comparative security was afforded to the country. General Lincoln was sent by order of Congress to take command of the Southern department.

Lafayette had been lying dangerously ill with a fever for many weeks at the Verplanck Mansion in Fishkill, and during his convalescence in November was preparing to visit France on leave of absence, full of a grand project for the next summer's campaign, which he designed to lay before the cabinet at Versailles. He was closely attended by Dr. John Cochrane,¹ of Washington's staff, the surgeon-general of the hospital of the army, whose wife was Gertrude, the only sister of General Philip Schuyler. Lafayette was fond



Dr. John Cochrane.

[From a miniature in possession of the grandson, General John Cochrane.]

of him, appreciated his intelligence and force of character, and often called him "The good Doctor Bones," from a song with the somewhat

¹ Dr. John Cochrane was born in 1730, received a careful education, and finished his medical studies before the breaking out of the French war in 1755. Entering the army as surgeon's mate, he left the service at the close of that war with the character of a skillful and experienced practitioner. In 1776 he offered his services as a volunteer in the hospital department of the American army, and being personally known and admired by Washington, was shortly appointed physician and surgeon-general in the middle department; in October, 1781, Congress appointed him director-general of the hospitals of the United States. When peace was restored he removed his family to New York City, residing at 96 Broadway; he continued on terms of cordial intimacy with Washington as long as he lived, and with the general officers of the army. He had two sons, James Cochrane and Walter L. Cochrane; and a step-daughter, Cornelia, who became the wife of Walter Livingston, the eldest son of Robert, third Lord of Livingston Manor. Walter L. Cochrane was the father of General John Cochrane of New York City, who was graduated from Hamilton College in 1831, was surveyor of the port of New York from 1853 to 1857, member of Congress from 1856 to 1862, attorney-general of the State, and brigadier-general of volunteers in the late war.

singular refrain of "Bones," which he would sometimes sing to enliven the tedium of camp life, and which was a never-failing source of amusement to both Washington and Lafayette. A familiar letter from Lafayette to Dr. Cochrane, bearing this endearing sobriquet, is now in possession of the New York Historical Society. The respite from actual fighting gave the officers stationed at West Point and vicinity many idle hours, which they improved in social entertainments. Suppers, followed by music and dancing, were frequent. General Muhlenburg, the clerical Virginia soldier, on one occasion entertained forty guests at a banquet served in the historical dining-room of the Beverley Mansion, opposite West Point. This house had been turned into a military hospital, and Dr. James Thatcher, the author, was quartered there, having been appointed surgeon to the first Virginia regiment, commanded by Colonel George Gibson. He often rode to Fishkill, visiting Dr. Cochrane and others. On one occasion he paid his respects to Lafayette, and describes in his journal the politeness and affability with which he was received, remarking also upon the elegant figure of the young nobleman, the "interesting face of perfect symmetry, and fine, animated, hazel eye." Washington was with Lafayette frequently prior to his departure for Boston, where he embarked in December for France.

The dissensions and party feuds in Congress, together with the startling financial outlook, distressed Washington. He repaired to Philadelphia, where he spent much of the winter in discussing plans for 1779. The army were huddled as at Valley Forge, suffering for food, although better clad than ever before through importations from France. But officers and men were growing impatient with their privations and their pay; while it took one hundred dollars in paper to secure three dollars in specie, they necessarily were laden with debts and their families were starving at home. And to add to the general embarrassments of the situation, skillful artificers were counterfeiting the American bills in London by millions and circulating them in this country. The exchange of prisoners was attended with an endless amount of negotiation and perplexity. Spain just now was apparently using Great Britain as her instrument for bridling the ambition and repressing the growth of the United States; with a true instinct she saw in their coming influence the quickening example which was to break down the barriers of her own colonial system. And clear-sighted Americans perceived with alarm that Congress had lost too many of its strong men, that the body was becoming enfeebled, and that its chief acts were only recommendations and promises; that through the natural course of political development state governments were dearer to the inhabitants than the general government; that the

present Congress actually renounced powers of compulsion, and by choice devolved the chief executive acts upon the separate States; and that in point of fact there was scarcely a symbol of national unity except in the highest offices, while there were thirteen distinct sovereignties and thirteen armies. "If the great whole is mismanaged," said Washington, in trying to rouse the country to a sense of the public danger, "it will answer no good purpose to keep the smaller wheels in order." New York was the first State to act in the emergency, and, much as she needed her best men at home, increased her delegation by sending John Jay into the national counsels, who was made president of Congress, Laurens having retired from that office in December.

Upon one great military necessity all were agreed. The Indians of Western New York must be severely chastised; otherwise it was resolved to adhere to a strictly defensive campaign during the coming season. The movement against the powerful savage confederacy was to be something more than a raid for purposes of retaliation. Nothing less than the harshest of treatment and a decided victory, would prevent the tomahawk and its attending horrors from traveling eastward with the spring sunshine. The Six Nations had exerted great influence through more than two centuries of warfare, and had been courted by both England and France, as the reader has learned in former pages of this work. They had been treated with all the consideration ever accorded to powerful governments. They had acquired through intercourse with the whites many of the comforts of civilized life, with enlarged ideas of the advantages of private property. Their populous villages contained castles as well as cabins; the grand council-house at their capital was built of peeled logs two stories high, with gable ends painted red. Their fertile fields and thrifty orchards teemed with corn and fruit. In the beginning of the strife they had engaged to be neutral. But they could not resist the seduction of British presents; and the influence of Sir John Johnson, of the great chieftain Brandt, and of the Tories and desperadoes who in the disguise of Indians besought them to act as guides, with their natural thirst for blood and plunder, had rendered them more ferocious than the wild beasts of the forest. Their shocking cruelties in the rich Wyoming, Mohawk, Schoharie, and Cherry valleys could not be overlooked. An extensive plan of operations was devised. Into the heart of the Indian country Sullivan was to lead an expedition, marching by the Susquehanna; General James Clinton, his second in command, was to join him after penetrating the Indian country by the Mohawk River; and a third division was to proceed by the Alleghany River. So important was the success of these movements esteemed, that Governor George Clinton

intended to accompany the troops until the last moment, but was prevented by the State affairs. The New Hampshire and Massachusetts regiments were commanded by General Enoch Poor, and the Pennsylvania brigades by General Hand. This army altogether amounted to about five thousand men.

The anniversary of the alliance with France was celebrated in camp shortly after Washington returned to headquarters. An elegant dinner was given by General Knox and the officers of artillery to the commander-in-chief, who with Mrs. Washington, the principal officers of the army and their ladies, and a number of the prominent personages of New Jersey, formed a brilliant assemblage. In the evening there was a curious display of fire-works and a ball opened by Washington with Mrs. Knox for his partner. Not long afterward a party of British troops crossed into New Jersey at midnight, under orders to capture Governor Livingston. His wife and daughters had returned to "Liberty Hall" in the autumn, and the governor was now at home; a farmer's son, on a fleet horse without saddle or bridle, brought tidings of the enemy's approach, and he had barely time to make his escape. His valuable correspondence with Washington and other documents were crowded by his daughter Susan into the box of a sulky and taken to an upper room.¹ Then she stepped out upon the roof of a little porch over the door to watch for the coming of the redcoats. The day was just dawning when they suddenly appeared in full view, and a horseman dashed forward and begged her to retire lest some of the soldiers from a distance mistake her for a man and fire at her. She attempted in vain to climb in at the window, although it had been easy enough to step out; and an officer, seeing her dilemma, sprang from his horse, ran into the house, and gallantly lifted her through the casement. She was a handsome young woman of magnetic presence, and turning to thank her preserver, inquired to whom she was indebted for the courtesy. "Lord Cathcart," was the reply. "And will you protect a little box which contains my own personal property?" she asked with quick earnestness; then added more quietly, "if you wish I will unlock the library, and you may have all my father's papers."

A guard was instantly placed over the box, while the house was ransacked. A large quantity of old law papers were stuffed into the sacks of the Hessians, who cut the balusters of the stairs in anger when they found themselves checked in the work they had come so far to perform. They

¹ Miss Susan Livingston subsequently married John Cleve Symmes, the eminent jurist, who was member of Congress, judge of the Supreme Court of New Jersey, chief justice in 1788, appointed judge of the Northwest Territory, and was the founder of the settlements in the Miami country. Their daughter became the wife of President William Henry Harrison.

were gratified, however, in the matter of burning and plundering several other houses, and retreated with speed to Staten Island closely pursued by Maxwell's brigade, with the loss of a few men on both sides.

The British aim through 1779 was to inflict as much misery as possible upon the inhabitants of America. The war was prosecuted in Florida, Georgia, and the Carolinas, without any distinct or decisive object, in numerous small encounters, and with varying success. Virginia was ravaged by a force under General Matthews, her two chief commercial cities, Portsmouth and Norfolk, sacked, the town of Suffolk wantonly plundered and burned, public and private property indiscriminately destroyed all along the track of the invaders, who spent twenty-one days in the employment, and then returned to New York laden with the spoils. On the 30th of May, Sir Henry Clinton commanded an expedition which sailed up the Hudson River and captured the two opposite posts, Verplanck's Point and Stony Point, which were in no condition to resist the army of more than six thousand men. Washington drew his troops suddenly from their cantonments and placed them in such positions above Stony Point that the British general was discouraged from attempting anything further, and leaving strong garrisons in his newly acquired fortresses, he returned to New York.

Baron Steuben established his headquarters in June at the Verplanck Mansion, which, standing amid fine lawns and gardens, a short distance from the village of Fishkill, with patches of primeval forest on either hand, overlooked the Hudson some half a mile from the water's edge. By rapid marches through Pompton and the Ramapo valley the troops under St. Clair, Lord Stirling, and Baron De Kalb, were drawn from Middlebrook and well posted near West Point. Putnam was placed in command at Smith's Clove, while Washington's head-^{June}quarters were at Newburgh. Numerous regiments were scattered along the eastern bank of the Hudson to guard the passes, it being supposed that the British would soon attempt to carry West Point. Washington was frequently at Fishkill, and with the baron reviewed the various sections of the army; the remarkable degree of adroitness to which both officers and soldiers had attained in their evolutions was gratifying. The silence maintained during the performance of their manœuvres astonished experienced French generals. "I don't know whence noise should proceed, when even my brigadiers dare not open their mouths but to repeat the orders," exclaimed Steuben in reply to certain admiring comments.

The Verplanck Mansion was built in the early part of the eighteenth century, upon property which has been in the possession of the Ver-

plancks since 1682, when Gulian Verplanck and Francis Rombouts bought seventy-six thousand acres of land of the Indians. Long prior to the Revolution wheat had been shipped from this place to France and exchanged for pure wine, with which the vaults of the dwelling were well stocked. It was a roomy, comfortable home, and the foreign noblemen who enjoyed its shelter were charmed with its abundant resources for substantial comfort. The house is still preserved, with all its antique peculiarities; the very chairs used during the war are cherished with tender reverence. The new and larger part, revealed in the sketch, is at least seventy-five years old. The Verplancks are one of the oldest as well as one of the most honorable of the New York families of Holland origin; the



Verplanck House, Fishkill.

first of the name settled on the lower point of Manhattan Island when it was only a little fur-station; and in every generation since that primitive period they have had their good and gifted men. Samuel Verplanck married Judith Crommelin, the daughter of a wealthy Huguenot in Amsterdam, and resided in a large yellow house in Wall Street, corner of Broad, which was the home, after the Revolution, of his distinguished son, Judge Daniel Crommelin Verplanck, who married Ann Walton. These latter were the parents of Gulian Verplanck, so well-known in the political, social, and literary life of modern New York, and to all lovers of Shakespeare.

While the flowers were nodding in the June breezes, Sir Henry Clinton and his suite were journeying over the roads of Long Island to review the troops stationed at Southampton. An escorting party rode in advance, helping themselves to everything which could be conveniently turned to

account on the route, and when the exasperated inhabitants remonstrated they were cursed for rebels. July opened with an expedition into Connecticut, the object of which was in part to draw Washington's attention from West Point. A fleet of forty-six sail, manned by two thousand sailors, bore Tryon with three thousand troops into Long Island Sound. It was not moving against any fortified post, but as General Parsons aptly wrote, "to execute vengeance upon rebellious women and formidable hosts of boys and girls."

On the morning of July 5 it anchored at the entrance to the harbor of New Haven, and its military passengers landed at both East and West Haven. It was not yet daylight when the city was ^{July 5.} roused with alarm-guns and the ringing of church-bells. President Stiles says in his diary, that he sent off his daughters on foot to Mount Carmel, placed the college records and a quantity of colonial papers in charge of his youngest son to carry three miles, dispatched a one-horse load of bags of clothing in one direction, a second load of four mattresses and a trunk, immediately following, sent his son Isaac to overtake his sisters with a carriage, and rode himself on horseback to various points, stirring up the militia; his eldest son, Ezra, was with a band of college students, who formed on the green under Captain James Hillhouse, when suddenly Colonel Aaron Burr dashed in among them and offered himself as their leader. He had risen from a sick-bed to which he had been confined some days, and after conducting his aunt, a daughter of President Edwards, to a place of safety, spurred to the aid of whoever would contest the progress of the enemy. Joined by such of the militia as could be rallied in haste, the young heroes boldly proceeded to meet and harass the invaders, delaying them for priceless hours. The venerable ex-President Daggett of Yale (who had been professor of divinity twenty-five years) mounted his horse and with fowling-piece in hand rode down into the face of the enemy, encouraging the students by his example as well as words; when the party under Hillhouse fell back he remained where he had been stationed in a little copse, and continued loading and discharging his musket. "What are you doing there, you old fool?" called out an officer in the van of the British column, astonished at seeing a single individual in clerical costume firing at a whole regiment. "Exercising the rights of war," said the professor. In an instant bayonets were at his breast; "If I let you go this time will you ever fire at the king's troops again?" was asked. "Nothing more likely," was the prompt reply. Blows and gashes followed, but the life so firmly jeopardized was spared; the professor gave his name and station as one of the officers of Yale College, and was told that he had been "praying against

the king's cause," which he admitted. He was placed in front of the column, and at the point of the bayonet compelled to lead the way to a bridge, two miles north of one which had just been demolished over West River, and thus to the college green, where he fainted from the excessive heat of the day, and loss of blood, and was carried into the house of a friend. He died a few months later in consequence of his wounds. About one o'clock in the afternoon the enemy reached the heart of New Haven, having burned several houses on their way (of which was the old stone manor-house of the Morris), and mercilessly killed a number of citizens in their own dwellings, among whom was Deacon Nathan Beers. Sir Henry Clinton had instructed Tryon to do his business quickly, and the troops, nothing loth, sacked New Haven without delay; what could not be carried off was viciously destroyed — windows and furniture were broken, beds torn open, and occupants of houses abused and insulted. Cellars were everywhere visited and rum drank to excess. At eight in the evening the soldiers were so intoxicated as to be withdrawn with difficulty, the greater part who could walk reeling in the line, and carts, wagons, and even wheelbarrows necessary to transport the rest to the boats. Tryon paused at Beacon Hill, and at midnight wrote to Clinton, "The rebels are following us with cannon, and heavier than what we have." By sunrise the next morning the enemy were on the Sound again, having burned all the storehouses on the wharf, seven vessels, and many houses and barns. They had killed twenty-one men besides those who subsequently died of their wounds, and carried away between twenty and thirty prisoners. Tryon wrote that he "had a little difficulty with the rebels, and had lost eighty in killed and wounded." Among those who so resolutely disputed his advance were Dr. Levi Ives, the father of Professor Eli Ives of Yale, Mr. Rutherford Trowbridge, David Atwater, Simon Sperry,¹ and other men of influence who shouldered their muskets and joined the party under Hillhouse.

On Wednesday, the 7th, Tryon landed at Fairfield and stripped every dwelling and burned the whole beautiful town. A community so cultivated as well as prosperous had not in that day its parallel in England. Three churches, ninety-seven dwellings, a handsome court-house and jail, two school-houses, sixty-seven barns, and forty-eight stores and shops were reduced to ashes. Green's Farms, five

¹ Simon Sperry was descended from Richard Sperry, who was notable in colonial history for supplying food to the regicides, Goffe and Whalley, and who lived in the famous old moated manor-house approached by a causeway leading across his estate from the river in the beautiful and picturesque town of Woodbridge. Simon Sperry was the grandfather of ex-Mayor Sperry, and of the Hon. N. D. Sperry of New Haven.

or six miles distant, was plundered, fifteen houses burned, including the dwelling of the minister, Rev. Mr. Ripley, and the church, eleven barns, and several stores. The militia attacked the invaders and very much shortened their stay. They re-embarked on the 8th and sailed across the Sound to Huntington, to rest and recruit for further ignoble exploits.

On the following Saturday the cloud of sails was once more moving toward the Connecticut shore. Norwalk was doomed. The enemy landed Sunday morning. Tryon took possession of a small ^{July 11.} hill, where with chairs and a table he sat writing his orders and overseeing the destruction of the town. The inhabitants fled to the mountains, taking such valuables as they could carry. The old Benedict homestead, which had been in the possession of the family since the first settlement of the town, was not burned at first, but consigned to the flames as the British were retiring, which were happily extinguished through the efforts of a negro slave who had concealed himself in the bushes near by. Mrs. Mary Benedict Philipse, the wife of Ebenezer Philipse, mounted her horse and drove a number of cattle before her into the country. One hundred and thirty-five houses were burned, including the old mansions of Governor Fitch and Nathaniel Raymond, together with two churches, eighty-nine barns, forty stores and shops, five vessels, and four mills. Six houses only were left standing.

The militia, who rallied, interposed some opposition, but they were few in numbers, and the British force was strong. Wolcott and Parsons came forward rapidly from the vicinity of the Hudson, arriving the next morning.

In the mean time Sir Henry Clinton had withdrawn from Verplanck's Point all the troops not strictly destined for the garrison, with whom, in addition to several thousand others, he advanced to the heights near Marmaroneck, not far from the Connecticut line, in order to co-operate with Tryon should Washington march eastward; from this point he sent troops to burn the towns of Bedford, Salem, and North Castle, not even sparing their places of public worship. But a surprise was being prepared for the British commanders, which brought them suddenly to New York, and stayed further destruction upon the Connecticut coast.

A design upon Stony Point was culminating, which for its daring, and its combination of skill, prudence, foresight, careful attention to details, and absolute obedience on the part of the men concerned, and its conspicuous success, was one of the most brilliant achievements of the war. Washington selected a body of light infantry for this critical service from the various regiments of North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, and Massachusetts. The New York and New Jersey forces were chiefly on their way into the Indian country with Sullivan.

Every field officer chosen had proved his ability and valor on former occasions. The leadership was assigned to Anthony Wayne, a handsome, impetuous, magnetic, dashing Pennsylvanian of thirty-four, styled "Dandy Wayne" among his companions because of his fastidious notions about dress. He said he had "rather risk his life and reputation at the head of the same men in an attack clothed and appointed as he wished, with a single charge of ammunition, than to take them as they appeared in common, with sixty rounds of cartridges"; and Washington evidently sympathized with his tastes and gratified them to the extent of his narrow means. Under Wayne were Colonels Richard Butler and Udney Hay of Pennsylvania, Colonel Christian Febiger, and the gallant De Fleury, who afterwards became field marshal of France, commanding Virginians, Major John Steward of Maryland, Colonel Return Jonathan Meigs of Sag Harbor fame, Colonel Isaac Sherman, son of Roger Sherman of New Haven, Major William Hull, uncle of Commodore Hull of the *Constitution*, and Major Hardy Murfree, the pioneer of Murfreesborough, Tennessee, with two North Carolina companies.

The arrangements were conducted with the utmost secrecy. At noon on Thursday, July 15, Wayne and his noble twelve hundred left Sandy Beach, fourteen miles above Stony Point, and marched over the roughest of roads and pathways, the column stretched out the greater part of the way in single file. At eight in the evening they halted a mile and a half from the fort, and the officers reconnoitered. Midnight was the time fixed for the attack. The men lounged by the roadside three hours and a half in silence, under the enforced penalty of instant death. At half past eleven the time was up, and a whispered call quivered along the line. Each man knew the watchword, and bore upon his cap a patch of white paper to save him from his friends. They advanced with unloaded muskets and fixed bayonets. Whoever should attempt to load his piece without orders was to be put to death on the spot by the officer next him. Two columns were to break into the fort from nearly opposite points in silence, doing their work with the bayonet, while Murfree and his North Carolinians were to take position in front and draw attention to themselves by a rapid and continuous fire. Wayne led the right column, spear in hand, Butler the left. They were discovered by the pickets, and every man in the garrison was up, completely dressed, and at his proper station. Stony Point was a bold, rocky peninsula nearly two hundred feet high, jutting out into and bounded on three sides by the river, and almost isolated from the land by a marsh, which, it being high tide, was now two feet under water. From the formidable breastworks on the summit thundered gun after gun while yet the assaulters were

wading the stream. But they faltered not. Up the hill they ran, the bellowing cannon in their faces, and the musket-balls whistling around their ears. Every officer performed his part to the letter. One and another fell. The brave Colonel Hay was wounded in the thigh. Ezra Selden of Lyme, a handsome young officer fresh from Yale at the opening of the war, received a wellnigh fatal wound in the side, but he made his way into the fort. Wayne, with every sense alive, balancing all chances and duties while apparently wild with the fierce outcry which fired the veins of his men, fell backward with a wound in his head; but he rallied and directed his two aids to carry him along, and in five minutes more the whole party were rushing into the fort through every embrasure, and a thousand tongues let loose repeated the cry, "The fort's our own!"

The astonished Britons fell back into the corners of the fort under the terrible charge; De Fleury, first in, hauled down the flags, Sherman of Connecticut rushed over the space and grasped Butler of Pennsylvania by the hand as he climbed in from the north. Murfree came upon a run from the marsh, leaping in to join in the glory; and the surrender of the whole garrison was immediate. Tradition says that the enemy fell upon their knees, crying, "Mercy, dear Americans! Mercy!" However they may have asked for quarter, from the moment the cry was heard every bayonet was uplifted and not a man was hurt thereafter.

The commander came forward and delivered up his sword, and a July 16.
line was thrown around the prisoners, numbering five hundred and forty-six; some fifty-eight had jumped down the rocks in the darkness and escaped, and the killed and wounded numbered ninety-four. Fifteen Americans were killed, and six officers and seventy-seven privates wounded. The whole action occupied only twenty minutes after the first shot.

The cheers that rent the air with one common impulse were answered by the British ships in the river, and the garrison at Verplanck's Point opposite. "Ha, the fools think we are beaten!" exclaimed an officer; and the guns were whirled round riverward, and the fiery story was told in such language as compelled the ships to slip their cables and drop down the river in sullen silence. Washington's original idea had been to attack Verplanck's Point simultaneously, but he modified his plan so far as to attempt only a feint, conducted by Colonel Rufus Putnam, who alarmed that garrison the moment he heard firing across the river, effectually preventing any effort to aid Stony Point, and withdrew from the vicinity in the morning. The total value of the ordnance and stores captured by Wayne was estimated at over one hundred and eighty thousand dollars. The news of the event spread swiftly over the country, and the heroic band was everywhere applauded. Even the enemy lavished encomiums

upon the professional skill with which extraordinary difficulties were surmounted, and the high soldierly qualities of the storming party. "It was worth a dukedom," writes Joseph Roswell Hawley, "to have been even a private there that night."

Washington did not attempt to retain Stony Point, as it was too far advanced from his main army; he simply removed the stores and artillery, burned the barracks, and demolished and evacuated the fortress. Sir Henry Clinton, who at the time was in possession of the whole county of Westchester, employing men, protected by detachments of soldiers, to cut the hay from all the farms in the region, retreated with the first news rapidly to New York, calling in his haymakers and their covering parties. He doubtless expected a descent upon the city. Learning, however, that Stony Point had been abandoned, he took possession the second time, and rebuilt and garrisoned the fort; but in the month of November withdrew his forces from both Stony Point and Verplanck's Point, and demolished the works. Washington then took peaceable and final possession, and rebuilt and garrisoned them.

While America was proudly rejoicing over the exploit of Wayne, a quiet wedding occurred at Baskenridge, New Jersey. William Duer, who had been so prominent in the New York Congress, and a member of the Continental Congress, was married to Lady Kitty, daughter of Lord Stirling. John Jay escaped from his duties at Philadelphia, and with his wife graced the occasion; the mansion swarmed with the relatives of the family, many bright and winsome belles were present, and several army officers.

In the midst of the banquet which followed, the situation of Paulus Hook was discussed. Attached to Lord Stirling's command was the young and daring Henry Lee, afterwards governor of Virginia, who sought to attack the British post at that point, which had been held by the enemy with great tenacity since 1776, and was in reality the only safe spot on the Jersey shore for their marauding parties to land. Lord Stirling favored Lee's project, but Washington hesitated for a time, deeming the attempt too hazardous. Permission was finally obtained from the commander-in-chief, and Lord Stirling, with five hundred men, moved down to the Hackensack bridge to be in position to cover Lee's retreat if necessary. With about three hundred infantry and a troop of dismounted

dragoons, Lee boldly swooped down upon the post in the night with such celerity, address, and vigor, that he captured one hundred and fifty-nine men, with the loss of only two killed and three wounded. He had been directed to make no effort to hold the position, and returned safely with his prisoners to the American lines. This auda-

cious achievement, within sight of New York and almost within the reach of its guns, was very galling to the British officers. Great praise was awarded to Lee for his spirited and prudent conduct of the enterprise, and especially for his humanity.

Ten days later Sullivan gained a victory over the Indians under Brandt, who was assisted by Sir John and Colonel Guy Johnson, and the two Butlers; they had thrown up breastworks and intrenchments ^{Aug. 29.} half a mile long at Newtown, where the city of Elmira now stands. The conflict was not of long duration. The enemy were outflanked, and, scattering, fled. Indians and Tories alike made their way to Niagara, one of the strong points which Washington most desired to possess, but which was not attacked, to the great disappointment of both Washington and Congress. Sullivan visited a terrible retribution upon the savages for their havoc and slaughter of 1778. Forty towns were destroyed. Not a cabin nor a roof from the Genesee valley to the Susquehanna was left standing. Their homes, their orchards, their crops, their possessions, were all annihilated. The manifest inability of England to protect them inclined the Six Nations ultimately to desire neutrality.

Sir Henry Clinton was disconcerted and surly as one batch of disagreeable news after another reached him in New York City. The loyalists criticised his acts and his inaction, which did not improve his temper. In October a rumor that the French squadron was about to unite with Washington in an attack upon the metropolis induced him to order the evacuation of Rhode Island, and the troops, in hastening to New York, left all the wood and forage collected for six thousand men during the winter behind them. The post was immediately occupied by a body of American troops. Clinton learned finally that Count D'Estaing had abandoned the siege of Savannah and retired to the West Indies. The Southern campaign had been novel and exciting, ever presenting splendid prospects, sometimes to one side, sometimes to the other, and turning at the moment of anticipated success into bitter disappointment. Clinton himself sailed late in December, under the convoy of Admiral Arbuthnot, with seven thousand men, to operate against Charleston, South Carolina, leaving Knyphausen in command of New York.

Washington's headquarters were at West Point during the autumn. Here he welcomed Luzerne, the new minister from France, who had recently landed at Boston, and was on a circuitous route to Philadelphia. "He was polite enough," said Washington, "to condescend to appear pleased with our Spartan living." Prior to the advent of the French dignitary, Washington invited Mrs. Dr. Cochrane and Mrs. Walter Livingston to dine with him, and in a humorous letter to the doctor apprised them of their prospective fare. He wrote:—

"Since our arrival at this happy spot, we have had a ham, sometimes a shoulder of bacon, to grace the head of the table; a piece of roast beef adorns the foot; and a dish of beans or greens decorates the center. When the cook has a mind to cut a figure, which I presume will be the case to-morrow, we have two beefsteak pies, or dishes of crabs in addition, one on each side of the center dish, to reduce the distance between dish and dish to about six feet, which without them would be about twelve feet apart. Of late he has had the surprising sagacity to discover that apples will make pies, and it is a question, if, in the violence of his efforts, we do not get one of apples instead of having both of beefsteak. If the ladies can put up with such entertainment, and will submit to partake of it on plates once tin but now iron (not become so by the labor of scouring), I shall be happy to see them."

The increasing difficulties in the way of providing for the army threatened the most alarming consequences. Every branch of trade was unsettled and deranged, and the price of every commodity rising in proportion as the paper money depreciated in value. Liabilities to the enormous amount of two hundred millions of this currency had been issued, and no portion of it was redeemed. Every remedy adopted proved impracticable or aggravated the evil. A delegation from Congress dining with the officers of the army one autumn day, Robert Morris, of the party, was bewailing the miserable condition of the treasury. Baron Steuben exclaimed:—

"But are you not financier? Why do you not create funds?"

"I have done all I can; it is not possible for me to do more," replied Morris.

"And yet you remain financier without finances?"

"Yes."

"Well, then, I do not think you are as honest a man as my cook. He came to me one day and said, 'Baron, I am your cook, and you have nothing to cook but a piece of lean beef which is hung up by a string before the fire. Your negro wagoner can turn the string as well as I can; you have promised me ten dollars a month; but as you have nothing to cook I wish to be discharged and no longer chargeable to you.' That was an honest fellow, Morris."

In the mean time Spain had entered into a secret alliance with France against England, and war was waged in various quarters of the globe. The intelligence reached Congress while that body was deliberating upon the instructions to be given to ambassadors, who in connection with French statesmen were to negotiate a treaty of peace with England as opportunity might arise. John Adams, who had returned from his French mission in the same vessel with Luzerne, was chosen, and authorized to

act as negotiator, proceeding again to Paris. And although Spain had not yet acknowledged the independence of the United States, John Jay, the President of Congress, was dispatched as minister plenipotentiary to the Court of Madrid, to accomplish a direct alliance if possible with that power. He sailed on a few days' notice, October 10, accompanied by his wife, and her brother, Brockholst Livingston, as his private secretary. M. Gerard returned home in the same vessel.

The year closed gloomily for England. Lord Gower and Lord Weymouth, disapproving of the continued struggle with America, retired from the government. The Earl of Coventry lamented in the House of Lords that a war so fatal to Great Britain should ever have been begun, and declared that if the propositions he had made during the last session of Parliament had been regarded, England would have been at that hour at peace with America. In the House of Commons great heat was exhibited. Fox caustically asked, "What has become of the American war?" The king, it seems, had not even mentioned it in his speech at the opening of the autumn session. "Is the war totally extinct, like the war of ancient Troy?" continued Fox, referring to that silence. "What produced the French rescript and the French war? What produced the Spanish manifesto and the Spanish war? What has wasted forty millions of money and sixty thousand lives? What has armed forty-two thousand men in Ireland with arguments carried on the points of forty-two thousand bayonets? For what is England about to incur an additional debt of twelve or fourteen millions the ensuing year? Is it not that accursed, diabolical, and cruel American war?"

The American army went into winter-quarters at Morristown, log-huts being erected, as at Valley Forge and Middlebrook. It was a season of great severity. The snow, for four months, averaged from four to six feet deep. The bay of New York was frozen over so firmly that two hundred sleighs laden with provisions, with two horses each, escorted by two hundred light horse, passed over it from New York to Staten Island in a body. Loaded teams crossed the Hudson on the ice at Paulus Hook, and all the rivers, creeks, harbors, ports, and brooks were frozen solid in every direction. The shivering soldiers almost perished for want of proper food, and were alternately without bread or meat, and sometimes destitute of both. Washington and his military family occupied the Ford Mansion, and at each end of the house an addition was made of logs, one for a kitchen and the other for an office. Late in December Mrs. Washington arrived, riding a spirited horse, and escorted by a guard of Virginia troops, having for two days braved the perils of a terrible storm of wind and snow. She remained at headquarters until spring.

CHAPTER VI.

1780-1783.

THE CONCLUSION OF THE WAR.

SIGNIFICANCE OF EVENTS. — NEW YORK CITY IN 1780. — FORAYS INTO NEW JERSEY. — CAMP LIFE AT MORRISTOWN. — ALEXANDER HAMILTON. — ELIZABETH SCHUYLER. — ARNOLD UNDER A CLOUD. — RETURN OF LAFAYETTE. — CAPTURE OF CHARLESTON. — BURNING OF CONNECTICUT FARMS. — BATTLE OF SPRINGFIELD. — SIR HENRY CLINTON AT EASTHAMPTON. — TREASON OF ARNOLD. — AARON BURR. — EXECUTION OF ANDRÉ. — UNPOPULARITY OF THE WAR IN ENGLAND. — CORRESPONDENCE OF HARTLEY AND FRANKLIN. — THE FRENCH ARMY. — COUNT ROCHAMBEAU. — WASHINGTON AT DOBB'S FERRY. — THE CONFLICT AT THE SOUTH. — BURNING OF NEW LONDON. — SURRENDER OF LORD CORNWALLIS. — MARAUDING PARTIES. — SIR GUY CARLETON. — PEACE NEGOTIATIONS. — SUSPENSION OF HOSTILITIES. — SIGNING THE DEFINITIVE TREATY OF PEACE. — DAVID HARTLEY. — THE CINCINNATI. — THE EVACUATION OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK BY THE BRITISH. — GRAND ENTRY OF THE AMERICAN ARMY.

THE value of events can never be seen while they are transpiring. It is only in the calm light of their influences that they may be properly estimated. Great affairs oftentimes take their rise from small circumstances. The philosophers, politicians, and warriors of the Revolution, astute, wary, and stubborn as we find them, had little conception of the magnitude of their undertaking. Here and there were original minds, comprehensible and flexible enough to become the founders of a nation. Others, equally fervid by intensity of conviction, and imbued with a certain wise, strong sense of diplomacy, were masters of the situation only through the sweep of vast impulses behind them. The future was uncertain. No electric cable supplied at evening the policy for the next morning. The leaders of thought and the leaders of armies were alike groping in a dense cloud. Soldiers sleeping in the snow with a fire at their feet, and spending cold, wintry days in idly repining over hardship and inaction, knew not that they were working out results so grand that time would but add to their luster in all the centuries to come. In that severe school was a continual dramatic movement. Standards of duty, rules of action, and habits of thinking destined to impart a tinge and a

flavor to the broader culture and sweeter disposition of later days, were constantly bursting into life. And although the knowledge was withheld from the actors and sufferers in the projection of the national structure, we know that within one hundred years it has grown to a place in the front rank of great nations.

The city of New York, where the government of our Union was shortly to receive the first pulsations of existence, and where more than elsewhere its benefits are now seen, was the central point around which the chief events of the Revolution revolved. The years during which the main body of the American army hovered in significant proximity — almost within sight of her steeples — were fraught with all the romance which belongs to the mediæval struggles of European races. The fortunes of her citizens were as varied as any conceit of the most vivid imagination. Within her stately mansions the officers of King George lived like princes, and within her harbor the fleets anchored which were to terrify the whole Southern seaboard; while just beyond the waters that laved her western shores every hill-top and tree was like a watchful sentinel. No military movement in any direction could be executed without discovery, save under the cover of midnight darkness. Washington's spies passed in and out of the city despite the utmost vigilance. And Washington himself, with unerring sagacity, remained among the fastnesses of New Jersey, with his eye upon Manhattan Island, while he detached regiment after regiment of his best troops for the support of the South.

As the winter advanced the inhabitants of the metropolis were distressed for firewood and food to a degree never before experienced. The snow was so deep that forest-trees could hardly be extricated from their native wilds after being felled. Ornamental and fruit trees were attacked, and before spring the streets and lanes, gardens and grounds, were shorn of their treasures. Wall Street surrendered some of its beautiful shade trees, more than a century old, to be converted into fuel for the family of General Riedesel. The baroness writes: "We were often obliged to borrow wood of General Tryon for Saturday and Sunday, which we would return on Monday if we received any." The poor burned fat to cook their meals. Provisions were alarmingly scarce, and so costly as to exhaust the means of the wealthiest. Fifty dollars would not feed a family two days. In vain the British generals entreated the farmers of Long Island and vicinity to bring their produce to market; and foraging parties were equally unsuccessful; for the country people buried meat, corn, oats, and vegetables beneath the snow on the first intimation of their approach, and hied to the mountains, carrying old family furniture beyond their reach. In their rage at finding barns empty, cattle gone, and farm-houses

deserted, the foragers applied the torch and desolated whole districts, thus increasing not only the general misery, but the determination of America to be free.

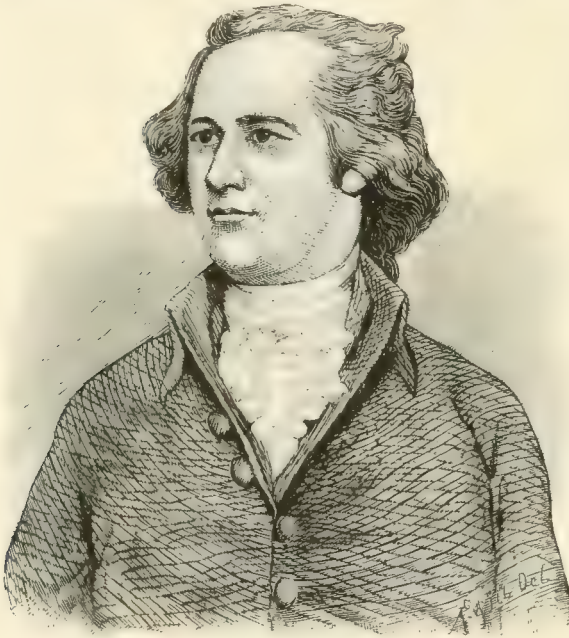
To add to the cheerlessness of New York, the men-of-war in the bay were immovably ice-bound, and an army with its heaviest artillery and baggage might at any moment cross the Hudson on the ice. Knyphausen expected Washington, and took measures accordingly. Refugees and loyalists formed themselves into military companies and were subjected to garrison duty. But the Americans at Morristown were in no condition to take advantage of the opportunity for a descent upon the city. The whistling winds were drifting snow above their heads, their garments were worn and thin, and many of the men had no shoes. The utmost discomfort prevailed even at headquarters. "Eighteen of my family," wrote Washington, "and all of Mrs. Ford's are crowded together in her kitchen, and scarce one of them able to speak for the colds they have caught." The distress for provision became so appalling that an appeal was made to the people of New Jersey direct, who responded nobly. Colonel Matthias Ogden collected cattle and grain in Essex County, and the temporary relief afforded induced Washington, about the middle of January, to give some twenty-five hundred of his best overcoated troops a little exercise. An expedition to Staten Island was placed under the command of Lord Stirling, the object being to capture a British encampment. Five hundred sleds and sleighs were procured to convey the party to Elizabeth, whence they crossed on the ice in the night
Jan. 15. from De Hart's Point; but the enemy, apprised of their approach, were strongly fortified, and intrenched behind an abatis of snow ten feet high, therefore an attack was deemed unjustifiable. After remaining twenty-four hours on the island, the Americans withdrew, with five hundred or more frozen ears and hands, and a quantity of blankets and stores. At Decker's Ferry they captured and destroyed nine sailing-vessels; and took a few prisoners. Some of the men had disobeyed their superiors and committed depredations upon the residents of Staten Island, for which they suffered severe punishment. Lord Stirling required all stolen property returned to Rev. James Caldwell of Elizabeth, who was to return it to the owners. Washington, who had in general orders warned the whole army against robbing the inhabitants on any pretext whatever, taught wholesome moral lessons by his treatment of incorrigible offenders. Thatcher says in his journal that death was inflicted, in some aggravated instances, for the crime of robbery, but that the penalty usually, after a fair trial, and conviction by a court-martial, was public whipping, in keeping with the practice of the times in both England and America.

Ten days later the British crossed the ice in the night, one party visiting Newark, and another entering Elizabeth about the same hour. Jan. 25. The Newark Academy, on the upper green, was burned, several houses plundered, and thirty-four prisoners taken, among whom was Judge Joseph Hedden, one of the Committee of Public Safety, whom they compelled to walk to Paulus Hook in his night-shirt; he died a few days subsequently in consequence of the exposure. At Elizabeth the courthouse and the Presbyterian Church were burned, a number of dwellings plundered, and a few prominent men carried off as prisoners. The guard, under Major Eccles, numbering about sixty, was captured on the spot. The guides of the enemy were natives of Elizabeth, familiar with all the roads, and knew all the residents of the town.

Washington sent General St. Clair on the 27th to investigate the situation, and re-establish guards along the shore of the frozen waters of the bay. But in spite of all precautions Rahway was visited on the 30th by a band of refugees, and a pleasure-party broken up without warning. Eight men were seized and carried off, several young ladies robbed of all their jewelry, and among other trophies three handsome sleighs and ten fine horses were taken to New York City on the ice. On the 10th of February another foray into Elizabeth by a circuitous route resulted in the capture of five or six citizens, and the plundering of as many good houses, of which were the old mansion of Governor Belcher, and the residence of William Peartree Smith and his son-in-law, Elisha Boudinot, who were fortunately out of town. The war, degenerating into midnight robberies, had trained and let loose upon society a class of murderous thieves, who, under the cover of British protection and the pretense of serving the king, furnished a chapter of horrors which could never be forgotten by the people of that generation. It was impossible to guard the whole long stretch of shore, and while the ice lasted the nights seemed chiefly devoted to barbarous raids. At Morristown the utmost precaution against a surprise was maintained. Pickets were thrown out towards the Hudson and the Raritan, and the firing of a gun in the distance would be answered by discharges along the whole line of sentinels to the camp and headquarters. On such occasions Washington's life-guard, commanded by William Colfax, grandfather of Schuyler Colfax, housed in log-huts near at hand, would rush to the Ford Mansion, barricade the doors, and throw up the windows; five, with muskets ready for action, were generally stationed at every window behind drawn curtains, until the troops from camp could be assembled and the cause of the alarm discovered. Mrs. Washington and the other ladies were obliged to lie in bed, sometimes for hours, with their rooms filled with guards, and the keen wintry winds blowing through the house.

As the intensity of the cold abated, and supplies became more abundant, the spirits of the army revived. The youthful Alexander Hamilton was the life of Washington's household. He had been aide-de-camp and secretary to the commander-in-chief since March, 1777, and had won special favor and confidence. His Scotch strength and French vivacity, his graceful manners and witty speeches, were a perpetual attraction. His figure was slight, erect, and expressive, his complexion boyishly fair, and his fea-

tures lighted with intelligence and sweetness. He wore his powdered hair thrown back from his forehead and cued in the back, and his dress was faultlessly elegant on all occasions. He presided at the head of Washington's table, and was usually the smallest as well as the youngest man present. Washington sat upon one side, with Mrs. Washington at his right hand. Hamilton had already evinced exceptional aptitude for the solution of financial problems, and the



Alexander Hamilton.

[From the painting by Trumbull in possession of the Chamber of Commerce.]

originality of his opinions induced the general belief that he possessed the highest order of genius. As an individual he probably inspired warmer attachments among his friends and more bitter hatred from his foes than any other man in New York history.

An event occurred in February which colored the whole life of the future statesman and jurist. Elizabeth Schuyler, one of the daughters of General Philip Schuyler, came to Morristown to spend the spring months with her aunt, Mrs. Dr. Cochrane, then residing in a cottage near headquarters. She was a beauty and a belle; small, delicately formed, with a bewitching face illuminated by brilliant black eyes. No young lady of her time had been more carefully educated or more highly bred. Her father's home in Albany had always been the resort of all that was most

cultivated and polished in the social life of what Walpole styled "the proud and opulent colony of New York"; and its courtly hospitalities had been from time to time enjoyed by notable representatives of the Old-World aristocracy. She was descended not only from a long line of Schuylers, but from the Van Rensselaers, Van Cortlandts, and Livingstons — the great feudal lords of the Colonial period — which, it being still the age when the distinctions of rank and caste were held in severe respect, lent an added

interest to her personal charms. She came like a fresh flower into the dreariness of that winter scene of frost, alarm, and despondency; and Hamilton was presently her devoted lover. Ere long General Philip Schuyler himself arrived at headquarters, the chairman of a committee from Congress, empowered to act in the name of that body for various and definite objects relative to the re-enlistment of troops and the exigencies of the coming campaign, expecting to remain



Mrs. Alexander Hamilton.

(Elizabeth, daughter of General Philip Schuyler.)

with the army all summer. He was accompanied by Mrs. Schuyler, and with their sanction the youthful pair were betrothed, being married the following December.

The accomplished Kitty Livingston, daughter of the governor, passed the early part of the winter in Philadelphia, and returned to "Liberty Hall," under the escort of General Schuyler, while on his route to Morristown. She wrote to her sister, Mrs. Jay, in Madrid, of the admiration the wife of Chancellor Livingston — now in Congress — had elicited in Philadelphia, and of her intimacy with Mrs. Robert Morris. She said Colonel Morgan Lewis, who was married in May, 1779, at Clermont, to Gertrude, the sister of Chancellor Livingston, had purchased a house in

Albany; and that Lady Mary and Robert Watts had rented Mrs. Richard Montgomery's farm for two years, in order to leave New York City. She described the French Minister, his secretary, M. Marbois, and a Spanish dignitary, Don Juan de Miralles, all of whom had wagered that Mrs. Jay used paint to produce the brilliancy of her complexion, and that she would go to plays on Sunday while in Spain. Even the Rev. Dr. Witherspoon, while pronouncing Mrs. Jay a philosopher, had intimated to the piquant Miss Kitty that he had been questioned upon the subject of her sister's artificial coloring. A few months later Mrs. Robert Morris wrote to Mrs. Jay that the Chevalier de la Luzerne was convinced of his error, had gracefully acquiesced in the loss of his bet, and had presented Miss Kitty with a handsome dress-cap.

These foreign noblemen visited headquarters in April, and were received with military honors. Washington, accompanied by his staff, and the congressional committee, conducted them to Orange Mountain, to April 24. obtain a distant view of New York and the position of the enemy; and, mounted upon splendid horses, with their troop of aids, and servants, they formed a striking cavalcade. Baron Steuben exhibited the discipline and tactics of the troops by a grand review; a large stage was erected in the field, which Thatcher says "was crowded by officers, ladies, and gentlemen of distinction from the country, among whom was Governor Livingston of New Jersey and his lady." This display was followed by a ball in the evening at the Morris Hotel.

Arnold had just been tried by a court-martial for his irregular conduct while in command of Philadelphia, and sentenced to a reprimand from the commander-in-chief, which was administered with consummate delicacy. Public opinion was divided in his case. His brilliant, soldierly qualities, and his daring exploits spoke eloquently in his behalf, while his ostentatious and costly style of living, with his debts and his government accounts yet unsettled, had excited suspicions of his integrity. He had occupied one of the finest houses in the Quaker City, indulged in a chariot and four, given splendid entertainments, and was known to have made temporary use of the public moneys passing through his hands. He had courted and married Margaret, the daughter of Edward Shippen, afterwards Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, and it was known that the family were not well affected to the American cause. In the exercise of his military functions he had become involved in disputes with the State government, and lost forever the confidence of that body. Nothing fraudulent was proved against him, but his course was pronounced imprudent and reprehensible. He now appeared before the public a soldier crippled in its service, seeking a new appointment; and Wash-

ington, knowing his abilities, was disposed in his favor. He subsequently obtained the important command of West Point.

On the 12th of May, the same day that Sir Henry Clinton captured the army under General Lincoln at Charleston, Lafayette arrived at Morristown by way of Boston, and met with a rapturous greeting from the entire army. Washington folded him in his arms with ^{May 12.} profound emotion. There was something singularly impressive in the enthusiastic devotion of this young French nobleman to a doubtful cause, in a far distant land. His second coming was the more welcome since it had been generally predicted that he would never return. He brought the glad tidings of a French army already upon the Atlantic, sent to aid America in the ensuing campaign. Remaining at headquarters but one day, he hastened to Philadelphia, as he was charged with messages from his government to Congress.

By no one was he received with more cordial grace than the brilliant and versatile Gouverneur Morris, who complimented him with one of his characteristic dinners, at which the arts of conversation were displayed to the greatest advantage. Morris was particularly happy in his intercourse with foreigners; he was a man of pleasure, generous, gay, original, sparkling with humor, and polite to a fault, and with his convivial and social qualities was united a marvelous genius for affairs. But like his Morris ancestry, with whom the reader is familiar, he abounded in whimsical peculiarities. He owned a famous pair of gray horses, which, when brought to the door in front of his stylish phaeton, he insisted, with immoderate expletives, should stand unrestrained by either groom or rein while he mounted to his seat. The next morning, after the banquet given to Lafayette, they ran away with him, throwing him upon the Philadelphia pavement with such violence that his leg was broken, and subsequently amputated just below the knee. It was esteemed an "irreparable misfortune," and sympathy was extended from every quarter. The day after the accident a clerical friend called to offer consolation, and dwelt at some length upon the good effects which the melancholy event would be likely to produce upon the moral character of a young man, when Morris interrupted him with the remark, "My good sir, you argue the matter so handsomely, and point out so clearly the advantage of being without legs, that I am almost tempted to part with the other."

It was three or four months before he was able to leave his room, and his quick preceptions, fertility of resources, and energetic counsels were severely missed by Congress in that crisis. The machinery of credit, paper circulation, and forced certificates, had run its race, and was about tumbling into ruins; the impending danger to the whole national fabric

was manifest to all, while how to avert it was the problem no one yet could solve. Congress adopted vigorous resolutions for raising money and troops, and the State governments made laws, but the execution of either was attended with innumerable delays. Individuals contributed largely to the public funds; and ladies in various parts of the country started subscriptions for the relief of the army. In the mean time there was a famine. The soldiers had no bread. Washington knew not which way to turn. New Jersey was exhausted through the long residence of the army. New York by legislative coercion had given all she could spare from the subsistence of her inhabitants. Virginia was sufficiently taxed to supply the South. Maryland and Delaware had made great exertion, and might perhaps do more. Pennsylvania was represented as full of flour, and Washington finally made a powerful appeal to Joseph Reed, president of her executive council. "All our departments are without money or credit, all our operations are at a stand," he wrote; "the patience of the soldiery is wearing out, and we see in every line of the army features of mutiny and sedition. Any idea you can form of our distress will fall short of the reality. We can no longer drudge on in the old way. Unless a new system, very different from that which has a long time prevailed be immediately adopted throughout the States, our affairs must soon become desperate beyond the possibility of economy." His letter procured supplies, but not on flying railway trains; ere laden wagons moved slowly across the country, two Connecticut regiments paraded under arms, announcing their resolve to return home or procure food at the point of the bayonet. No other man than Washington could have grappled with and overcome these difficulties. He not only retained the mutineers in service, but restrained them with discipline, managing with such consummate discretion as to command their affection while winning the confidence of the whole country.

On the 28th of May the official report of the surrender of Charleston was received at headquarters. About the same time New Jersey
May 28. refugees in New York City represented to Knyphausen that the troops under Washington were hopelessly discontented and mutinous, and that the inhabitants of New Jersey had become so tired of the vexatious compulsory requisitions for the support of the army, that they would seize the opportunity to throw off their allegiance to Congress if a British force was sent to their assistance. Believing this, the German veteran ordered nineteen regiments into the much-afflicted State across the Hudson. They sailed to Staten Island on the 6th of June,
June 6. crossing in the night to Elizabethtown Point. Early the next morning the whole force was in motion, commanded by Knyphausen.

The sun was rising in a clear sky as the "Queen's Rangers," a splendid body of dragoons, mounted on very large and beautiful horses, with drawn swords and glittering helms, entered the village of Elizabeth, followed by the infantry, "every man clad in new uniforms, complete in panoply, and gorgeous with burnished brass and polished steel." The whole body numbered six thousand.

But the proud leaders soon discovered their mistake. If the people had murmured because of the exactions of Washington, they had never thought of abandoning the cause of their country. The militia were everywhere out in small parties to oppose them, and the fences and the bushes were ablaze with musketry. The brigadier who commanded the van was unhorsed with a fractured thigh while yet in Elizabeth, and the column was harassed all the way to Connecticut Farms, a distance of seven miles. The troops of the enemy were kept in perfect order during the march, committing no deeds of violence. General Maxwell withdrew his brigade towards Springfield, making a stand on the rising ground back of the Farms' village, and again on the east side of the Rahway River; he was joined by Colonel Elias Dayton, who had retired from Elizabeth before the enemy, to their great annoyance. In the afternoon the militia flocked to the defense from all quarters, and the fighting was perpetual. In the midst of his chagrin at the turn events were taking, Knyphausen learned that Washington, hearing of the invasion, had thrown his whole force into the strong post of Short Hills; it was also apparent that the mutinous disposition of the American army had vanished as soon as distress — not disaffection — had ceased to affect the mind. As night approached, heavy clouds loomed up in the western sky. A retreat was ordered, and at ten in the evening the whole pompous array of horse and foot and flying artillery retrod their route of the morning, in strict silence, and in the midst of a drenching thunder-storm. They had distinguished themselves by plundering and burning the little village of Connecticut Farms, and by murdering the lovely wife of Rev. James Caldwell. "Nothing more awful than this retreat can be imagined," wrote one of Knyphausen's guards, "the rain, with the terrible thunder and lightning, the darkness of the night, the houses at Connecticut Farms in a blaze, the dead bodies, which the light of the fire or the lightning showed now and then on the road, and the dread of the enemy, completed the scene of horror. It thundered and lightened so severely as to frighten the horses, and once or twice the whole army halted, being deprived of sight for a time. General Knyphausen's horse started so as to throw the general."

The Rev. Mr. Caldwell had been pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Elizabeth until the edifice was burned by the British, and his position on

the great questions at issue was a matter of public notoriety; he was also chaplain of a New Jersey regiment. His wife was Hannah Ogden, the daughter of Judge John and Hannah Sayre Ogden of Newark.¹ She was the mother of nine children. The circumstances of her murder are variously stated. Her husband had entreated her in the morning to seek a place of greater safety than the little parsonage, but she thought that her presence might serve to protect the house from pillage. She was in a back room, holding an infant in her arms, attended by her maid, when a soldier jumped over the fence into the yard and fired his musket at her through the window, killing her instantly. Whether it was an act of personal malice or otherwise, it shocked the whole American people, and rendered the British name more execrable than ever.

At "Liberty Hall" the wife and daughters of Governor Livingston spent the day in speechless terror, as the British troops passed in front of their residence, and they could hear the guns and see the flames rising from the church and dwellings at Connecticut Farms. Late in the evening some British officers rushed in to take shelter from the storm, and finally decided to remain until morning; thus assured of safety, the family retired. About midnight they were startled by a sudden commotion about the house, caused by the departure of the officers who were hurried off by unexpected news. Soon afterward a band of drunken or vagabond hangers-on to the army broke into the mansion, swearing they would "burn down the rebel house." The frightened ladies locked themselves into a chamber, but their whereabouts were quickly discovered and the door attacked. As it was likely to give way before their blows, one of the governor's daughters resolutely opened it; a ruffian grasped her arm, and she with the quickness of thought seized his collar; at that instant a flash of lightning illumined the scene, and the fellow staggered back in a scared manner, thinking it the ghost of the murdered Mrs. Caldwell whom he saw before him! An old neighbor was presently recognized among the men, to whom the ladies appealed, and through his intervention the house was cleared of the marauders.

¹ Judge John Ogden was the brother of Colonel Josiah Ogden, who founded the Episcopal Church of Newark, and of Rev. Uzal Ogden, D. D., its first rector. He was the son of David Ogden, who was the son of the David Ogden who married Elizabeth Swaine, widow of Josiah Ward, the lady whose foot first rested upon Newark soil when the town was settled, himself the son of John Ogden, one of the principal founders of Elizabeth. The Ogdens were among the most wealthy and influential families of New Jersey, but were divided on the question of independence. Judge David Ogden of Newark, who had recently been commissioned chief justice of the province by the King, a cousin of Mrs. Caldwell's father, was in New York with his family, counseling with the enemy, and retired to Nova Scotia at the close of the war.

The governor was at Trenton at the time of the invasion, overwhelmed with public duties of the most perplexing character; and, aware that Knyphausen had within a month offered large inducements for his capture, he had little expectation that his house would be spared. The enemy remained at Elizabethtown Point waiting for Clinton, who having left Lord Cornwallis in command of South Carolina, with instructions to invade North Carolina as soon as circumstances would permit, was on his route to New York. Two days after his arrival he visited New Jersey, and expressed his disapproval of the movement of ^{June 19.} Knyphausen. The only objects sufficient to warrant such an expedition were the stores at Morristown and the capture of the American army. The prospect of success was not promising, and he resolved to withdraw the troops; but he chose to mask his retreat by a feint, and to give it the air of a military manœuvre. Washington, discovering that a bridge of boats to Staten Island was in readiness for the return of the British army, suspected that a design upon West Point was in contemplation, and immediately strengthened his forces in the Highlands, confiding the post at Short Hills to the command of Greene. Early on the morning of June 23d the British, five thousand strong, with ten or ^{June 23.} twenty field-pieces, swiftly advanced towards Springfield. They reached Connecticut Farms about sunrise, from whence they diverged in two compact columns, one by a circuitous route to the North through Milburn, the other directly over the Rahway River. Major Henry Lee, with his dragoons, supported by Colonel Aaron Ogden, took post at Little's Bridge on the Vauxhall road, while Colonel Dayton, aided by Colonel Angell, opposed the left column. There was a sharp contest at both points; the right column was compelled to ford the river before it could drive Lee and Ogden from their position, although their force was small. At the lower bridge the left column was held in check for forty minutes. During the heat of the battle Rev. Mr. Caldwell galloped to the church near by, and brought back an armful of psalm-books to supply the men with wadding for their firelocks, exclaiming, as he handed them round, "Now put Watts into them, boys!" Greene's command was extended over the mountains, to guard the different passes, and he hastily prepared for action. The enemy, having gained the village, saw little hope of proceeding further, and while manœuvring with their cannon plundered the houses and burned the town. The church and nineteen dwelling-houses were destroyed. Four habitations only were spared, and those were occupied by their wounded. Then they retreated with almost as much celerity as they had advanced; the militia, maddened by the sight of their burning homes, pursued them with an incessant fire the whole

distance to Elizabethtown Point. They immediately crossed to Staten Island, and by midnight their bridge of boats was removed.

It was shortly apparent that Sir Henry Clinton had no present intention of navigating the Hudson. The fleet under Admiral Arbuthnot cast anchor in Gardiner's Bay. Why the British army, twice as large as its adversary, did not strike some grand blow puzzled many a brain. But Clinton had a scheme in view which he believed would end the war. Benedict Arnold had been in his pay upwards of a year, and at specified rates furnished material intelligence. If Benedict Arnold succeeded in obtaining the command of West Point, the whole American army could be purchased from his hand. The only question at issue was that of price. Lord Germain was cognizant of the ignoble plot, and promised that all expenses would be cheerfully defrayed. He wrote to Clinton in September, 1779, that next to the destruction of Washington's army the gaining over influential officers would be the speediest means of subduing the rebellion.

Meanwhile two important events occurred. Congress, regardless of the views of Washington, placed Gates on the 13th of June in command of the Southern department; and the French fleet, with Rochambeau and one division of his army, entered the harbor of Newport on the 10th of July. Washington took post at Tappan, opposite Dobb's Ferry.

Clinton, while waiting for the development of Arnold's treachery, made a journey by land to Easthampton, the extreme eastern point of Long Island, ostensibly to confer with the Admiral as to the policy of an attack upon the French at Rhode Island, but in reality to enjoy a few weeks of sportive recreation. He was accompanied by his favorite aide-de-camp, Major André, and several officers of high rank, including Lord Percy¹

¹ Lord Percy was Hugh, eldest son of Sir Hugh Smithson, Baronet, who assumed the surname of Percy on his marriage to Lady Elizabeth Seymour, only child of the Duke of Somerset, and by act of Parliament was created Earl Percy and Duke of Northumberland October 22, 1766. Lord Percy, so well known in New York, became in 1786 second Duke of Northumberland. His brother, James Smithson, founded, through a bequest of \$515,169, the Smithsonian Institute at Washington, for the "increase and diffusion of knowledge among men"; he took an honorary degree at Oxford in 1786 (the same year that Hugh became a duke), and devoted his life to scholarship, often saying that his name would outlive those of his family who possessed inherited titles and honors only. The Smithsons were of England's proudest nobility, dating back to the eleventh century, holding large estates, and conspicuous in all the generations for intellectual strength. The titles and dignities of Knight and Baronet were conferred upon Sir Hugh Smithson in 1660. The first Duke of Northumberland was the fourth Baronet in the direct line. Lord Percy's son Hugh became third Duke of Northumberland in 1817; he was succeeded as fourth Duke by his brother Algernon, the late Viceroy of Ireland, in 1847. The present Duke of Northumberland is a Smithson, although not in the direct descent from Lord Percy, and his galaxy of armorial bearings, representing the distinguished alliances of his ancestry, number nearly nine hun-

and Lord Cathcart. Sir William Erskine was in command of Eastern Long Island, with headquarters at Southampton, but Sir Henry and his suite were billeted upon Colonel Abraham Gardiner, whose mansion at Easthampton was the largest and finest in the region; its garret had a trap-door, and was used to confine prisoners. The chief pastime of the party was deer-hunting.¹ The son of their host, Dr. Nathaniel Gardiner, surgeon of a New Hampshire regiment, came home on a furlough during their stay, cutting his visit short, however, when he discovered the character of his father's guests. The family thought his presence their own secret until the morning following his departure, when Major André expressed his regret at not having been able to make the acquaintance of the young surgeon, as, had he done so, duty would have obliged him to cause his arrest as a spy. A messenger appeared one rainy August morning with a letter from Arnold, and before noon Sir Henry was on his route to the city. André, upon leaving, exchanged wineglasses with Colonel Gardiner, taking two from his camp-chest, and receiving two from the table in return. These mementos are still preserved by the family.²

America quivered with disappointment as the summer slipped by without military movements. Washington's feeble army was unprepared to act with the French immediately upon their arrival; and the second division of Rochambeau's army were blockaded by the British at Brest, and unable to cross the Atlantic. The idle troops of the king amused themselves with forays into the country, and the patriots injured the enemy whenever they had an opportunity. Now and then daring exploits were planned and executed for the relief of prisoners, as in the case of General Silliman and Judge Jones, the historian. The former was captured by a party of refugees at his house in Fairfield, May, 1779, and carried to New York. There being no officer in possession of the Americans whom the British would accept in exchange for Silliman, a bold and successful expedition into Long Island was projected in November for the capture of Judge Jones, who was residing quietly at his country-seat, at Fort Neck, and he was taken to the home of Mrs. Silliman, thence to Middletown. It was the 27th of April, 1780, before the

died, among which are those of several younger branches of the Royal family of England, the sovereign houses of France, Castile, Leon, and Scotland, and the ducal house of Normandy and Brittany — heraldic honors almost without a parallel.

¹ See Vol. I. 596.

² David Gardiner, the grandson of Colonel Abraham Gardiner, was several years in public life; he was killed by the explosion of a gun opposite Mount Vernon in 1844, while on a pleasure-trip by invitation of the President. Two cabinet ministers and three other distinguished gentlemen were instantly killed at the same time, and the six were buried from the Executive Mansion. A few months afterward Julia, the beautiful daughter of David Gardiner, was married to John Tyler, President of the United States.

exchange was finally effected, and both gentlemen restored to their families. A volume might be filled with the thrilling incidents, hair-breadth escapes, and harrowing trials of the people within fifty miles of the metropolis during this period of inaction. The neutrals suffered more if possible than the violent partisans, being persecuted by both parties. Washington's forces were changing along the Hudson like a kaleidoscope. Baron Steuben had wrought wonders. Every man and every horse knew his place and his duty. Such was the perfection of detail in the regulations that the whole army, occupying an extent of several miles, could be put in motion and take up the line of march in less than an hour. The season was sickly, great dearth of food was frequent, the ranks were thin, and nearly every man had a grievance. But a hopeful spirit was maintained through the judicious policy of Washington, who, whatever his forebodings, never lost self-command. He was essentially aided by Greene, whose character and bearing created confidence and enthusiasm. Lord Stirling was another officer whose example was a perpetual source of strength and inspiration; the troops were proud of his martial appearance, and boastfully compared his courtly dignity with the brusque mannerism of many foreign generals, although the laugh occasionally went round at his expense on account of his supposed ambition of the title of lordship; the story was told, how, at the execution of a soldier for desertion, the poor criminal called out, "Lord, have mercy on me!" and Stirling responded with warmth, "I won't, you rascal! I won't have mercy on you." The elegant dragoons of Colonel Henry Lee were the admiration of the army; not England herself could exhibit a better-disciplined, more stylishly equipped, or finer-looking body than these gallant Virginians. And the lively concern evinced by the French affected the rank and file of the American army like a charm.

Eager expectation, however, succeeded suddenly to deep despondency. News came from South Carolina early in September that Gates had been totally defeated on the 19th of August by Lord Cornwallis in a general action near Camden, with the loss of forty-eight American officers, and that the brave Baron De Kalb had been killed while leading the Maryland and Delaware troops into battle. This mortifying disaster opened the eyes of Congress at last to the fact that a man could be a skillful intriguer and yet no soldier. In the midst of the general sorrow the army paid the final tribute of respect to the amiable and popular General Enoch Poor, who had died of fever. On the 17th Washington, accompanied by Lafayette and Hamilton, left headquarters for Hartford, to meet and confer with Rochambeau and his generals, who were to ride to that point from Rhode Island. Arnold proceeded in his barge to meet

Washington at King's Ferry, crossing the Hudson in full view of the *Vulture*, anchored below. He was in possession of a letter concerning the property opposite West Point which had been confiscated to the State of New York; and he urged in vain for permission to receive an agent from Colonel Beverley Robinson, its former owner, on the subject. Hamilton said it was strange that Robinson should attempt to confer with a military officer upon a question belonging to the civil authority alone! Lafayette in a tone of pleasantry asked Arnold to ascertain as soon as possible — since he was in correspondence with the enemy — what had become of the French squadron so anxiously expected. Had Washington consented to Arnold's appeal, the conference with André would have been conducted under a flag of truce, seemingly authorized by the commander-in-chief.

No event in modern history has been more discussed than the treason of Benedict Arnold. The character of the man who could deliberately undertake to destroy the life of a nation at a stipulated price is a curious study. He seems to have possessed exceptional will-power, unlimited audacity, tolerable acquirements, an excitable imagination, a cold heart, inordinate selfishness, singularly captivating manners, great personal magnetism, an irritable temper, and a cruel disposition. He excelled in a certain order of military ability, but lacked all the moral qualities which go to make the hero. His patriotism was a splendid piece of deception from first to last. He plunged into the Revolution as he would have dashed into a jungle for game, with an eye to the rewards. He had no sense of duty or military honor. He was capable of taking the most solemn oath with the full intention of perjury in his soul. He could lead brave men up to the cannon's mouth with an irresistible fascination, and then coolly turn round and sell them bodily, with all they held dear on earth, to the enemy. The plea that he was driven to the perpetration of an unpardonable crime by a series of acts of injustice has no basis in point of fact. He was angered by his failure to extort money from Congress which he claimed as his due, and became nearly furious when charged by the civil authorities of Philadelphia with resorting to improper means to obtain money. But under the assumption of injured innocence he was striving to hide an already maturing criminal scheme of overwhelming magnitude. Had he ever been a man of honor, worthy of high trusts, no wrongs could have driven him into forgetfulness of the supreme sanctity of obligations. A glimmer of the blackness of his nature was discernible in all stages of his career, and now he was to make his final plunge into everlasting infamy.

The picture of Arnold hastening to bring about the contemplated meeting with André while Washington was in Hartford is one of the

most dark and repulsive of the Revolution. The preliminaries were all arranged; the interview was to close the bargain. Arnold had intimated in a letter to Clinton, August 30, that "speculation might be made with ready money." At midnight of the 21st, Arnold sat upon his horse among the fir-trees at the foot of a shadowy hill on the west side of the Hudson, in waiting attitude. A boat with muffled oars approached cautiously from the *Vulture*, and André presently stepped forth, wrapped in a blue cloak. Arnold received him politely, and the two conversed until day-break. Their business not being completed, they rode through Haverstraw village to the house of Joshua Hett Smith, whose family were absent.

Here they concluded arrangements. Arnold was to distribute the Sept. 22. garrison at West Point in such a manner as to destroy its efficiency. Clinton was to bring his army to the siege in person, and it was decided in what manner to surprise the reinforcement which Washington would doubtless himself conduct. Arnold returned in his barge; while André, with sketches of the routes and passes which were to be left unguarded, together with a plan of the fortifications of West Point, and the number of the garrison, cannon, and stores, all in the handwriting of Arnold, crossed the Hudson at King's Ferry in the night, conducted by Smith, and commenced his journey to New York by land. The *Vulture* had been obliged to shift her anchorage during the day through the sharp fire of a party of Americans; thus Smith refused to risk the attempt to row André back to the sloop of war, but accompanied him on horseback as far as Pine's Bridge over the Croton River. About an hour before noon on the 23d, when just above Tarrytown, André was stopped by three men, and the fatal papers were discovered in his stockings; despite his magnanimous bids for release, he was taken to North Castle and delivered to the commandant of that post, who was induced by him to dispatch an express to Arnold with intelligence of his capture.

Washington, returning from Hartford, where nothing had been settled in the way of future operations for lack of superiority at sea, changed his route to spend the night in Fishkill. The next morning he was in the saddle early, and sent a messenger in advance to inform Mrs. Arnold that he should do himself the pleasure of breakfasting with her. When within a mile of "Beverley," he turned aside to inspect some redoubts, two of the aids galloping forward to the house with a message from him that the meal should not be delayed.

Arnold and his family accordingly gathered at the breakfast-table. The traitor was not in a happy mood. Washington's presence sooner than anticipated was inopportune, to say the least. This was the very day for the ships of Clinton, ready and waiting for André, to ascend the

river. Suddenly a horseman rode into the door-yard, and Arnold received the letter with information of André's capture, and that the papers found upon his person had been forwarded to Washington on the road from Hartford. Thus the mine which Arnold had prepared for others was about to explode under his own feet. With superlative self-control he remarked that he had been summoned to West Point, beckoned his wife from the table for a word in private, ordered the messenger to keep silence, on pain of death, and leaping upon the fellow's horse dashed down the slope to his barge, and escaped. The communication had missed Washington because of his change of route, but he received it on his return from West Point later in the morning. The revelation was appalling. Hamilton was sent upon a fleet horse to order the guns at Verplanck's Point turned upon Arnold's barge; but he had already passed in safety, and was on board the *Vulture*. The extent of the treason being unknown, an alarm was sounded in every division of the army; at three o'clock next morning Greene held the entire force at Tappan in waiting to march at a moment's warning. An unspeakable disgust took possession of the American soul as the facts came to light; and the man who had so nearly sold for a paltry sum of money all that had been won through labor and hardship, through blood and anguish, through a spirit of heroism and love of country superior to bribery and corruption, was held in universal detestation.

Mrs. Arnold was believed innocent of any knowledge of her husband's crime up to the moment of his flight, and treated in her apparently agonizing distress with the utmost consideration by Washington and his officers. Within a few days she was furnished with a passport and an escort of horse, and started for her father's house in Philadelphia. She stopped on her way in Paramus, at the home of the charming Mrs. Prevost, afterwards Mrs. Aaron Burr, where Colonel Burr was at the time a guest, and is said by him to have given a lively narration of the manner in which she deceived Washington, Hamilton, and others, and personated the outraged and frantic woman. Colonel Burr's relations with the Shippen family had been of the most intimate character from childhood, and he kept Mrs. Arnold's secret until she was past being harmed by the telling of it.

Major André wrote to Washington frankly stating that he was the adjutant-general of the British army, but no spy. He said he had been drawn into a snare, not intending to enter the American lines. But a secret midnight mission in a borrowed garb and under an assumed name, even if he did not intend to subject himself to danger, was not according to the chivalry of modern warfare. He was ordered to "Beverley," and

thence conducted by Colonel Tallmadge to Tappan, where on the 29th he was tried before a board of officers consisting of Greene, Lord Stirling,

Sept. 29. St. Clair, Lafayette, Steuben, Howe, Parsons, James Clinton, Glover, Knox, Stark, Hand, Huntington, and John Lawrence — the judge advocate general — all men of the highest character. Upon his own confession, without the examination of a witness, and after showing him every indulgence, this tribunal reported that he was in effect a spy, and according to the usages of war in all countries should suffer death. On the 30th, Washington approved the sentence and ordered it to be carried into effect. Sir Henry Clinton solicited André's release on the ground of his having been protected by "a flag of truce and passports," but Washington inclosed the report of the board of inquiry, saying, that "Major André was employed in the execution of measures very foreign to flags of truce, and such as they were never meant to authorize." Clinton requested a conference, and sent General Robertson and two civilians to Dobb's Ferry, who were met by General Greene and staff, but Robertson only was allowed to land. He had nothing material to urge except that André was under the sanction of a flag — which was untrue, André having come on shore in the night on business totally incompatible with the nature of of a flag — and spoke of freeing André by an exchange. Greene replied that Arnold, then, must be given up. Robertson absurdly gave Greene an open letter from Arnold, filled with insolent threats of retaliation should André suffer death; this was conveyed to Washington, but ignored with silent contempt. As for André, his fate excited universal commiseration. His virtues and his graces, his youth, his accomplishments, his high position, and his engaging manners rendered him an object of romantic interest. Even Washington was greatly moved. And yet André's errand had been unmistakably to buy with gold what British steel could not conquer; and concealed upon his person had been found the means through which the enormous crime was speedily to have been consummated. His

Oct. 2. execution took place on the 2d of October; and the general verdict of mankind has been that no man ever suffered death with more justice. The firmness and delicacy with which he was treated won the respect of all nations. Thousands of pens have since paid tributes to his memory. But the civilized mind should have a care about confounding standards of character and conduct. André's mission was neither heroic nor reputable. Honors belong to other enterprises and deeds.

Arnold's career henceforward was a living death. He took up arms against his countrymen, but was despised and neglected by all true Englishmen. His retribution elicited no pity; and he transmitted to his children a name of hateful celebrity.

Sir Henry Clinton shared in the obloquy attending the treasonable conspiracy. He wrote in anguish of spirit to Lord Germain: "Thus ended this proposed plan, from which I had conceived such great hopes and imagined such vast consequences." Germain himself lost public favor through the notoriety of the affair, and the Opposition were materially strengthened. From the day the news of Arnold's treason reached Parliament the war increased in unpopularity throughout England.

New York, the key to the continent, which had hitherto so successfully resisted the shock of armies, and had now narrowly escaped the consequences of insidious operations by an internal foe in league with a powerful foreign enemy, was to taste still further the bitter fruits of war. The work of blood recommenced on a gigantic scale within her northern, central, and western borders. What her people suffered the world can never know. The Tories, who had no future except revenge, and the Indians, who were fighting for their hunting-grounds, marched without baggage by secret paths, never knowing fatigue or wanting for ammunition. Canada and the British forts proved unfailing arsenals, and this terrible enemy inflicted calamities from the recital of which humanity recoils; they could at any moment retreat into the illimitable forests, every foot of which was familiar ground. A sudden irruption from the north, and the two forts, Anne and George, were captured. At the same time Sir John Johnson, with Brandt and a half-savage force, laid waste the fertile valley of the Mohawk. He was defeated by General Van Rensselaer just as Governor Clinton arrived on the scene at the head of the New York militia. General James Clinton was soon appointed to the command of the Northern department. For the next two years the records of New York were stained with fire and blood; whole families and villages were sometimes swept away in a night. Again and again were the enemy driven from the soil by the resolute militia; but discipline and skill were powerless to protect the inhabitants.

Before the year closed Greene, in whom Washington reposed implicit confidence, succeeded Gates in command at the South, where Cornwallis had established a reign of terror. About the same time Major Tallmadge, with eighty dismounted dragoons, crossed the Sound from Fairfield, Connecticut, in the night, marched across Long Island to Fort St. George, at Coram, surprised and captured the garrison, number-
Nov. 22
 ing fifty-four men, demolished the fortress, burned two armed vessels, with a large quantity of hay and stores, and returned to Fairfield without the loss of a man. Early in December log huts once more rose all through the mountains around New York City, except on the side towards the sea; the Pennsylvania troops were cantoned near Morris-

town; the New Jersey line about Pompton; the New England divisions at Tappan, in the Highlands, and near the Connecticut shore; and the New-Yorkers at the points of greatest danger, the exposed country near Albany, Saratoga, and on the Mohawk.

No sooner was shelter provided for the army than difficulties culminated. Men shivering in the woods back of West Point were obliged to bring fuel on their backs from a place a mile distant, while on half-allowance of bread and entirely without rum; and they had not been paid for twelve or fourteen months. Thatcher wrote, December 10: "For three days I have not been able to procure food enough to appease my appetite; we are threatened with starvation." Lafayette said: "No European army would suffer the tenth part of what the American troops suffer. It takes citizens to support hunger, nakedness, toil, and the total want of pay." Glover appealed to Massachusetts, December 11: "It is now four days since your line of the army has eaten one mouthful of bread. We have no money, nor will anybody trust us." The same startling cry arose from all quarters. Congress had tried every expedient; but Congress had no powers adequate to the purposes of war. Washington knew this, and urged for a stronger system of government. Hamilton, uncontrolled by inherited attachments for any one State, drinking from the fountain of Washington's ideas, and possessing creative powers, the habit of severe reflection, and the quick impulses as well as the arrogance of youth, took the field as the maker of a national constitution, and wrote to Duane of New York, in Congress, vigorously asserting the
1781. necessity of a confederation. On the first day of January the
Jan. 1. complication of distresses resulted in open mutiny among the soldiers at Morristown. A part of the Pennsylvania line, under the lead of non-commissioned officers, marched with six field-pieces to Princeton, threatening to proceed to Philadelphia and exact redress from Congress. Wayne endeavored to pacify them, and Reed, president of Pennsylvania, repaired to the spot, taking cognizance of their grievances. Sir Henry Clinton was quick to dispatch emissaries to the mutineers, with tempting offers, promising to pay all arrears due them from Congress in cash, without exacting military service in return, if they would come to him; but, resenting the imputation of being Arnolds, they delivered up his messengers to be tried and hanged as spies. Other troops were inclined to mutiny, after the example of the Pennsylvanians, but Washington interposed; a detachment of Massachusetts men marched over mountain roads through deep snows, and suppressed the incipient insurrection.

Doubts, fears, and divided opinions in Congress delayed every proposed change in the manner of transacting national business. Com-

mittees, however, were found to be irresponsible bodies, and a partial remedy for existing evils was supplied before spring by the creation of departments. The important office of Secretary of Foreign Affairs fell to the gifted Robert R. Livingston, Chancellor of New York, who executed its novel duties with dignity and ability until the close of the war. Robert Morris was unanimously elected Superintendent of Finance; and one of his first acts was to appoint Gouverneur Morris, of New York, Assistant Financier, who served in that capacity three years and a half. Meanwhile John Laurens, the hero of many a deed of valor, was sent on a special mission to negotiate a loan from France. His father, Henry Laurens, was a prisoner in the Tower of London, the vessel on which he sailed the preceding August, for the purpose of maturing a commercial treaty with Holland, having been taken by the British; his diplomatic and official papers were thrown overboard, but rescued from the water; and as they revealed to Great Britain a private correspondence in progress between Holland and the United States, the result of their capture was a declaration of war against Holland, the ally of a century.

A correspondence was maintained between David Hartley and Dr. Franklin during the whole struggle. Both heartily desired peace. Not only their aims, but their motives, reasonings, and generous sentiments harmonized, and both fully realized that they were dealing with events around which clustered the profoundest emotions and intensest passions of human nature. Hartley acted as a mediator, and with such rare discretion as to exert a marked influence upon the issue of the conflict. "I have been endeavoring to feel pulses for some months, but all is dumb show," he wrote to Franklin in April, 1779. And yet he was successful during the same month in obtaining consent from Lord North to make a mediatorial proposition, as a private person, which might serve as a basis for future negotiations. Lord North thought Franklin would not express his mind freely under such circumstances; but Hartley said "it was possible for Dr. Franklin to consider him (Hartley) a *dépôt* of any communications which might tend from time to time to facilitate the terms of peace." He feared no misapprehension. His proposal was a truce. Franklin wrote that if the truce was practicable and the peace not, he should favor it, provided the French approved; but only on motives of humanity—to obviate the evils men inflict on men in time of war—being persuaded that America was disposed "to continue the war till England should be reduced to that perfect impotence of mischief which alone could prevail with her to let other nations enjoy "Peace, Liberty, and Safety." Hartley replied: "If the flames of war can be but once extinguished, does not the Atlantic Ocean contain cold water enough

to prevent their bursting out again?" He argued that confidence must exist somewhere before the nation could be extricated from the evils attendant upon its national disputes, and warmly assured Franklin that "no fallacious offers of insincerity, nor any pretext for covering secret designs or for obtaining unfair advantage, should ever pass through his hands."

By no means less than these hidden workings of a peace-making spirit, potent influences of a contrary character tended to the same end. Elated with the conquering progress of Cornwallis in the Carolinas, the Ministry encouraged harsh punishments, and commended the transformation of military legions into housebreakers and assassins. The youth and manhood of the South grew every day more defiant under the scourge. Bands of well-mounted horsemen confounded Cornwallis, springing up silently in the very districts he had thought subdued. January was marked by the famous victory of Morgan at the Cowpens. February brought the disagreeable conviction to the mind of Cornwallis that he was being outgeneralled in some inexplicable manner. March was signalized by the desperate battle at Guilford Court House, which, without defeating, weakened Cornwallis, and proved the singular capacity of Greene for the execution of great plans. April found Cornwallis moving into Virginia, and Greene carrying out the daring policy of marching to South Carolina and Georgia. May brought tidings to Cornwallis of the loss of several Southern forts through a series of vigorous operations under Henry Lee's invincible dragoons, in conjunction with Marion, Sumter, and Pickens; and, sick at heart, he could not fail to see that his high-handed work of the last year was being rapidly undone.

New York was in dismay. Numbers of her brave sons were serving the king at the South, fighting his battles, whether just or unjust. The garrison of Ninety-Six, composed of New-Yorkers and New-Jerseymen, was commanded by John Harris Cruger, whose beautiful wife, the daughter of Oliver De Lancey, lived in the fort and fared as the soldiers did. The army of Greene ominously increased; the militia flocked in, eager to drive the hated foe from the land. But while New York was seriously affected by exciting events elsewhere, her chief fears were for her own fair island. Threatening storms hung in every part of the horizon. Rumors of a French fleet on the ocean under Count De Grasse, and an interview between Washington and Rochambeau at Wethersfield, Connecticut, intensified the general belief that the city was to be attacked. Clinton hastened to erect forts and batteries. He had forwarded detachments to co-operate with Cornwallis in Virginia, but, deceived by letters written to be intercepted, he recalled them for the

defense of New York. Cornwallis remonstrated against their departure, having already felt the stings of Steuben, Lafayette, and Wayne—sent by Washington to the State which had generously parted with her own gallant soldiery for the defense of other States beyond—and a significant letter from Lord Germain, applauding Cornwallis, and expressing the king's faith in the Virginia campaign, induced Clinton to direct the troops to remain after they had actually embarked. But he sent no more to Virginia. Early in July Washington suddenly encamped at Dobb's Ferry. The next morning a portion of his army appeared ^{July 4} for a short season on the heights above Kingsbridge. On the 6th, the French army reached Dobb's Ferry from Newport.

For seven long summer weeks New York tossed in a tempest of perpetual apprehension. A series of feints kept the British on the alert. Five thousand American and French troops paraded, July 22, on the heights north of Harlem River, their arms flashing in the morning sunshine, the French in white broadcloth uniforms trimmed with green, and the flags of both nations unfolded to the breeze. Scouring-parties cleared the roads and menaced the outer posts of the enemy, while Washington and Rochambeau, attended by numerous officers, a corps of engineers, and an escort of dragoons, deliberately reconnoitered the works on the northern part of Manhattan Island, from the main, as far as the Sound, making notes and diagrams. The two commanders dined on the 23d at the Van Cortlandt Mansion,¹ and returned in the night to Dobb's Ferry, withdrawing their forces from the region of Harlem River, having effected the object of the expedition. Clinton felt assured that Washington contemplated a blow at Staten Island, the possession of which in connection with a strong French naval force would greatly facilitate the operations of a siege; he therefore employed men night and day upon fortifications for its defense. On the 15th of August, Washington inspected ^{Aug. 15.} the whole length of Manhattan from the heights on the Jersey shore of the Hudson, accompanied by Rochambeau, the Marquis de Chastellux, and a troop of generals and distinguished gentlemen. He rode one of the fine blood horses presented him by the State of Virginia, a beautiful animal which he had himself trained to leap the highest barriers; and the skill with which he overcame the seemingly impassable physical peculiarities of the rough surface of the Palisades was the wonder and admiration of the French noblemen. "He usually," writes Chastellux, "rode very fast, without rising in his stirrup, bearing on the bridle, or suffering his horse to run as if wild."

Viewing the half-ruined city of New York in the distance, Washington

¹ For sketch of Van Cortlandt Mansion at Kingsbridge (built in 1748), see Vol. I. 697.

decided as well and wisely the course which would best contribute to her future greatness, as he could have done had he fully foreseen the glories of the coming century. He would conquer her captors, but in quite another latitude. He ordered extensive encampments marked out, ovens erected for baking bread, forage and boats collected in the recesses along the wall of rocks, and fictitious communications circulated to deceive and bewilder his own army as well as Sir Henry Clinton. "Our situation," writes Thatcher, "reminds me of some theatrical exhibition, where the interest and expectations of the spectators are continually increasing, and where curiosity is wrought to the highest pitch."

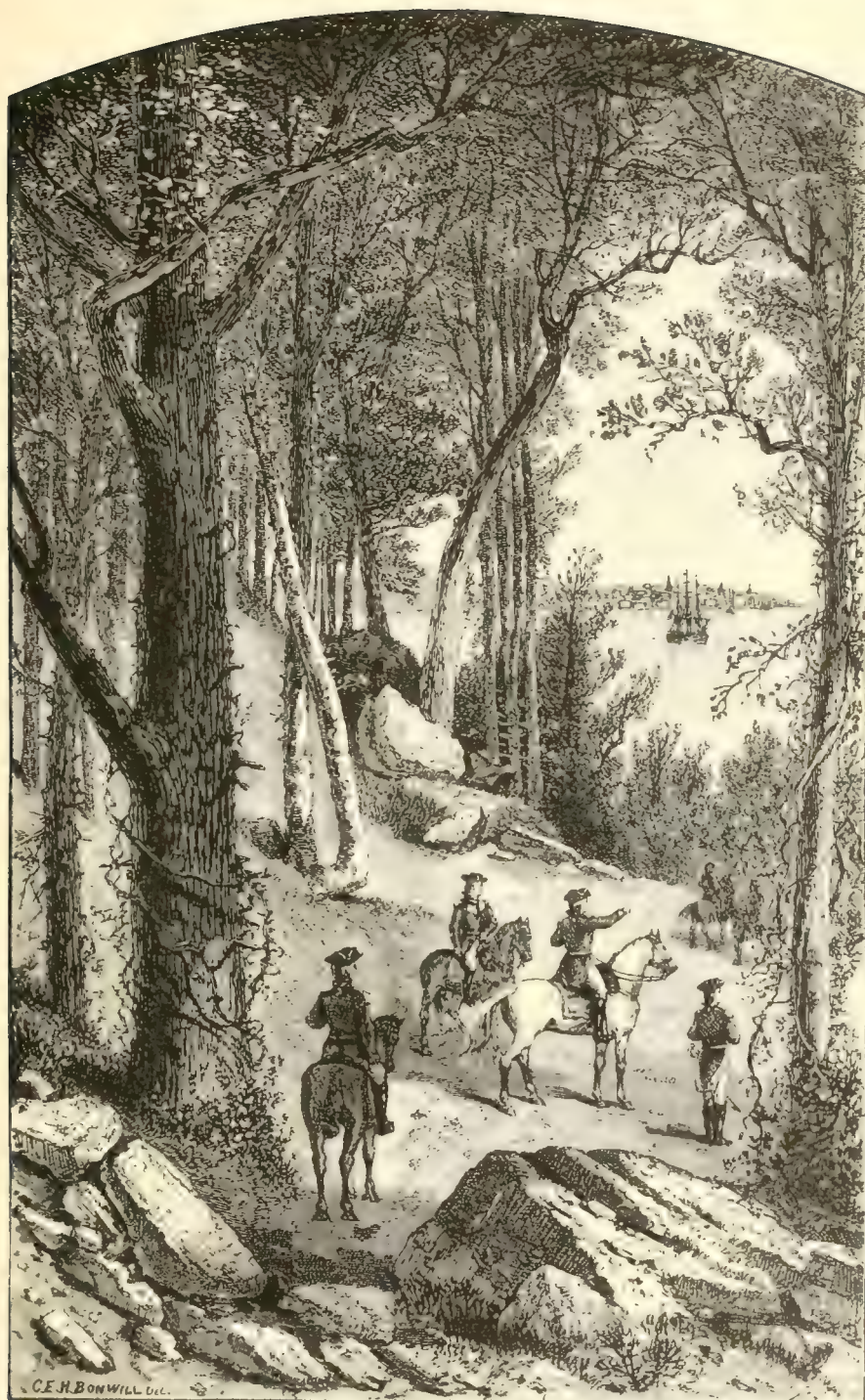
The signal ability with which Washington afforded effectual relief to both New York and Virginia might well excite the applause of mankind. Cornwallis had during the first week in August transferred his whole force to Yorktown, a small village upon an elevation some ninety feet above tide-water, with a level plain of several hundred acres on one side and a bay upon the other where the ships of the line might ride in safety.



Lafayette.

Lafayette, eight miles distant, with a meager force, wrote to Vergennes: "In pursuance of the immense plan of his court, Lord Cornwallis left the two Carolinas exposed, and General Greene has largely profited by it. He now is at York, a very advantageous place for one who has the maritime superiority. If by any chance that superiority should become ours, our little army will participate in successes which will compensate it for a long and fatiguing campaign." At the instance of Washington, De Grasse with twenty-eight ships of the line, and nearly four

thousand land troops from the West Indies, entered the Chesapeake and blocked up the York River. The situation of Cornwallis became at once perilous, and Clinton, with a force variously estimated — not less than eighteen thousand — could send him no aid, because of the confidently



THE WINTER SCENE. A view of the river St. Lawrence, Quebec, Canada, in the month of January. The snow is deep, and the trees are bare. The river is frozen, and a small boat is visible in the distance. The scene is very beautiful, and the weather is very cold.

anticipated siege of New York. While De Grasse was casting anchor Washington broke up his encampment at Dobb's Ferry, and, dexterously throwing out detachments to worry New York and Staten Island, crossed the Hudson with the allied armies, and marched ^{Aug. 19.} by two routes rapidly through New Jersey.

It was a masterly manœuvre. The delight of the French was unbounded. The officers under Rochambeau were chiefly young men of rank to whom the service in America was romance. To overcome the reluctance which Northerners might feel as to marching under the burning skies of Virginia in the hottest season of the year, Washington had promised each man a half-month's pay in hard money, having borrowed of Rochambeau twenty thousand dollars in coin, which Robert Morris was to repay by the 1st of October. The 30th was a high day in Philadelphia. About noon Washington and his retinue, including ^{Aug. 30.} the French generals, entered the city and rode to the residence of Robert Morris, amid the wildest cheers of an enthusiastic multitude upon the streets. In the evening Philadelphia was illuminated. The next day John Laurens came by way of Boston from his mission to France. He brought two and a half millions of livres in cash, being part of a subsidy of six millions of livres granted by the French king. On the 2d of ^{Sept. 2.} September the American troops passed through Philadelphia, the column extending two miles. On the 3d the French troops, dressed with scrupulous elegance as if for a holiday parade, followed in their footsteps, marching "in single file before the Congress, and Chevalier de la Luzerne, Minister from the Court of France." News of the presence of De Grasse in the Chesapeake, and that three thousand men had landed and joined the forces of Lafayette, reached Philadelphia the same day, creating a whirlwind of joyous excitement.

The chagrin of Sir Henry Clinton was beyond expression. Washington's army had crossed the Delaware before the truth broke on his mind. He was accused of stupidity, ignorance, irresolution, indecision, and cowardice, in thus having allowed an enemy to walk away without molestation. No one ventured to criticise his conduct with greater freedom than Arnold, the traitor, who, when sent upon an expedition to Virginia in January, had been attended by two officers, authorized jointly to supersede him and put him in arrest "if they suspected him of any sinister intent." He was pacified with the command of an idle and disgraceful expedition to New London which had little bearing upon the grave question at issue. Its object was to plunder and destroy. Arnold was the man above all others capable of insulting his native State by the wanton desolation of a thriving town only fourteen miles from the place of his

birth. With a considerable fleet, and a force of two thousand infantry and three hundred dragoons, chiefly Tories and Hessians, he sailed from

Sept. 6. New York, and entered New London harbor on the 6th. Forts Griswold and Trumbull were stormed, taken, and dismantled. Colonel Ledyard, who gallantly defended the former for some forty minutes, was thrust through with his own sword after he had surrendered it to the British officer in command. The garrison received no quarter; seventy-three men were slain in cold blood, and thirty or more severely wounded. The town was pillaged and burnt, and its inhabitants ruined. Arnold returned to New York from this inglorious achievement enriched with the spoils. It was his final appearance on the stage of American affairs.

The very day that New London was in flames, Washington, from the Head of Elk, was writing to De Grasse relative to the prospective capture of Cornwallis. Two days later, while Baltimore was celebrating Sept. 8. the arrival of Washington in that city, Greene was fighting the bloody battle of Eutaw Springs, which prostrated the British power in South Carolina. On the 9th, Washington rode from Baltimore to Mount Vernon, his beautiful home on the Potomac, which he had not seen in six years. He remained there two days dispensing hospitalities to the

Sept. 14. illustrious generals of two nations with courtly grace. On the 14th he arrived at Williamsburg, twelve miles from Yorktown, where he was welcomed by Lafayette. Energetic preparations were made without delay, and the combined armies marched on the 28th from Williamsburg, encamping in the evening within two miles of Yorktown. By the first of October the line of besiegers formed a semicircle, each end resting on the river; thus the investment of Yorktown by land was complete. On the dark and tempestuous night of the 5th

Oct. 5. trenches were opened with great secrecy six hundred yards from the works of Cornwallis — the Americans working on the right, the French on the left — the whole force commanded by General Lincoln, whose most efficient aide-de-camp was Matthew Clarkson of New York. Within three days the parallel nearly two miles long was completed, under a perpetual and heavy fire of shot and shells from the enemy; not until the 9th, in the evening, were the American batteries in readiness to reply, after which the cannonading upon both sides was incessant. On the 11th the second parallel was commenced, three hundred yards only from the British works. Two advanced redoubts in the way of its prog-

Oct. 14. ress were stormed on the 14th; Hamilton, who had retired from the private service of Washington and was now in command of a New York battalion, conducted the assault upon one of these, and Lafayette that upon the other. Both were successful. Nicholas Fish, major

of a regiment under Hamilton, led the advancing party with marvelous celerity. He excelled as a disciplinarian, and every movement was executed with fidelity and precision. Olney, of Providence, guided the first platoon of Gimat's battalion over the abatis. Hamilton placed one foot upon the shoulder of a soldier, who knelt for the purpose, and leaped upon the parapet. John Laurens, leading one of the columns, was among the foremost to enter the redoubt, making prisoner of its commanding officer. The killed and wounded of the British did not exceed eight, as the victors recoiled from imitating the barbarous precedents of the enemy. Not a man was killed or injured after he ceased to resist. Hamilton won conspicuous honor for his talents, gallantry, and humanity. The French carried the other redoubt at the same moment; but, moving by rule and less swiftly, lost more men than did the Americans in their headlong attack.

The next day Cornwallis wrote to Clinton, "My situation now becomes very critical." By the 16th he was in despair, and made a bold and desperate effort to escape with his army, which was frustrated by a storm of wind and rain. At ten o'clock on the morning of the 17th, just four years after the memorable surrender of Burgoyne at ^{Oct. 17} Saratoga, Cornwallis sent a flag to Washington proposing to capitulate. The terms settled by the commissioners appointed for the purpose were the same as those which had been imposed upon Lincoln at Charleston, and in accordance with arrangements in the allied camp, Lincoln received the submission of the army of Cornwallis precisely in the manner in which his own had been received on the surrender of Charleston. The final ceremonies of the famous event occurred October 19.

The effect was dazzling. The joyful tidings traveled with the speed of a typhoon. The suddenness of the transaction bewildered human imagination. The public mind hesitated about accepting as truth a story bearing such singular resemblance to fiction. Cornwallis was known as one of the most determined enemies of America, as well as a general of surpassing abilities, and it seemed incredible that he should have been captured, with an entire army numbering over seven thousand trained soldiers. The successive steps, beginning with the military manœuvres about New York City to prevent Clinton from sending aid to Cornwallis, and extending to the complete investment of Yorktown, were taken with such rapidity and sound judgment, and all the combinations were so skillfully arranged, that Washington was enveloped in a blaze of glory.

Intelligence of the capture of Lord Cornwallis thrilled France November 19. It reached London on Sunday, the 25th. Lord Germain ^{Nov. 25.} was the first to receive and read the dispatch; Lord Walsingham,

Under Secretary of State, being present, the two entered a hackney-coach to save time, and drove to the house of Lord Stormont — the Cabinet Minister who “would hold no intercourse with rebels unless they came to implore his Majesty’s mercy”; he joined them in the coach, and the three proceeded rapidly to the residence of Lord North. The prime minister received the news, said Germain, “as he would have taken a ball in the breast.” He threw his arms apart. He paced wildly up and down the room in the greatest agitation, exclaiming, “It is all over! It is all over!”

Parliament assembled on Tuesday. The speech of the king was confused, but he still insisted on prosecuting the war. In the debates
Nov. 27 that followed Fox, Burke, Sheridan, the youthful William Pitt, and others assailed the Ministry and the war, as no ministry had ever before or has ever since been assailed. The city of London entreated the king to end hostilities; and public meetings in every part of the kingdom expressed the same wish. Resolutions offered for the discontinuance of the war were lost in the House by a small majority. Lord Germain was compelled, however, to retire from the Cabinet. The rigor with which Laurens was treated in the Tower was condemned in sharp language by the Opposition. Finally, news came that the son of Laurens was the custodian of Cornwallis in America, and that his treatment of the humiliated lord was exactly the reverse of what his father experienced, locked in the very prison of which Cornwallis was governor. From that hour severities were transformed into civilities; and on the last day of December, with health greatly impaired, the ex-President of the American Congress was taken from the Tower in a sedan chair, and was henceforth a free man.

The new year dawned upon a stubborn monarch. George III. threatened to relinquish his crown rather than change his American policy. His party was falling off, nevertheless. February
1782. was a memorable month in Parliament. On the 28th, Conway’s motion against any further attempt to reduce the colonies was carried,
Feb. 28 at one o’clock in the morning, by a majority of nineteen. Burke wrote to Franklin that it was the declaration of two hundred and thirty-four members, and the opinion, he believed, of the whole house. “No sooner was the result known,” says Wraxall, “than the acclamations pierced the roof, and might have been heard in Westminster Hall.”

The popular cry at once turned against Lord North. He was accused of having shown himself void of every principle of honor and honesty. Fox said persons were already in Europe fully empowered to treat for a peace between Great Britain and America, but no progress could be made,

because the Minister was "treacherous, vacillating and incapable." North denied the statement that he was averse to peace, and referred to the informal negotiations he had countenanced between Hartley and Franklin. He was met with the scornful response that during the period of those negotiations he had destroyed the confidence of Franklin by tampering with France in an underhanded manner, asking her to enter into a separate treaty with England. On the 8th of March, Lord Cavendish called attention to the mismanagement which had nearly overturned the splendid Empire of Britain, and all the great orators were brought to their feet. On the 18th Sir John Rous followed up the attack of Lord Cavendish by moving to withdraw the confidence of Parliament from ministers. Lord North was individually taunted as the author of the American war, which had cost the nation one hundred millions, with the loss of thirteen ancient colonies. He defended himself and his colleagues with warmth. But the weakness of the government was no longer to be concealed. Lord North had through the whole twelve years of his supremacy been too ready to surrender his judgment to that of the king, who with a narrower understanding had a stronger will. Walpole called him the "ostensible minister"; the real minister was the king. On the 20th the house was crowded to its utmost capacity.

March 20
The Earl of Surrey rose to offer a parallel motion to that of Sir John Rous. Lord North rose at the same moment. The two parties present shouted wildly the names of their respective champions. The speaker hesitated; when Lord North, taking the floor on a question of order, said he would save the trouble of submitting and discussing the intended motion by announcing that his administration was at an end.

The effect was indescribable. No painter could have done justice to the varied emotions of astonishment, concern, and exultation expressed upon the countenances of the members. An adjournment for a few days was moved, and carried with little difficulty. Those who had expected a long debate had not ordered their carriages until midnight, and as nearly all of them preferred waiting to walking, they crowded the anteroom to excess. Lord North had directed his coachman to wait, and as he was about to enter his equipage, he turned to a group of members standing in uncomfortable confusion, with a characteristic smile, saying, "Good night, gentlemen; I protest this is the first time in my life I ever derived any personal advantage from being in a secret."

Rockingham, the head of the aristocratic portion of the Opposition, became Prime Minister, accepting the post on condition that there should be "no veto to the independence of America," to which the king submitted in bitterness of spirit; and Shelburne and Fox were made secre-

taries of State. Shelburne, as the elder secretary, had charge of the northern department of the British foreign service, which included America, and Fox the southern department, which included France. Thus Shelburne could treat with Franklin and not with Vergennes; and Fox could treat with Vergennes but not with Franklin. Had the two secretaries been on cordial terms with each other, mischief might not have resulted from this awkward condition of affairs. But Fox had a personal antipathy to Shelburne; and Shelburne was in reality the leader of the rival party of the Opposition. Hence the way to peace was clogged with obstacles. When Rockingham died, three months later, Shelburne succeeded him as premier, and Fox, disliking the terms of peace then under consideration, united with Lord North and formed the famous "Coalition."

Hartley, who had with keen political foresight paved the way for overtures, and who "lived but to promote the longed-for peace," wrote to Franklin the day following the resignation of Lord North, asking advice in relation to submitting their late correspondence to the new Ministry when it should be formed; to which Franklin replied on the 31st that his sentiments were the same as hitherto expressed, but being only one of five in a commission empowered to treat with England, of whom Adams was in Holland, Jay in Spain, Laurens in England, and Jefferson in America, he must first consult his associates.¹ The same day he forwarded the Hartley correspondence to Adams. On the 5th of April he wrote to Hartley in considerable anxiety of spirit concerning the character of the men who might be sent by the British government to confer on the subject of peace, remarking that "with contentious wranglers a negotiation may be drawn into length and finally frustrated." To Secretary Livingston he wrote on the 12th in the same strain.² Meanwhile he opened a correspondence with Shelburne, who, with the approval of the king, sent Richard Oswald at once to confer with Franklin. In conversation with the philosopher, Oswald said that England was prepared to concede the independence of the United States; but if France should demand concessions too humiliating England would still fight. On the 18th Franklin and Oswald visited Vergennes, and were closeted
 April 18. in his cabinet nearly an hour. Shelburne's agent, a business man of moderate ability, who could not speak a word of French, was received

¹ *Hartley to Franklin*, March 21, 1782; *Franklin to Hartley*, March 31, 1782; *Franklin to Adams*, March 31, 1782; Congress, under date of June 15, 1781, vested full power, special and general, in Franklin, Adams, Jay, Laurens, and Jefferson, to confer, treat, and conclude all matters relating to the establishment of peace with England, and the other European powers.

² *Franklin to Hartley*, April 5, 1782; *Franklin to Livingston*, April 12, 1782.

cordially by the French Minister, and was assured that the French Court warmly reciprocated England's disposition to end the American war; and yet France, positively, could treat only for a general peace. Vergennes advised the selection of Paris as the seat of the negotiation, but offered to consent to any other place which George III. might prefer. Oswald desired some proposition to convey to Shelburne. "No," said Vergennes; "there are four nations engaged in the war against you, who cannot, till they have consulted and know each other's minds, be ready to make propositions. Your court, being without allies and alone, knowing its own mind, can express it immediately. It is more natural to expect the first proposition from you."

Oswald returned to London under the general impression that France was about to impose conditions which England would resent. In sixteen days he was in Paris again. During his absence Franklin wrote to Jay in Madrid, entreating him to come to Paris and aid ^{May 4.} in forming a treaty, remarking, "Spain has taken four years to consider whether she should treat with us or not. Give her forty, and in the mean time let us mind our own business." But Oswald brought no propositions. His mission was to Franklin, not to Vergennes. He said the other Secretary of State was about to send an agent to negotiate with the French Minister. The British Cabinet was already in a foment. Fox, resolved upon a quarrel with Shelburne, had declared that the hostile powers must yield entirely. "If they do not we must go to war again; that is all; I am sure I am ready;" he said. And he chose one of his own partisans, Thomas Grenville, son of George Grenville, a very young man, with no experience in public business, and totally ignorant of the nature of the relations between America and France, to discuss these subjects — of such interest to mankind — with the most skillful diplomatist of Europe. Four days later than Oswald, Grenville arrived in Paris, bearing a ^{May 8} cordial letter from Fox to Franklin, who entertained him at breakfast, and then took him in his own carriage to Versailles, presenting him to Vergennes.

European statesmen smiled when they heard that the envoy of the "rebels" had been requested by the British Secretary of State, to introduce the son of the author of the American Stamp Act, as British Plenipotentiary to the Court of France.

The agents from both Shelburne and Fox proved to be mere skirmishing parties. Grenville offered to grant the Independence of the United States to France, if she would restore certain specified conquests. Vergennes shook his head, and said that France found, but did not make America independent; he defied the world to furnish the smallest proof

to the contrary. "There sits Mr. Franklin, who knows the fact and can contradict me if I do not speak the truth," he exclaimed, with warmth.

Grenville wrote long letters to Fox, calling him "Dear Charles," and declaring that he had not the "slightest expectation of peace." Franklin was affable and courteous; he breakfasted both Oswald and Grenville, in company with Lafayette, who had just returned from America. A day or two after, Oswald suddenly departed for England. The same morning a letter from Hartley informed Franklin that an absolute order had gone forth for the release of all American prisoners everywhere, and that Laurens was entirely at liberty; in a long conversation relating to

May 26. America, Shelburne had expressed himself to Hartley in the most favorable terms. On the 26th Grenville announced to Franklin that a commission had been forwarded to him from Fox; but it was to treat with France, no mention being made of America, and Vergennes pronounced it insufficient. Suspicion seized upon the French Court. Franklin grew reticent, and would not unfold American conditions to a person unauthorized to receive them. Grenville, mortified and irritated, blamed Oswald, and wrote to Fox that he could not fight a daily battle with "a rival agent and his Secretary of State," and advised Fox to assume the exclusive control of the negotiation. This letter broke up the British Cabinet, although the two factions held together until the end of June.

After a tedious journey John Jay arrived in Paris, Sunday, June 23, accompanied by his family. Another month elapsed before Great Britain took a decided step for commencing negotiations. On the June 23 25th of July the king issued an order to the attorney-general to prepare a commission for Oswald to conclude a general treaty with the July 25. belligerent nations. Franklin wrote to Secretary Livingston and to Robert Morris on the same day, cautioning them "not to be deceived by fair words," but, on the contrary, to be constantly on guard, and prepared for war. Jay had been an enthusiast for foreign alliance in the beginning of the struggle; four years in Spain had dispelled his illusions, and now he distrusted all nations, France included. He was severely ill for a few weeks, during which time the British Cabinet was recast, Grenville recalled, and Fitzherbert sent to the French Court in his stead. About the middle of August, Oswald's commission arrived, to which Jay took exception because the United States were called "Colonies or Plantations." Franklin thought it would do; and Vergennes intimated that names signified little. But Jay absolutely refused to sacrifice the moral dignity of his country, and stopped all proceedings until the power he represented should be styled by its proper name. He even drafted

the form of a commission, which, sent to the British Court, was subsequently adopted, and the new document reached Oswald September 27. In the interim Franklin was ill, and Jay conducted, ^{Sept. 27} alone, the various discussions as to the details of the prospective treaty. Spain was an obstacle, and Vergennes wished to conciliate that power. Jay declined to treat with Count Arnada, whom he pronounced the ablest Spaniard he had ever known, until, according to established etiquette, he should communicate his powers from his government. "An exchange of commissions cannot be expected," said Arnada, "for Spain has not acknowledged your independence." "We have declared our independence," replied Jay, "and France, Britian, and Holland have acknowledged it." Lafayette, who was in company with Arnada at the moment, said the dignity of France would be compromised should her ally treat otherwise than as independent. Vergennes urged Jay to waive his inflexible adherence to forms, and proceed to the settlement of claims with Spain. Jay said, "We shall be content with no boundaries short of the Mississippi."

October was devoted to the subject in earnest. At the request of Franklin, Jay drew up the articles of peace. Little progress, however, was made towards agreement on the three troublesome points — the boundaries, the fisheries, and the Tories. On the 26th Adams arrived ^{Oct. 26} from his successful Holland mission, and warmly commended the wisdom and firmness of Jay. The month of November was nearly spent before the business drew to a close. On the 28th Laurens arrived and joined the conference, having been formally exchanged for Lord Cornwallis. Friday, the 29th, was an exciting day for the commissioners. They met in the rooms of Jay at the Hôtel d'Orleans. Oswald and Fitzherbert were present, also Sir Henry Strachey, Baronet, then Under Secretary of State to Townshend, who had been sent to the assistance of Oswald. It was important to come to an understanding, for the Ministry was in a tottering condition. Something must be done, or the peace abandoned indefinitely. Hence the preliminary articles ^{Nov. 30} were re-read, corrected, and approved. The next day they were signed.

Prefacing these preliminary articles were the words, "The treaty is not to be concluded until terms of peace shall be agreed upon between Great Britain and France." But the document not having been submitted to Vergennes until after it was signed, he was ill at ease. The sagacity and self-poise of Jay and Adams in demanding concessions of Great Britain, contrary to his advice and policy, inspired him with respect, while he pronounced their conduct "irregular," and in the irritation of the moment reproached Franklin with being too pliant in the hands of his colleagues. The aged philosopher hastened to mollify the Minister, and no serious harm

ensued. The commissioners, who had been instructed to do nothing without the knowledge and consent of France, were severely censured by Congress. Jay said, in regard to his determination to be independent in action, that Vergennes did not consult the American commissioners about his articles, and "giving him as little trouble about ours did not violate any principle of reciprocity." And not only Adams but Franklin and Laurens sustained Jay in the sentiment expressed to Secretary Livingston: "Since we have assumed a place in the political system of the world, let us move like a primary and not like a secondary planet."

Vergennes and Fitzherbert concluded terms January 18. Two days ^{1783.} later Franklin and Adams, in the absence of Jay and Laurens, ^{Jan. 20.} were suddenly summoned to Versailles for the signing of the general treaty. The Ministers of the three crowns of France, England, and Spain showed their commissions, as did also Franklin and Adams. Arnada and Fitzherbert signed the preliminary treaty between Great Britain and Spain; Vergennes and Fitzherbert that between Great Britain and France; and Fitzherbert, Franklin, and Adams the armistice between Great Britain and the United States.

A definitive treaty between Great Britain and America was now in order. None of the articles of the provisional treaty could be carried into effect until it was accomplished. Congress would not even take the preliminaries into consideration. The distractions in the British Court prevented immediate steps to this end. Shelburne's policy had created the greatest dissatisfaction; he was accused of stock-jobbing, criticised with virulence by the "Coalition," censured by the House of Commons, and finally retired from office. Oswald was pronounced incompetent to treat with the American commissioners, and recalled. All parties in England were disposed to prevent further waste of blood and treasure in pursuit of an object manifestly unattainable. But the methods of peace kept the lords of the realm in a perpetual wrangle. Public feeling, as well as the interests of the nation, called for a settlement of the perplexing business, and no progress could be made with the European powers until America was pacified. Thus something must be done.

David Hartley was finally selected to conclude negotiations on the part of Great Britain. His pure and lofty character, his broad views, his intuitive and tranquil discernment of things as they were, and his peculiar tact in diplomacy, rendered his appointment generally acceptable. Fox wrote to Franklin (April 19) that Hartley had "the full and entire confidence of his Majesty's Ministers upon the subject of his mission."

His commission, under the king's own hand, Adams said, was "very magnificent." It bore the great seal in a silver box, the King's arms

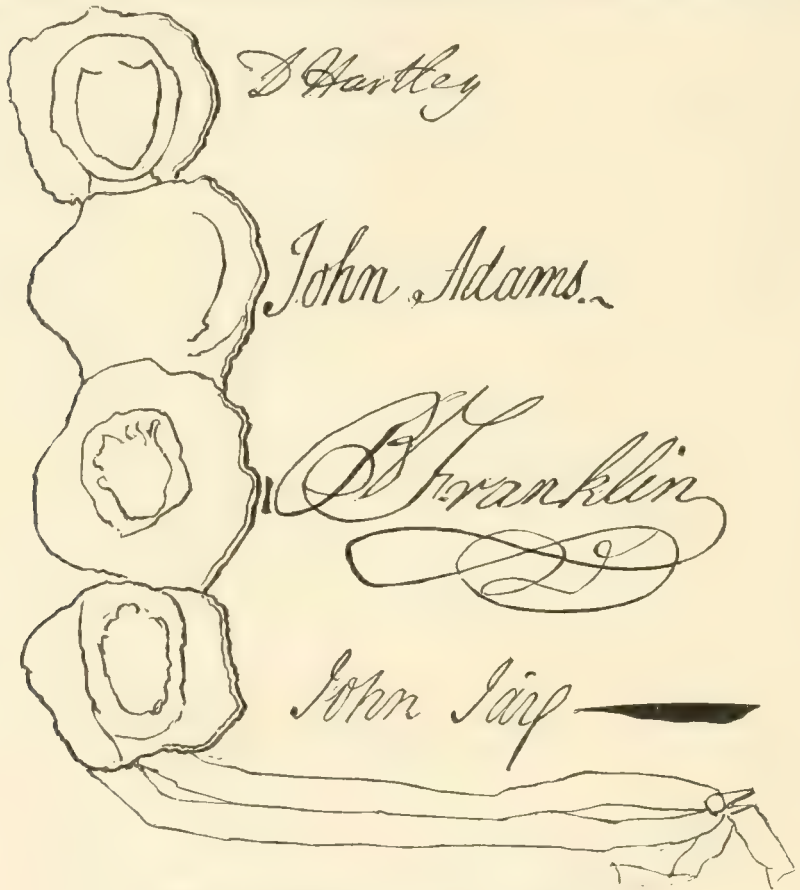
engraven on it, and ornamented with two large golden tassels. He presented it to the American Commission, assembled in Mr. Adams's rooms May 19. For the next three months the representatives of the two countries worked diligently. New articles were proposed, ^{May 19.} discussed, and rejected; or, if agreed upon in Paris, rejected in London. The questions at issue affected the interests of the whole civilized world. The propositions offered by America to the British government amounted to an entire abolition of the British "Act of Navigation" with respect to the thirteen United States. The ancient system of national commercial policy was called upon to take a new principle into its foundation — thereby its commercial engagements with other ancient powers were materially disturbed. Vergennes recommended that the definitive treaty be completed, leaving commerce to a future negotiation; but Adams curtly replied that "nothing would be gained by delay." The new empire, comprehending territory greater than that of all Europe, must needs adjust a commercial system of its own, and the sooner the better.

Paris, at this epoch, was in the zenith of its pride and splendor. Never during its checkered history was such a concourse of celebrities gathered there — not only the ministers from all nations, to discuss the weightiest of subjects, but sages and philanthropists, courtiers and scholars. Franklin, who had snatched the lightning from heaven and the scepter from tyrants, was the center of attraction. Mr. and Mrs. Jay resided with him in a comfortable mansion at Passy; and the New York beauty charmed with her fund of knowledge, wit, and vivacity, and her engaging manners, the brilliant circle which daily surrounded his table or enlivened his evenings. Mrs. Jay was also a great favorite among the courtly aristocracy. Dinners followed dinners in endless succession. The ministers of every country entertained the ministers of every other country. There was apparent harmony of feeling; while the great topics of the hour were uppermost in the social mind.

Spain, France, and England were embarrassed in their negotiations by a variety of clashing demands. Holland, leaning towards France, resisted England's stern conditions. Sweden, Russia, and Denmark came to witness the triumph of the young power which had dared to refuse to take the first step, except on equal footing with the proudest of them all, and were engaged in adjusting treaties of amity and commerce. In the mean time the Americans held the position of advantage, the final action of all the courts and nations depending upon the issue of their negotiations with Great Britain.

When the month of August was nearly half spent Hartley invited Adams one fine sunshiny morning to drive with him to Passy, where, in

conference with Franklin and Jay, he communicated instructions just received from his court. The king had ratified the provisional
 Aug. 13. treaty under the great seal of the kingdom. Both the Duke of Portland and Fox had given him the strongest assurances of the good disposition of government, and written him to arrange all things immediately upon the best footing. The contested points, particularly the fisheries and the boundaries, of immense importance to the United States, had come to be regarded by the Ministry as of minor significance in comparison with the hazard of longer delaying the settlement of the



Fac-Simile of the Signatures upon the Definitive Treaty of Peace.

[From the original in the State Department, Washington.]

European question. Hartley produced the draft of a definitive treaty he had received, which proved to be the preliminary articles with a preamble. He said he was now ready to sign at any moment. On the 29th,



Benjamin West, successor of Sir Joshua Reynolds, in the portrait of the French Ambassador, made an unfinished study in oil of the act which restored peace to the world. Page 207.

when France and Spain declared their preparations complete, Hartley wrote, asking the representatives of the United States to fix the eventful day. He closed his note, saying: "My instructions confine me to Paris, as the place appointed for the exercise of my functions, and therefore whatever day you may fix upon for the signature, I shall hope to receive the honor of your company at the Hôtel de York. I am, gentlemen, with the greatest respect and consideration, your most obedient servant."

The following answer was returned, dated Passy, August 30, 1783: "The American Ministers, plenipotentiaries for making peace with Great Britain, present their compliments to Mr. Hartley. They regret that Mr. Hartley's instructions will not permit him to sign the Definitive Treaty of Peace with America at the place appointed for the signature of the others. They will, nevertheless, have the honor of waiting upon Mr. Hartley at his lodgings at Paris, for the purpose of signing the treaty in question, on Wednesday morning at eight o'clock."

Accordingly on the 3d of September the American diplomatists, whose superiors as such were not to be found in any nation of Europe at that day, proceeded to the apartments of Hartley, and the Sept. 3. Definitive Treaty of Peace between Great Britain and the United States was signed. The sketch is a fac-simile of the signatures, from the original document in the State Department at Washington, with indications of the seals, now nearly obliterated, and of the ribbon, which is of pale blue. The treaty was in due course of time ratified by the King and Congress. Vergennes delayed the ceremony of signing the treaties at Versailles between Great Britain and France and Spain until a messenger from Paris arrived to announce that the signing of the American treaty had actually taken place; after which, before the end of the same day, all the belligerent powers of Europe concluded peace, except the Dutch, who had assented to preliminaries only the day before.

Benjamin West, successor of Sir Joshua Reynolds as President of the British Academy, made an unfinished study in oil of the act which restored peace to the world. An engraved copy of this painting was presented by George Grote, the historian of Greece, to John Jay, grandson of the Revolutionary diplomatist, while United States Minister to Vienna.¹ The benign countenance of Franklin, then in his seventy-seventh year, with his grandson, Temple Franklin, secretary of the Commission, standing behind him; the well-poised head and handsome features of Adams, scarcely forty-eight; the pale, feeble-looking Laurens, not yet recovered

¹ To the courtesy of Hon. John Jay the author is indebted for a copy of the unfinished study by West, which, published for the first time, in our full-page engraving, illustrates one of the most interesting scenes in modern history.

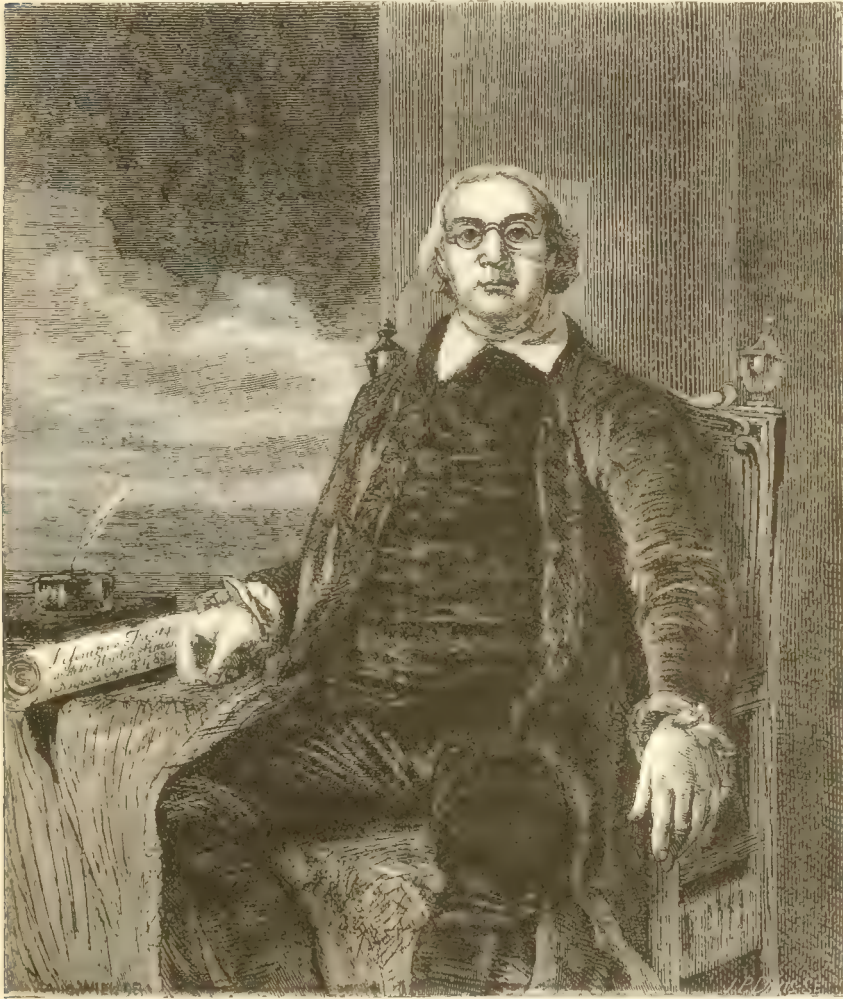
from the hardships of his imprisonment in the Tower of London, a scholarly man of fifty-nine; and the tall, slight figure of Jay — who was ten years younger than Adams, and forty years younger than Franklin — standing, apparently addressing the Commission, with face and attitude expressive of the calm serenity, self-respect, and refined power of the highest type of human intellect and character, together form a picture which Americans will ever cherish with national pride.

It is refreshing to note the gracious spirit with which the senior members of the Commission accorded the glory of obtaining the fisheries, the Mississippi, and the magnificent boundaries of the United States, to the youngest of their number. The British plenipotentiaries bore testimony to the same effect. Documents at present existing in both France and England prove that the French government, neither anxious nor willing America should lay the basis for such magnitude and grandeur, worked industriously to prevent England from yielding the fisheries, and labored vigorously to have the Mississippi given to Spain. The community of fault-finders in the end acknowledged the sound judgment of the American envoy who dared to veer from his instructions and take lofty ground with kingdoms and crowns, upon individual responsibility — through a sense of duty to the rising nation. And a just and prosperous people, in full enjoyment of the magic blessings made doubly sure through the clear order of his thought and the keen foresight of his statemanship, blessings which shine with advancing splendor as the years roll on, will never cease to honor with gratitude the achievement of John Jay of New York.¹

Only the American commissioners appear in the painting, the portrait of the English Minister not having been accessible to West. Some two years later, David Hartley presented Franklin with a large mezzotint portrait of himself, engraved by Walker from a painting by Romney, which Franklin in his note of acknowledgment, dated Philadelphia, October 27, 1785, said, "I shall frame and keep in my best room." It represents Hartley seated by a table upon which lies the Definitive Treaty of Peace with the United States, his right hand resting near the scroll, and the pen and ink in the background with which he is about to

¹ "It was not only chiefly, but solely, through his means that the negotiations of that period, between England and France, were brought to a successful conclusion," wrote Fitzherbert (Lord St. Helens) some years afterward. John Adams always affirmed that the title of "the Washington of the negotiation," bestowed upon himself in Holland, properly belonged to Jay; and he wrote, while President of the United States, under date of November 24, 1800, "The principal merit of the successful negotiations for the peace of 1783 was Mr. Jay's." Governor William Livingston wrote to Jay, "The treaty is universally applauded." Alexander Hamilton wrote to Jay, "The people of New England talk of making you an annual fish offering."

consummate the final act necessary for the restoration of tranquillity to five great nations. He is waiting in his Paris apartments for the arrival of the American Ministers, on the morning designated for the signing of



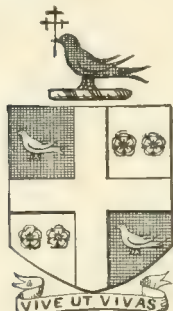
David Hartley.

the document ; and his emotional features beam with delighted satisfaction as he anticipates the final triumph his own noble and persistent efforts have contributed so largely to accomplish. The picture hung in the study of Franklin until his death. It is now in possession of his great-grandson, Dr. T. H. Bache, through whose courtesy the copy has been

made which we present for the first time to the reading public. It possesses a dramatic interest beyond the mere portraiture of the man. It is an impressive illustration, in which we behold the ceremony of older institutions, represented by kings and nobles, bowing unconsciously before the divinity of a new liberty and a new world.¹

Vergeunnes entertained the diplomatists from the various countries at

¹ David Hartley, Member of Parliament for Kingston-upon-Hull, and "His Britannic Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary appointed to treat with the United States of America" (born 1729, died 1813), was the son of Dr. David Hartley, author and metaphysician (born 1705, died 1752), whose publication of "Observations on Man" in 1749 gave him world-wide celebrity, and of whom it was said that "he was addicted to no vice in any part of his life, neither to pride, nor ostentation, nor any sordid self-interest, but his heart was replete with every contrary virtue"; his great talents were specially directed to the moral and religious sciences; he was the son of the Vicar of Armley, County of York, an eminent divine, whose family, one of great antiquity, was descended from the Hartleys of Chorton, of whom



Hartley Arms.

was Sir John Hartley, knighted in the eighth year of Charles I., October 23, 1633. The motto of the family, "vive ut vivas," seems to have breathed through the character of a long line of generations of learned and philanthropic men. David Hartley, the statesman, like his father, was a student of science, and belonged to the highest type of the cultured Christian gentleman. His manly integrity, universal benevolence, and sincerity of heart were so well known in England, that in all his mediations for the good of America he commanded the respect and confidence of the contending parties at home. His "Letters on the American War," addressed to the mayor and corporation of Kingston-upon-Hull, comprehend some of the ablest arguments of the period. He was also one of the first in the House of Commons to introduce and advocate measures for the abolition of the slave-trade.

Of the sons of the Vicar of Armley, James, next to David, was distinguished for eminent piety and intellectual vigor. Robert, eldest son of James, born 1736, married Martha Smithson, granddaughter of Sir Hugh Smithson, Baronet, and the cousin of Lord Percy, second Duke of Northumberland. See page 242 (Vol. II.), *note*. Isaac Hartley, the son of Robert Hartley and Martha Smithson, born at Cockermouth in 1766, married Isabella Johnson in 1787, and in 1797 established his residence in New York. They were the parents of Robert Milham Hartley, born at Cockermouth in 1796, who has been so thoroughly identified during a long and useful life with church and charity in New York City. He was classically educated, but resigned studies for the ministry because of impaired health. Devoting himself to philanthropic works, he has been largely instrumental in founding several of New York's most important charitable institutions, now in noiseless and successful operation, among which was the first organization for the relief of the poor. His published reports, numbering thirty-four volumes, form a complete library in this department of social and economic science, and are quoted by writers on similar themes in Europe as well as America. He has also written other works upon kindred topics, been a regular contributor to the religious press, and for nearly half a century a leading elder in the Presbyterian Church of New York City. He married Catharine Munson, daughter of Reuben Munson, member of the New York legislature and alderman of the city for many years; and he has nine children, four sons and five daughters, who have intermarried with the old families, and are among the substantial citizens of New York; his third son is the Rev. Dr. Isaac Smithson Hartley, of the Dutch Reformed Church, Utica.

a memorable dinner at Versailles immediately after the signing of the treaties.

While these events were transpiring in Europe the war was at a standstill in America. Washington's army returned from the capture of Cornwallis to the vicinity of New York City. Predatory excursions were frequent during the winter. But with the change in the British Ministry Sir Henry Clinton was superseded by the humane Sir Guy Carleton. "I should be very sorry," wrote Governor Livingston, when he heard how bitterly the loyalists were blaming Clinton for the misfortunes of Cornwallis, "to have Clinton recalled through any national resentment; because, as fertile as England is in the production of blockheads, I think they cannot easily send us a greater blunderbuss, unless, peradventure, it should please his Majesty himself to do us the honor of a visit." Carleton arrived early in May, 1782; and his first act was to liberate from a New York prison, without exacting a parole from either, Sir James, brother of John Jay, who had been instrumental in the passage of the New York Act of Attainder, and Brockholst Livingston, the brother of Mrs. John Jay. Carleton sent the latter home to his father with a courteous letter, stating that he (Carleton) had come to conciliate, not to fight. The governor was not to be thus lulled into security while a hostile army occupied the chief city of the country, and significantly remarked, "In worldly politics, as well as religion, we should watch as well as pray."

Washington accepted Carleton's expressions of good-will with caution. But as the weary summer rolled by and neither Sir Guy nor Admiral Digby seemed inclined to act offensively by land or by sea, he began to feel assured that no further military operations would be undertaken. Peace was expected. It came so slowly, however, that the patience of the American army waned. Both officers and men fretted in idleness. There was scarce money enough to feed them day by day; their pay was greatly in arrears; and a general mistrust prevailed that Congress would fail to liquidate their claims in the end, and cast them adrift penniless.

New York City breathed more freely under the new military administration. Carleton found the inhabitants grievously oppressed. Unprincipled officials had dispossessed persons of their property who had taken no part in the Revolution, because perchance some member of the family resided out of the British lines. Houses were rented and the rents paid into the city funds. Justice could not be obtained, not even a trial or a hearing; for civil law had been abolished, and all power and authority centered in a police court established by the military. The city charter was declared forfeited by the civil governor and his satellites; and the revenues of the corporation were appropriated to their private

uses. Carleton was amazed at the infamous character of the frauds and the cruelties from which the New-Yorkers had suffered, and instituted a vigorous war upon official corruption. Jones says "he broke, discharged, dismissed, and cashiered such a number of supernumeraries, pensioners, and placemen as saved the British nation, in the course of one year only, about two millions sterling."

The French troops embarked for the West Indies in October. The American army went into cheerless winter-quarters on the Hudson. The impoverished condition of the country was perpetually discussed by the intelligent classes; commerce was nearly annihilated, and the heavy burden of debt rested like an incubus on the people. Many doubted the possibility of maintaining a republican form of government. Finally the idea, long discussed in secret, found expression in a letter from Colonel Lewis Nicola, on behalf of himself and others, proposing to Washington to be made King of the United States for the "national advantage!" Washington declined with indignant asperity, and reprimanded Nicola for having entertained such a thought. But it was no easy matter to control the restless and unpaid soldiers through the idle months, and Washington's greatness in the emergency became more than ever conspicuous. A mutinous spirit, provoked by repeated and irritating delays in obtaining compensation for services, and fresh difficulties arising from the uncertainty attending peace negotiations, kept him industrious and anxious. The spring of 1783 brought news of the signing of the armistice at Paris in January, and a cessation of hostilities was publicly announced to the army at noon, April 19, just eight years to a day since the conflict at Lexington. It was naturally next to impossible for the excited troops to distinguish between this proclamation and a definitive declaration of peace; hence many considered any further claim on their military services unjust. Washington met the crisis nobly. Explaining the situation to Congress, he obtained discretionary powers to grant furloughs, the soldiers being led to understand perfectly that their terms of service would not expire until the signing of the Definitive Treaty. During the summer following, men singly and men in groups were returning to their homes; thus the danger of disbanding large masses at a time, of unpaid soldiery, was effectually obviated. On the 6th of May Washington and Sir Guy Carleton met at Orangetown to arrange preliminaries for the evacuation of New York City, whenever the royal order should arrive. In the month of June, Egbert Benson was commissioned by Congress to co-operate with commissioners chosen by Carleton to inspect and superintend the embarkation of loyalists and their effects for Nova Scotia; his associates were William Stephens Smith and Daniel Parker.

The month of May was distinguished by the organization of the celebrated Society of the Cincinnati, which originated in the fertile mind of Knox, its object being to cement and perpetuate the friendship of the officers of the army who had fought and bled together, and to transmit the same sentiment to their descendants. The plan was drafted by a committee composed of Knox, Hand, Huntington, and Shaw. The final meeting for its adoption was held May 13, in the Verplanck Mansion at Fishkill on the Hudson, the headquarters of Baron Steuben, who, as senior officer, presided. Washington was chosen the first president, and officiated until his death.

Sadness and despair overwhelmed the loyalists. New York City presented a scene of distress not easily described. Men who had joined the British army, and exhibited the utmost valor in battle, quailed before the inexorable necessity of exile from their native land. They must leave the country or be hanged. Such was the general belief, for those who had shown no mercy counted upon none in return. The conscientious and the unprincipled were alike involved in pecuniary ruin. Seeing that they must abandon large estates, many appealed to Carleton for power to collect debts due upon bonds, mortgages, and contracts, before the evacuation of the city should take place, for they were penniless. The complications were insurmountable, and nothing was accomplished in that direction. Angry lamentations filled the very air. The victims of civil war inveighed against England for abandoning them, and against their own kindred and country for the inexorable harshness of their doom. They did not pause in their wretchedness to consider what would have been the fate of those who had expended or lost fortunes in the cause of liberty, if triumph had been with themselves.

While Carleton was providing transports and embarking twelve or more thousand deeply humbled loyalists, with their household and other effects, to Nova Scotia, the Bahamas, and Great Britain, and multitudes were hastening from the country to New York for passage, determined to risk starvation on foreign shores rather than encounter the terrible vengeance of those whom they had injured, Washington and Governor George Clinton were riding on horseback through the picturesque valleys of the Northern Hudson and the Mohawk, inspecting the posts and the battle-fields, and taking note of the wonderful topography of New York. Theirs was the faint glimmer, not the full dawn, of the future. One angle of the State rests upon the Atlantic, another reaches to the St. Lawrence, and the third stretches to the chain of Great Lakes connected with the Mississippi; thus without overcoming one mountain ridge the city of New York might communicate with the Western States and Territories of our

Union, simply following the easy and natural course of valleys, rivers, and lakes, and control the commerce of the continent. The Missouri can now be navigated into the very gorges of the Rocky Mountains. From New York Bay to the Pacific Ocean, except a short space between the head-waters of the Missouri and the Columbia Rivers, we have an unbroken silver chain of water. The State in which every county and almost every spot of earth bore marks of bloody strife — the great battle-field of the Revolution — was in the broadest sense indeed the key of the Continent.

Intelligence of the signing of the Definitive Treaty came at length; and Sir Guy Carleton gave notice that he should be ready for the final evacuation of New York on the 25th of November. George

Nov. 25.

Clinton, by virtue of his office as governor of New York, was to take charge of the city, and repaired to Harlem to await events, accompanied by Washington. The British troops had been drawn in from Kingsbridge, McGowan's Pass, the various posts on Long Island, and Paulus Hook. By request of Carleton, to prevent any disorder which might occur as the British retired, a detachment of American troops under Knox marched from Harlem, on the morning appointed, down the Bowery Road to a point near the Fresh-Water Pond, where they remained seated on the grass until about one o'clock in the afternoon. As the rear-guard of the British army began to embark, they moved silently forward to the Battery, and took possession of the fort. Knox then galloped back with a chosen few to meet and escort Washington and Clinton into the capital. The formal entry was witnessed by thousands. Washington and Clinton on horseback, with their suites, led the procession, followed by the lieutenant-governor, the legislature, officers of the army, prominent citizens, and the military, amid the most heart-stirring and grateful enthusiasm. This scene forms a grand epoch in the annals of New York.



Reade Arms.

[See page 209, note.]

CHAPTER VII.

1783-1787.

NEW YORK CITY AFTER PEACE WAS ESTABLISHED.

THE RETURN OF NEW YORK FAMILIES. — DESOLATION. — REV. DR. JOHN RODGERS — CHURCHES. — RUTGERS COLLEGE. — REV. DR. HARDENBERGH. — WASHINGTON PARTING WITH HIS OFFICERS. — WASHINGTON'S RESIGNATION OF AUTHORITY. — JAMES DUANE APPOINTED MAYOR OF THE CITY. — THE MAYOR'S COURT. — RICHARD VARICK. — THE NEW YORK LEGISLATURE. — OLD MORRISANIA. — THE MORRIS FAMILY. — THE LOYALISTS. — CONFISCATION ACTS. — THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE REORGANIZED. — SCHOOLS. — FIRST REGENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK. — COLUMBIA COLLEGE. — NEWSPAPERS. — FIRST CITY DIRECTORY. — POLITICAL THROES. — WEAKNESS OF THE GOVERNMENT. — CITIZENS. — BANKING INTERESTS. — COUNTERFEIT MONEY. — THE DE LANCEYS. — THE LIVINGSTONS. — THE LAWYERS OF THE CITY.

HOME again. From all quarters came together the limbs and fragments of dismembered families. It was a costly victory that had been won, and many a tear fell amid the general rejoicings. There was scarcely a domestic circle into which death had not entered; and charred and silent ruins greeted multitudes in place of homes left seven years before. Dwellings that had escaped the flames were bruised and dismantled; and gardens and grounds were covered with a rank growth of weeds and wild grass, fences had disappeared, and the débris of army life was strewn from one end of the town to the other. Public buildings were battered and worn with usages foreign to the purposes of their erection, and the trade of New York was ruined, and her treasury empty.

The Rev. Dr. John Rodgers arrived in the city the day following the evacuation, and found both the Brick Church in Beekman Street and the Wall Street Presbyterian Church in unfit condition for public worship—having been used as hospitals by the British. But the Episcopalians courteously offered him the use of St. Paul's Chapel and St. George's Chapel, in which he preached alternately to his congregation for several months.¹ He was a courtly personage, of gentle and conciliatory manners,

¹ The change in public feeling is strikingly illustrated by this incident. See Vol. I. 751. The Brick Church on Beekman Street was the first repaired. The Wall Street Church was

but "uncompromising in matter." Jones says that he "had given more encouragement to rebellion, by his treasonable harangues from the pulpit, than any other republican preacher, perhaps, upon the continent." His influence was now exerted to perpetuate the peace secured. "I have the good old gentleman at this moment distinctly before me," writes Duer, "in his buzz-wig, three-cornered hat, gold-headed cane, and silver buckles in his well-polished shoes — as he passed along the street in his gown and bands, which he wore not only on Sundays, but on week-days when visiting among his people — bowing right and left to all who saluted him." The Dutch Reformed Church in Garden Street was found intact, and reopened on the Sabbath following the evacuation. Rev. Dr. John Henry Livingston occupied the pulpit.¹ It was seven years before the Middle Dutch and the North Dutch Church edifices were restored from the ruinous condition in which they were left by the British. A School of Theology, established in New Brunswick, New Jersey, in 1770, was chartered under the name of Queen's College — now Rutgers — and the trustees elected Rev. Dr. Jacobus Rutsen Hardenbergh President; but it had not been in practical operation through the confusion of events. Meanwhile Dr. Hardenbergh had preached at Raritan, taken no pains to conceal his republican sentiments, as a member of the New Jersey Convention which framed the Constitution of the State was frequently in counsel with Governor Livingston, and was visited at his little parsonage daily by Washington when quartered in the vicinity. He came to New York to witness the triumphal entry of Washington; and before he returned to his charge arranged with Dr. Livingston to use every exertion in obtaining an endowment to carry the plan of the college into execution. This was achieved within the next three years, and Dr. Hardenbergh removed to New Brunswick, where he labored indefatigably for its advancement until his death in 1790.²

not opened until June 19, 1784. The expense of restoring the two edifices to their former condition was met by private subscription. On the 6th of April, 1784, the Presbyterian Church became a body corporate, and was thus relieved from the difficulty it had so long sustained for want of a charter. *Memoirs of Rev. Dr. John Rodgers*, by Rev. Dr. Samuel Miller.

¹ See Vol. I. 750; Rev. Dr. Laidlie died at Red Hook in 1778.

² Rev. Jacobus Rutsen Hardenbergh, D. D., born at Rosendale, Ulster County, New York, in 1738, was the son of Johannes Hardenbergh, the chief owner of the manorial patent which embraced the most of Sullivan and Orange Counties, and who is said to have been a near relative of the German statesman, Karl August Von Hardenberg, Prime Minister of Frederic William III. He studied theology with Rev. John Frelinghuysen — the son of Rev. T. J. Frelinghuysen, and one of five brothers who were all ministers — in Raritan, New Jersey; and completed his studies at Schenectady under the celebrated Dr. Romeyn. After the early and lamented death of Rev. John Frelinghuysen, Dr. Hardenbergh married his

Washington was quartered at Fraunces' Tavern, corner of Broad and Pearl Streets,¹ where the officers of the army gathered about him preparatory to their final separation. Knox, who had been chief of artillery through the entire war, commanded the military forces in the city until the civil authority should be reconstructed. He was a man of large, athletic frame, head well poised, and voice of singular power. When the American army crossed the Delaware, it is said his orders could be heard from one side of the river to the other. There was a dash of romance in his life, and an air of consequence in his bearing, that rendered him interesting to the community at large. He was of Scotch-Irish stock, born in Boston. Even in boyhood he evinced strong military proclivities, collected and distributed military books, and accumulated a valuable fund of military knowledge. As a stripling, engaged in the book business, he became prosperous; his store was the resort of the young ladies of Boston—who were then as now fond of reading—with one of whom he fell in love. The attachment was mutual; but the lady was the daughter of a high official under the king, who would not sanction her marriage with a rebel, and the pair consequently eloped. In June, 1775, just after the British commander had issued an order that no one should take arms out of the city, Henry Knox and his devoted wife walked out of the city together, Mrs. Knox carrying her husband's sword concealed in her garments; having secured her safety in the country, Knox hastened to assist in the Battle of Bunker Hill as a volunteer aide-de-camp to General Ward. During the eight years of the war he had displayed some great moral and intellectual qualities. He was now thirty-three. Within two years we shall find him Secretary of War, and also performing the duties of Secretary of the Navy for the new nation; while Mrs. Knox, who had braved so many dangers for love, became the centre of attraction in the highest social circle at the seat of government.

widow, one of the most accomplished and remarkable women of her day, whose only son, Frederick Frelinghuysen, became a member of the Continental Congress in 1777, and resigned to join the army. He was United States Senator from 1793 to 1796. His son, Theodore Frelinghuysen, completed a classical education at New Brunswick in 1804, studied law, was appointed Attorney-General of the State in 1817, was United States Senator from 1829 to 1835, Mayor of Newark, New Jersey, in 1837, and became Chancellor of the University of the City of New York in 1838, which he resigned in 1850 to accept the Presidency of Rutgers College. Dr. Hardenbergh visited Holland in 1762, and was the first minister ordained in America who ever preached in the churches of the Fatherland. He died in 1790, universally lamented. His son, Jacobus R. Hardenbergh, a lawyer and a man of fortune, settled in New Brunswick, and was the ancestor of the present family of the name in New Brunswick, Jersey City, and New York.

¹ See sketches, Vol. I 656, 759.

The formal parting of Washington with his officers occurred at noon on the 4th of December, in the great historic room of Fraunces' ^{Dec. 4.} Tavern. It was a touching ordeal. He filled a glass with wine and pronounced his farewell benediction, after which each one present grasped his hand and gave him a brother's embrace in tender silence. He then passed from the room through a corps of light infantry, and walked to Whitehall Ferry, attended by his generals, where a barge waited to convey him to Paulus Hook on his way to Congress. When he had embarked he turned, took off his hat, and waved a silent adieu, which was returned in the same significant manner, with visible emotion upon every countenance.

In four days he reached Philadelphia, and rendered his military accounts to the proper department of the government, entirely in his own handwriting, and not a penny was charged or retained as a recompense for personal services. On the 19th he arrived in Annapolis, where Congress was in session, and on the 23d resigned the authority with which he had been invested. The public ceremonial on this occasion was conducted with great dignity and witnessed by an immense throng. When concluded, Washington immediately repaired to his seat at Mount Vernon.

James Duane was the first Mayor of New York City appointed by Governor Clinton after peace was established. He found his country-seat near Gramercy Park a pile of ashes, and all his movable effects destroyed. His wife had spent the greater part of the seven years of strife at the old manor-house of her father, Robert Livingston — the third Lord of Livingston Manor. But they were soon able to settle themselves in a comfortable habitation in the city. The mayor's court, under the administration of Duane, became the favorite and really the most important forum. It was held in a building which stood on the corner of Wall and Nassau Streets. Disorder in every man's affairs, consequent upon the long military possession of the city by the enemy, rendered the duties of the mayor extremely perplexing. Losses arising from the suspension of rents, damages done by loyalist tenantry, the destruction or removal of records and consequent indistinctness of titles, the processes of confiscation of estates, the swift mutation in the relative value of money, property of all kinds, and securities, with the sudden tightening of pecuniary obligations — the sense of which had been very easy for some years — engendered the most knotty of legal questions. Litigation became more brisk than any other department of industry. Eight lawyers only had hitherto been allowed to practice in this court; but during 1784 the restriction was removed in favor of all attorneys and counselors of

the supreme court. In consequence of this change of policy, together with the high judicial reputation of Duane, the mayor's court suddenly, and by common consent, acquired a business and an authority scarcely contemplated by the statutes creating it. The character of the city charter was not changed by the Revolution, but the controlling power which had formerly been exercised by the British government was now vested in the State. The city remained divided into seven wards, and an alderman and assistant were elected every year by the people.

Richard Varick was appointed city recorder, and by virtue of his office was the mayor's judicial colleague. As a member of Washington's military family he had become widely known, and stood well in the public confidence. He was a young man of thirty, of spotless character and broad intelligence, and stately of mien and austere in his views. He was subsequently Attorney-General of the State, and Duane's successor in the mayoralty. He is said to have been inclined to reverse the human maxim of the common law, by presuming a person guilty, if accused, until his innocence was proved.

The legislature of the State assembled in New York City on the 21st of January, the session continuing until May 12. This branch of ^{1784.} the new government consisted of the Senate and the Assembly. ^{Jan. 21.} Bills might originate in either house, but must be passed in both to become laws. The Senate, under the first constitution, consisted of twenty-four members, so divided into classes that the terms of six should expire each year. Lieutenant-Governor Pierre Van Cortlandt was the presiding officer; Robert Benson, who had been the clerk of the Senate through six preceding sessions, filled that office until the 18th of February, when he was succeeded by Abraham B. Bancker. James Duane, William Floyd, Ezra L'Hommedieu, Alexander McDougall, Lewis Morris, Isaac Roosevelt, Isaac Stoutenbergh, Samuel Townsend, and Stephen Ward represented the southern district, which embraced the city and adjoining counties. And from other parts of the State came Philip Schuyler, Abraham Yates, Jr., Henry Outhoudt, Jacob G. Klock, Ephraim Paine, Joseph Gasherie, John Haring, Jacobus Swartwout, Arthur Parks, William Allison, Alexander Webster, John Williams, and William B. Whiting.

The Assembly was chosen annually. It consisted, at first, of seventy members, with the power to increase one with every seventieth increase of the number of electors until it should contain three hundred members. The newly chosen membership from the metropolis embraced Robert Harper, John Lamb, Isaac Sears, Peter P. Van Zandt, John Stagg, William Malcom, Henry Rutgers, Henry Hughes, and Marinus Willett, who had been so heroic in the defense of central New York, but whose seat in the

Assembly was vacated in February from his having been appointed sheriff of the city, an office he held for many following years. John Hathorn, of Orange, was chosen Speaker of the Assembly, and John McKesson was appointed clerk.

The adjustment of public concerns was constantly retarded by the dead-lock in private affairs. In January Gouverneur Morris wrote to John Jay, from Philadelphia, "I was lately in New York, and things there are now in that kind of ferment that was rationally to be expected." Prior to the evacuation, indeed, ever since the preliminary articles of peace were signed, the Americans had been allowed access to the city, and many of the banished residents had presented claims to the British authorities for depredations upon their property. The records of these transactions show that Sir Guy Carleton and the other officers concerned

acted on principles honorable and generous. For instance, Dement had been two years upon the estate, at Morris-town, within the British huts had been cultivated, timber from four hundred acres of woodland for various purposes, and cuttings had been taken whenever and affidavits of particulars were board of commissioners appointed by Sir Guy Carleton, who reported



Old Morrisania.

(House of Gouverneur Morris.)

and the charges reasonable, and recommended that the claimant, Mrs. Morris (the mother of Gouverneur Morris, who was of the scholarly French family of Gouverneurs in early New York), be paid the full amount of her demands. The claim, amounting to upwards of eight thousand pounds, was sent to England, and subsequently liquidated, although not during that lady's lifetime.

That portion of the seat of the Morrises known as "Old Morrisania" became the property of Gouverneur Morris. In 1800 he erected the dwelling of the accompanying illustration, from the design of a French château. It overlooks the East River just where it is joined by the

principles honorable. For instance, Dement had been two years upon the estate, at Morris-town, within the British huts had been cultivated, timber from four hundred acres of woodland for various purposes, and cuttings had been taken whenever and affidavits of particulars were board of commissioners appointed by Sir Guy Carleton, who reported the facts proved

waters of Harlem River, the view from the mansion being deftly shown by our artist. It is surrounded by fine old elms and smooth lawns, and has been well preserved with few alterations by his descendants. Lewis, the elder brother of Gouverneur Morris, signer of the Declaration of Independence, possessed an ample estate a little farther inland.¹ Staats Long Morris, the brother of the patriots, who married the daughter of the Earl of Aberdeen long before the Revolution, and was a general in the British service, remained in England, and subsequently became Governor of Quebec. Richard, like his younger brother, Gouverneur, was a lawyer of original and peculiar gifts, and in 1779 was appointed Chief Justice of New York, holding the position eleven years; he married Sarah Ludlow.

The restoration of the loyalists to full citizenship became at once a question of exciting moment. The rigid laws enacted by the State had deprived many persons of their property, without any opportunity of defending themselves, which was declared contrary to the usages of all civilized nations. Living within the British lines upon one's own estate was in itself certainly no "treason." Protection was sought from the American authorities, and in some instances obtained, which encouraged others who had been attainted to return and apply for justice. Extraordinary debates ending in wrangles were of daily occurrence. "There ought, sir, no Tory to be suffered to exist in America. Until the goats are separated from the sheep, we must expect to row against the stream," exclaimed one of the able leaders of the Revolution. While others of equal rank argued eloquently in favor of forgetting and forgiving, and against persecuting men for opinions or seeming to take unmanly revenge.

The right of one party in a civil conflict to levy upon another, and the fact that the British generals exercised that right throughout the war, was urged in defense of the principle of confiscation, and finally a legislative act, embracing a decree of perpetual outlawry and banishment against certain individuals whose names were mentioned, confirmed former enactments. Popular animosity, however, gradually relaxed. Many liberal-minded men of prominence pronounced the measure arbitrary and cruel. These were instantly accused in turn of undue subservience to British influence. Then came the counter-charge of avarice, rapacity, and

¹ Lewis Morris, signer of the Declaration of Independence, was the eldest son of Judge Lewis Morris (see Vol. I. 575, 576), born at Morrisania in 1726, died in 1798; three of his sons served with distinction in the army and received the thanks of Congress, of whom Lewis was aide to Sullivan, and afterwards to Greene; James, the fourth son, married Helen Van Cortlandt, daughter of Augustus Van Cortlandt, and erected the great, square, handsome dwelling which stands upon an eminence near Fleetwood Park, the present residence of William H. Morris. The Morrises were all men of splendid physique.

resentment. Old feuds were revived, and personal quarrels reopened. The lines of party were drawn which subsequent events more strongly defined; and upon which the most important changes in the political history of the State have turned.

Business revived slowly. As spring advanced the mercantile interests of the city were discussed with vigor, and various were the methods proposed for encouraging trade. A petition from several of the prominent members of the Chamber of Commerce for a confirmation of their charter, which was said to be forfeited, was duly considered by the legislature, and on the 13th of April "An act to remove doubts concerning the Chamber of Commerce, and to confirm the rights and privileges thereof,"

April 20. became a law. Seven days later a meeting was held and the institution reorganized under the name of the "Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York." Old members, who had been exiles from the city for seven years, as well as many of those who had kept up the meetings during the war, continued or renewed their connection with the Chamber; among these were John Alsop, Daniel Phoenix, Isaac Roosevelt, the noted Whig and State senator, Robert R. Waddell, Jacobus Van Zandt, James Beekman, Gerardus Duyckink, who lost seven houses in the fire of 1778, Daniel Ludlow, Henry Remsen, Peter Keteltas, Daniel McCormick, a rich bachelor living on Wall Street, famous for his mixture of generous hospitality, convivial habits, and strict religious principles, Theophylact Bache, former President of the Chamber, William Laight, who afterwards filled many important offices of trust, Oliver Templeton, John Murray, one of the elders in Dr. Rodgers's Church, and at a later date President of the Chamber for eight years 1798-1806, Francis Lewis, Thomas Randall, Walter Buchanan, and William Walton.

The subject of public instruction was discussed in social circles, in the pulpits, in the newspapers, and in the various political and business assemblages, during the winter and spring, without material results. Schools maintained by religious societies through voluntary contributions were reopened; the "public school," under the auspices of the Consistory of the Dutch Reformed Church, was henceforward called the "charity school," and it lost its distinctive language as well as its name. Individual school enterprises of slight importance were projected, and failed for want of support. What to do with Kings College, which had been arrested in its operations eight years before, and the edifice used as a military hospital, became a question of vital interest. Finally an act of the legislature, passed on the 1st of May, created the University of the State, May 1. an institution patterned from the English University of Oxford, and amended the charter of the college, changing its name from Kings to

Columbia. The first Regents of the University were named in the act. They were men of highest eminence and scholarship, empowered to found schools and colleges in any part of the State. But in consequence of their residences in different and remote sections, a quorum could not be assembled, and the system was altered the following November, and new appointments made in the law. Even the new system was found inoperative. It was finally proposed by Hamilton, and recommended by a committee of the Regents, able men, whose superiors could not be found in the nation, that each subordinate institution composing the University should have its own officers and trustees, with governing powers, but subject to the inspection and control of the Board of Regents. An act to this effect passed the legislature April 13, 1787, and is still in force. Thus did New York, with singular foresight, provide her grand scheme of public instruction, when only one poverty-stricken college, and not an academy or a common school, existed within her borders. The University now consists of thirty-seven colleges and two hundred and twenty-four academies, all acting in harmony, and greatly influencing some thirteen thousand common schools, whose superintendent is himself a member of the Board of Regents.

Governor George Clinton was the first Chancellor of the University, and Rev. Dr. Rodgers Vice-Chancellor.¹ Columbia College was reorganized and a committee empowered to provide, in a temporary way, for what might be most needful, but want of funds prevented final arrangements until 1787. The first student was De Witt Clinton, a precocious boy of fifteen. His father, General James Clinton, on his journey to place De Witt in Princeton College, stopped in New York City one summer morning of 1784. Mayor Duane was a member of the above committee, and, unwilling that a Clinton should go out of the State for his education, hastened to the elegant scholar, Rev. Dr. William Cochrane, and induced him to undertake the tuition of the youth, and such others as might apply, until professorships in the college should be established. Young Clinton, who had been prepared for this ordeal in the academy at Kingston, under John Addison, was examined in presence of the Regents and admitted to the junior class. He was graduated as Bachelor of Arts in 1786. The first President of Columbia College, William Samuel Johnson, son of the first President of this institution as Kings College, was elected in the spring of 1787; up to which time a president's duties were discharged by the various professors in turn.

¹ John Jay was the second Chancellor; after him, George Clinton again filled the office four years; and Morgan Lewis, Daniel D. Tompkins, John Taylor, Simeon De Witt, Stephen Van Rensselaer, James King, Peter Wendell, Gerrit Y. Lansing, John V. L. Pruyn, and Erastus C. Benedict have followed in regular succession until the present date, 1880.

Among the early Regents were Bishop Provost, Rev. Dr. Livingston, Rev. Dr. John Mason, Rev. John Gano, John Jay, Leonard LISPÉNARD, Walter Livingston, John Rutherford, Morgan Lewis, Anthony Hoffmann, Lewis Morris, John Lawrence, Ebenezer Russell, Dr. John Cochrane, Dr. Charles McKnight, Alexander Hamilton, Walter Livingston, Thomas Jones, Mathew Clarkson, and Abraham B. Bancker, nearly all of whom were characters familiar to the reader. Rev. John Gano, a clerical scholar of rare culture, pastor of the infant Baptist Church for sixteen years prior to the war, had been a chaplain in the army, and upon returning to the city with the establishment of peace could find but thirty-seven out of his two hundred church-members. Their little house of worship had been used as a stable, but was soon repaired. Mr. Gano labored successfully in this field until 1788, when he resigned his charge and removed into the wilds of Kentucky. During his ministry he received into the church by baptism two hundred and ninety-seven persons. His successor was Rev. Dr. Benjamin Foster, who filled the pulpit ten years. The third pastor was Rev. William Collier. During the ministry of the latter the old structure was replaced by a new one, sixty-five feet by eighty, and the dedication sermon was preached in May, 1802, by Rev. Dr. Stephen Gano, of Providence, Rhode Island, son of Rev. John Gano.¹

Dr. Charles McKnight was not only one of the Regents, but was presently appointed Professor of Surgery and Anatomy in Columbia College, and also Port Physician of New York. He had served the country throughout the Revolution, was three years "Senior Surgeon of the Flying Hospital," and towards the close of the war became "Surgeon General and Chief Physician" of the army. He was specially distinguished as a practical surgeon, and at the time of his death, writes Duer, "was without a rival in that branch of his profession."² His wife was a

¹ See Vol. I. 753. Stephen Gano, a Huguenot, whose parents settled in New Rochelle, married Ann Walton. Their grandson was Rev. John Gano; his sons were: John, of Cincinnati; Isaac; Richard Montgomery, grandfather of Dr. James M. Gano, of New York, George A. Gano, of Denver, Colorado, and Joseph J. Gano, of Pittsfield, Illinois; Rev. Stephen, of Providence; and William. Among the prominent members of the family in Cincinnati is John Gano, of *The Cincinnati Commercial*.

² Dr. Charles McKnight was born in 1750, at Cranberry, New Jersey, and died in 1791. He was the son of Rev. Charles McKnight, a Presbyterian clergyman who came to this country about the year 1740, and became pastor of the united congregations of Cranberry and Allentown, New Jersey, and afterwards of Shrewsbury and Middleton Point. The McKnight family, originally of Scotland, located in the County of Antrim, Ireland, about the close of the sixteenth century, where they subsequently distinguished themselves in the cause of William III. The father of Rev. Charles McKnight was Rev. John McKnight, a divine of great eminence, whose father, Mr. John McKnight, was one of the defenders of Londonderry in the memorable siege of that city, and afterwards lost an arm at the decisive battle of the Boyne. The church at Middleton Point was burned by a detachment of British troops in 1777, and

lady of great personal beauty and social prominence. She was Mary, the only daughter of the famous lawyer and patriot, John Morin Scott, who, as the young widow of a British officer, Colonel John Litchfield, spent the greater part of the period of hostilities within the British lines, and is said to have furnished material information to her father and to Governor Livingston, with whose daughters she was in constant correspondence. Her intense devotion to the American cause is not surprising, when we remember the blended races to which she owed her ancestry. Her father was of ancient Scotch lineage; her mother, Helena Rutgers, of New York, was of the prominent old Dutch stock; and her grandmother, Marie Morin, was from an equally high-toned French Huguenot family who settled in New York after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Some of Mrs. McKnight's spirited letters are in existence; two or three written to Miss Anna Van Horne, one of the daughters of David Van Horne, afterwards the wife of William Edgar, give thrilling glimpses into the midnight scenes of that summer of alarm, 1776. The Scott family had taken refuge in New Jersey, and rumors that the British were about to land were perpetual. "We have," she writes, "our coach standing before our door every night, and the horses harnessed, ready to make our escape if we have time." They were, it seems, ordered to fly one night in the midst of a violent thunder-storm. "After proceeding about a mile," she says, "old daddy Cæsar was so frightened he could not manage the horses, so mamma sent me outside to drive."

The press was in a formative state, like all other institutions. Journalism had not yet become a profession. Existing newspapers were few, and managed by ambitious political chiefs, as armies are manipulated by their generals. The sheets were small upon which they were printed, and crowded with advertisements. The reading matter, what there was of it, was contributed by scholars and politicians, but nearly every writer was bound to party, and many years were to elapse before the germ of what is now one of the chief glories of America acquired anything approximating to full freedom of thought and action.

In the early part of 1784 the New York Legislature, learning of the death of John Holt, the printer, who had been "of eminent service to his country," employed Mrs. Elizabeth Holt, his widow, in printing the journals and other matters connected with the government; she also conducted the paper for a time which Holt had published in Poughkeepsie during the conflict, and resumed in New York in 1783, called *The Independent Gazette, or New York Journal revived*. Four newspapers flour-

the Rev. Charles McKnight was carried a prisoner to New York, where he died January 1, 1778. He was present at the battle of Princeton, and stood so near General Mercer when he fell as to receive a severe saber-cut on his head. He was one of the trustees of Princeton College.

ished in the city during the greater period of its occupancy by the British troops; in order to have the advantage of a daily newspaper, an arrangement was made with the proprietors of each to publish on different days. Thus Rivington's *Royal Gazette*, which was the most notable of any for its extraordinary untruths and abuse of the Americans, appeared on Wednesdays and Saturdays, Hugh Gainé's *Gazette or Mercury* on Mondays, and two others of lesser importance on Thursdays and Fridays. As the war drew to a close Rivington's loyalty cooled. He wished to continue his residence in New York, where he had established a bookstore. His paper dropped its appendages of royalty and appeared as a plain democratic newspaper, entitled *Rivington's New York Gazette and Universal Advertiser*. But he was disturbed by the people, and relinquished the enterprise before the end of a twelvemonth. Hugh Gainé's paper closed with the war. He had been distinguished by the facility with which he could balance himself upon the political fence; when fortune was with the British he was the most loyal of kingly subjects, when with America he was a patriot of deepest dye. "When the contest was doubtful he was the completest pattern of a genuine doubter." Samuel Loudon, editor of *The New York Packet and American Advertiser*, returned from Fishkill to New York on the conclusion of peace; in 1785 he changed his publication, which was the political opponent of *The New York Journal*, from a weekly to a daily. Loudon himself was an elder in the Scotch Presbyterian Church of New York.

The population of the city, a practical fusion of many elements and nationalities, was in a changeful condition during the entire period comprehended in the present chapter. Homes were little more than resting-places. Everything was mixed and uncertain. Houses were occupied one day and vacant the next. People moved into the town, but others moved away; thus there was no material increase of abiding citizens. Rubbish and ruins still marked the track of the great fire of 1776, and one or two hundred horses and cows might have been seen grazing in the open fields about Reade Street, where there was a burying-ground for negroes, and scarcely a single house. In the rear of the Old City Hospital, between Duane and Anthony Streets, was a rural orchard so secluded that it was chosen for the scene of a duel in 1786, in which one of the parties was mortally wounded. The map of Manhattan Island (page 68) forcibly illustrates the size of New York City at this juncture, a mere speck in comparison with its present proportions. Its population did not at any time within these four years exceed twenty-four thousand. Its first directory, published in 1786, was a little primer of eighty-two pages, containing nine hundred names of individuals and firms, with statistics

of a varied character, an almanac, and a table of coins; this was produced by David Franks, who advertised himself as an attorney, and Shepherd Kollock, formerly of *The New Jersey Journal*, both editors as well as enterprising printers; Kollock was also a judge of common pleas for thirty-five years. Public whipping was still in vogue for various misdemeanors, men were imprisoned for debt, and colored slaves occupied a niche in every household of importance.

Several prominent military characters passed away during the same period. Lord Stirling died in Albany, in January, 1783. He had rendered constant and important services to the country since the beginning of the war, and was deeply lamented by all who knew him in public or in private life. His estates were sacrificed at forced sales, and nothing was left his family of value. Oliver De Lancey died in England in November, 1785, at the age of sixty-seven;¹ he had fought for George III. with a self-sacrificing heroism vastly exceeding that of England's native generals; but from his life-long connection with New York affairs, the news of his death was received with tearful sadness. Alexander McDougall died in June, 1786. He was a member of the New York senate at the time of his decease, one of the most fearless of politicians, with original and intelligent views. Isaac Roosevelt succeeded him as President of the Bank of New York. The same month was marked by the death of Nathaniel Greene, who next to Washington was esteemed one of the greatest generals America had as yet produced. He breathed out his valuable life at the beautiful plantation near Savannah which had been presented to him by the State of Georgia.

Meanwhile there were many notable occasions for rejoicing. Both Lafayette and Washington were received with august ceremonies by the city. Another great day was when John Jay returned from his successful European mission, July 24, 1784. The mayor and corporation greeted him with an address of welcome, presenting the freedom of the city in a gold box.

¹ Oliver De Lancey, fifth son of Etienne De Lancey (born in 1718, died in 1785), married Phila, daughter of Jacob Franks, of Philadelphia, in 1742. (See Vol. I. 531, 532.) Their six children were: Stephen, married Cornelia Barclay, afterwards Chief Justice of the Bahamas and Governor of Tobago; Oliver, who succeeded André as Adjutant-General of the British army; Susanna, married General Sir William Draper; Phila, married Stephen Payne Galwey, counselor to the Governor of Antigua; Anna, married John Harris Cruger; and Charlotte, married Field Marshal Sir David Dundas, K. C. B. The only son of Stephen (elder son of Oliver) was Sir William Howe De Lancey, K. C. B., who was killed at the battle of Waterloo. The eldest daughter of Stephen, Susan De Lancey, married for her second husband Sir Hudson Lowe, Governor of St. Helena during the captivity of Napoleon the Great. Susanna, the sister of Oliver De Lancey, who married Sir Peter Warren (see Vol. I. 586, 588), had three daughters: Anna, married (1758) Charles Fitzroy, first Baron Southampton; Charlotte, married (1768) Willoughby Bertie, fourth Earl of Abingdon; Susanna, married William Skinner of New Jersey, whose only child, Susan Maria, married her cousin, Major-General Henry, third Viscount Gage.

The utmost enthusiasm prevailed. He was caressed and fêted. Every one delighted in doing him honor. The whole city was brilliant with festivities. While upon the eve of sailing for home he had received a farewell letter from David Hartley, exceptionably interesting in this connection as an illustration of the good-will, respect, and confidence which our New York envoy commanded in Great Britain, in which occurs the following paragraph:—

“Your public and private conduct has impressed me with unalterable esteem for you as a public and private friend; . . . if I should not have the good fortune to see you again, I hope you will always think of me as eternally and unalterably attached to the principles of renewing and establishing the most intimate connection of amity and intercourse and alliance between our two countries. I presume that the subject of American intercourse will soon be renewed in Parliament, as the term of the present act approaches to its expiration. The resumption of this subject in Parliament will probably give ground to some specific negotiation—you know my sentiments already. I thank you for your inquiries concerning my sister. She continues much in the same way as when you were at Bath—that is to say, as we hope in a fair way to final recovery, though very slowly. My brother is well, and joins with me in sincere good wishes to yourself and family, and to the renovation of all those ties of consanguinity and friendship which have for ages been interwoven between our respective countries.”¹

Chancellor Robert R. Livingston wrote on the 30th from Clermont, congratulating Jay upon his safe return. Livingston had retired from his position as Secretary of Foreign Affairs in 1783, but Congress had not yet been able to fill his place satisfactorily. The responsible office was tendered to Jay; and while the question of his acceptance was in abeyance, the legislature of New York appointed him one of its delegates to Congress, which convened in November at Trenton. Jay did not hesitate to pronounce the place of meeting inconvenient, and, fully aware of the necessity of secrecy in diplomatic affairs, was unwilling to assume the duties of state unless he could have the selection of his own clerks—appointments hitherto under the control of Congress. After considerable spirited discussion it was determined that New York City should be the future seat of Congress, to which place it removed on the 23d of December, 1784. Elbridge Gerry wrote to General Warren, under the same date:—

“It is fortunate that we arrived here as we did, for otherwise Congress would by this time have been in Philadelphia, and the treasury in such hands

¹ *David Hartley to John Jay*, March 2, 1784. This letter, from among the private papers of Chief Justice Jay, and for which the author is indebted to the courtesy of Hon. John Jay, is now for the first time published.

as you and I could not approve. There was a stronger party formed against us than I remember to have seen, but I think it will subside and matters be in a good train again. We have carried two great points to-day by passing an ordinance, first, to appoint three Commissioners to lay out a district on the branch of either side of the Delaware, within eight miles of this place, to purchase the soil and enter into contracts for erecting suitable buildings; secondly, to adjourn to New York and reside there until suitable buildings are prepared. This I consider a fortunate affair in every respect but one. It is so disagreeable to our worthy secretary, that there is reason to apprehend he will resign his appointment. We have been so happy also as to remove some objections on the part of Mr. Jay to the acceptance of his office, and he yesterday took the oaths and entered on the business of his department."

Thus the year 1785 dawned upon New York City as the capital of the nation. The corporation tendered Congress the use of the City Hall on Wall Street, together with such other public buildings as might be necessary for its accommodation. Bishop Provost was appointed chaplain, through the nomination of Walter Livingston. Foreign affairs were organized by John Jay on a modest scale. But he found them peculiarly burdensome through the want of executive authority in the administration. His thoughts were at once directed towards altering the existing Constitution. "Until this be done," he wrote on May 10, 1785, "the chain which holds us together will be too feeble to bear much opposition or exertion, and we shall be daily mortified by seeing the links of it giving way and calling for repair, one after another."

An interesting commercial event thrilled New York before the end of May. The ship *Empress*, the first vessel ever sent from the United States to China, returned to this port with flying colors. May 19
An official account of the important voyage was at once communicated to Secretary Jay, which he laid before Congress. The respect with which the American flag had been treated by a people who had hitherto but confused ideas of the new republic, together with the successful establishment of a direct trade with that distant empire, gave fresh impulse and energy to every branch of industry, and opened new objects to all America.

Spain by this time found it expedient to solicit the friendship of the United States. After signing the treaties in Paris, she had invited Jay to resume his negotiations at Madrid, which he declined; and America had since shown no inclination to court her favor. But before Congress adjourned for the summer, a Spanish plenipotentiary arrived, and Secretary Jay had the singular satisfaction of conducting him to the Congress chamber in Wall Street, and announcing him to the dignified body there

assembled. When his commission and letters of credence had been delivered and read, Don Diego Gardoqui addressed the president and members, standing uncovered while declaring the affection of his master, the King of Spain, for them, "his great and beloved friends."

Full powers had been given to its ministers in Europe by Congress to treat with Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli. John Adams, still in Holland, had been actively studying the habits and forms of these African governments and their treaties. He was in Versailles, consulting Vergennes about money and presents—who said that "the Emperor of Morocco was the most interested man in the world, and the most greedy of money"—when news came that he had been elected to represent the United States at the Court of Great Britain. In reply to the felicitations of Vergennes, he said he did not know but it merited compassion rather than felicitation. "Ah, why?" asked Vergennes, with astonishment. "Because, as you know, it is a species of degradation in the eyes of Europe, after having been accredited to the King of France, to be sent to any other court." "But, permit me to say," continued Vergennes, "it is a great thing to be the first ambassador from your country to the country you sprang from. It is a mark." The Duke of Dorset congratulated Adams, and told him he would "be stared at a great deal." Adams replied that he "trembled at the thought of going there; and was afraid they would gaze with evil eyes." One of the foreign ambassadors, surprised to learn that Adams had never been in England but once, exclaimed, "But you have relations there?" "None at all," replied Adams. "None! how can that be? You are of English extraction?" "Neither my father or mother, grandfather or grandmother, great-grandfather or great-grandmother, nor any other relation that I know of or care a farthing for, has been in England these hundred and fifty years; so that you see I have not one drop of blood in my veins but what is American." "Ay, we have seen proof enough of that," answered the Minister.

Before the end of May Adams was in London, where he was treated with distinguished consideration. The incidents of his first interview with George III. were faithfully published to the remotest ends of the civilized world. The king pronounced his address "extremely proper," and in reply said, "I will be very frank with you. I was the last to consent to the separation; but, the separation having been made, and having become inevitable, I have always said, as I say now, that I would be the first to meet the friendship of the United States as an independent power." During the conversation which followed, the king asked Adams if he was just from France, and being answered in the affirmative, laughingly remarked, "An opinion prevails among some people that you are

not the most attached of all your countrymen to the manners of France." With graceful pleasantry Adams admitted the truth of the speculation, saying, "I have no attachment but to my own country." "An honest man will never have any other," was the quick rejoinder of the king.

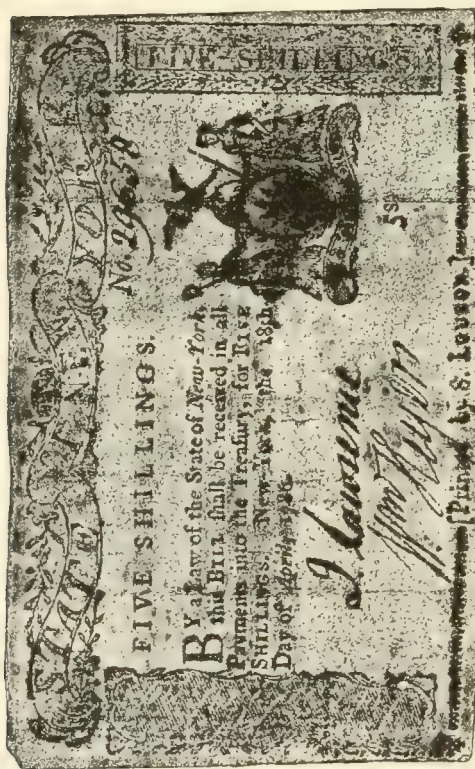
Wall Street, notable for having been the scene of many of the most significant and exciting events in American history, was not only where the first ambassador was chosen for Great Britain, and his instructions elaborately prepared by Secretary Jay of New York, but it was in a tumult of enthusiasm one chilly day late in the autumn of this year, on the occasion of the reception by Congress of the first ^{Nov 24.} consul-general from George III. to the United States, Sir John Temple, whose commission had been executed in February. Here, too, in the old historic City Hall, which was soon to be burnished anew, Thomas Jefferson was elected (March 10) Minister to France, Franklin having earnestly asked permission to return to America, and John Rutledge was appointed to the Netherlands (July 5) in place of Adams; here the grave questions necessary for the dignified maintenance of the peace secured with the various nations of Europe were discussed daily; here Secretary Jay met the offers of Spain in regard to the navigation of the Mississippi, with the offer to forbear navigating its waters below the southern boundary of the republic for a term of twenty or thirty years, while refusing to relinquish the right — which the Spanish Minister would not concede; and here the remonstrance of Congress at what was deemed an infraction of the treaty, embodied in a memorial to the British Ministry, demanding the immediate removal of its garrisons from no less than seven specified military posts on the frontiers, was penned, and a secret act immediately passed, limited to one year, giving Secretary Jay discretionary power to inspect letters in the post-office. The probable motive for this last extraordinary measure was to discover the nature of instructions sent from England to the commanders of the garrisons, but it is not known that the power was ever exercised.

Congress elected Samuel Osgood, Walter Livingston, and John Lewis Gervais commissioners of the treasury. But the New York Legislature repealed an act which granted the revenues of its port to the United States, and established a custom-house and a system of its own. Every effort to restore to Congress the disposition and control of this revenue proved unsuccessful. The city was the great commercial mart of the Union; and the collectors were appointed by, and made amenable exclusively to, the State authorities. In 1786 the legislature made the import duties payable to the bills of credit issued by the State. Congress, perceiving the national credit more than ever endangered by this enact-

ment, requested Governor Clinton to convene the legislature for its reconsideration. He declined, upon the ground that no sufficient cause was shown for the exercise of this extraordinary power, the decision having been recent and the result of mature deliberation. Shortly afterward a proposition to negotiate a loan in Europe was referred by Congress to Secretary Jay, who reported that it appeared to him improper to inaugurate any such proceeding, as the Federal government was rather paternal and persuasive, than coercive and efficient. "Congress," he said, "can make no certain dependence on the States for any specific sums, to be required and paid at any given periods, and consequently is not in a capacity safely to pledge its honor and faith as a borrower." Congress, indeed, had not even the power to regulate trade so as to counteract the un-

friendly regulations of other nations; each State having reserved to itself the right of imposing, collecting, and appropriating duties on its own commerce.

To add to the pecuniary embarrassments of the time, forged notes and counterfeit bills circulated to an alarming extent, notwithstanding the severe penalties involved. William Stephens Smith, secretary of legation under Adams in London, had detected and arrested several persons in this employment while in the execution of his office as commissioner to superintend the embarkation of loyalists from the port of New York. The sketch is the fac-simile of a curious relic preserved by Egbert Benson; it was delivered into



Specimen of Counterfeit Money.

[Copied through the courtesy of Mr. Robert Benson.]

court by the grand jury in May, 1787, with bill against Mr. Field, the man who attempted to pass it, "knowingly."

The first banking institution in New York originated in the brain of Alexander Hamilton, and commenced operations in 1784, under "articles

of association," drawn by Hamilton, who was a member of its first board of directors. Hamilton, as well as Gouverneur Morris, had materially assisted Robert Morris in the establishment of the "Bank of North America" at Philadelphia, the first organized bank in the United States, chartered December 31, 1781; and Hamilton had filled the office, for a considerable period, of receiver of the Continental taxes in the State of New York, exerting himself the while to impress upon the legislature the importance of his favorite financial ideas concerning a national bank. The "Bank of New York" was not, however, chartered until May 21, 1791.

"It takes time to make sovereigns of subjects," wrote Jay to Jefferson in the autumn of 1785. The pressure of a common danger having been removed, the defects of the existing confederation were actually menacing the country with ruin. The loyalists were exultant, and said the Americans had found "their idol, their phantom, independency, a mere ignis fatuus," in short, that they were incapable of governing themselves. It was clear that one body of men, daily changing its members, could never manage the three great departments of sovereignty — legislative, judicial, and executive — with convenience or effect. Obstacles of a startling character interposed to prevent the execution of the treaty, and there were symptoms of uneasiness among the Indians, and rumors of secret preparations in Canada, as if for another war. Congress discovered, upon investigation, that laws enacted by at least five of the States, of which New York was one, restrained the collection of debts due to British subjects, in manifest violation of the treaty; and it called upon them to repeal such acts, but had no authority to compel acquiescence.

Affairs were approaching a crisis. Meanwhile a convention, proposed by James Madison in the legislature of Virginia, to consider the expediency of a uniform system of commercial regulations, was held at Annapolis. Delegates were present from five States, Virginia, Delaware, Penn- 1786.
sylvania, New Jersey, and New York. Alexander Hamilton, who Sept.
had recently attacked the problem of self-government with the keen instincts of a veteran, represented New York. Nothing of importance was accomplished by this assemblage except a recommendation to Congress, which resulted in the appointment of delegates to meet in Philadelphia the following May, for the sole and express purpose of revising the articles of confederation.

Richard Henry Lee was president of Congress in 1785, and Charles Thompson secretary. To the latter we owe the careful preservation of the journals of Congress through the stormy period. He was the sole secretary from 1774 to 1789, and made two copies of the records with his own hand. His life was singularly noble and upright, and his devotion

to the interests of the nation in its infancy deserving of immortal honor. He was a classical scholar as well as a cultivated gentleman, and the friend of all the great men of his time. President Lee entertained guests three times a week, but never invited ladies, having none at his own house; John Quincy Adams enjoyed his hospitality during a visit to New York in the hot summer of 1785, and writing to his sister in London of the duties of the presidential office, said, "He is obliged, in this weather, to sit in Congress from eleven in the morning until four in the afternoon, the warmest and most disagreeable part of the day. It was expected that Congress would adjourn during the dog-days, at least, but they have so much business that a recess, however short, would leave them behindhand."

John Quincy Adams, then eighteen, had just returned from Europe to complete his education at Harvard College. He had accompanied his father to Holland and France, and served as private secretary to Francis Dana, who from his secretaryship with John Adams was sent as plenipotentiary to Russia in 1781. Young Adams was the recipient of many civilities in New York. He dined with Secretary Jay, with Theodore Sedgwick, and with Governor George Clinton; breakfasted with Elbridge Gerry, who married Miss Thompson of New York; and wrote to his sister of taking tea, July 20, with David Ramsey, the historian and author from South Carolina, where he met the Spanish Minister, and also Van Berckel, the first Dutch Minister to the United States. He visited Rufus King, member of Congress from New England, who married, in 1786, Mary, the only daughter of John Alsop, and made New York his permanent residence. "I am pleased with these intermarriages," wrote Secretary Jay to John Adams, in May of the last-named year; "they tend to assimilate the States, and to promote one of the first wishes of my heart, to see the people of America become one nation in every respect." John Adams upon receipt of the intelligence, immediately wrote a letter of congratulation to Mr. King, in which he said, "Your marriage, as well as that of Mr. Gerry, gives me the more pleasure, probably, as a good work of the same kind, for connecting Massachusetts and New York in the bonds of love, was going on here"; and proceeds to announce the marriage of his daughter Abigail to William Stephens Smith of New York, the ceremony having just been performed in London by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Asaph.

Secretary and Mrs. Knox gave an elegant dinner at their residence four miles out of the city, at which John Quincy Adams met several celebrities. He described Lady Kitty Duer, the daughter of Lord Stirling, who was present, as "neither young nor handsome"; "but," writes

Griswold at a later date, "she would not have been thought old by a man over eighteen, and she had been, if she was not then, one of the sweetest looking women in New York City." The accompanying portrait, copied from an exquisite miniature-painting, executed not far from the same date, possesses exceptional interest, from the fact that Lady Duer was a genuine New-Yorker, descended from the famous James Alexander, and the first De Peyster of New York, and through her mother from the Livingstons and Schuylers, and was herself the mother of two of New York's great jurists and men of letters, William Alexander Duer, President of Columbia College, and Judge John Duer. Young Adams visited the Smith family, at Jamaica, Long Island, into which his sister was about to marry, and writes of six daughters, saying, "Sally strikes most at first sight; she is tall, has a very fine shape, and a vast deal of vivacity in her eyes, which are of a light blue. She has the ease and elegance of the French ladies, without their loquacity." She afterwards married Charles Adams, the brother of John Quincy Adams.

While the social and business aspects of the city were brightened by the presence of Congress, the loyalist controversy increased in bitterness. Attempts to recover confiscated property were vigorously upheld by one party and rancorously opposed by the other. Alexander Hamilton never wavered in his efforts to soften the malice of those who would place the adherents to the Crown beyond the pale of human sympathy. The magnanimous General Philip Schuyler battled, in the New York senate, for moderation and mercy. William Samuel Johnson, who had himself been imprisoned by his neighbors in Stratford, Connecticut, in the summer of 1779, on suspicion of friendship for the enemy while making use of his personal acquaintance with Tryon to prevent the burning of the town, was in Congress, and exerted a powerful influence in New York towards harmonizing conflicting interests. But the hate and passions of the hour prevailed. The effects of a bloody war could not be obliterated in one decade. Men



Lady Kitty Duer.

[From an miniature painting,
[Copied from the original by Wm. B. Dyer, 1844.]

who had suffered were inexorable. The laws which were by many pronounced vindictive remained unrepealed. Under an "Act for the speedy sale of the confiscated and forfeited estates," passed by the Legislature of New York, May 12, 1784, the city estate of James De Lancey, eldest son of Lieutenant-Governor James De Lancey, was sold in lots, for \$234,198.75. This vast property, in the neighborhood of Grand Street, had a water-front of over a mile on the East River. The purchasers were former tenants of De Lancey, citizens, and speculators. Its assessed real value at the present day is upwards of sixty-three millions of dollars.¹

James De Lancey was on one of his accustomed summer visits to England when the war began, and, unwilling to take up arms against his native land, he did not return to New York. As the prospect darkened he sent for his family. His wife, whom he married in 1771, was Margaret, daughter of Chief Justice William Allen of Pennsylvania, and granddaughter of the celebrated lawyer, Andrew Hamilton.² Her sister Ann was the wife of Governor John Penn;³ her brother James married Elizabeth Lawrence, and their daughter Mary wedded (in 1796) Henry Walter Livingston, of Livingston Manor,⁴ and was known as "Lady Mary" in New York society, where for upwards of half a century she was famed for her graceful and profuse hospitality, and esteemed one of the most lovely characters of her time. The De Lanceys were the strongest and most conspicuous loyalists of the Revolution, as the Livingstons were leaders in the cause of America. The De Lanceys were an extensive as well as a powerful family, held posts of honor under the Crown, were men of enormous wealth, of which one instance has been given above, and were active, high-spirited, and brave to a fault. Their attachment to the Crown was peculiar from the fact that the race was a mixture of Dutch and French blood without any English alloy.

The feud, long-fed and well-fanned, between the De Lanceys and the Livingstons, which the reader will remember covered the period of nearly a quarter of a century prior to the Revolution, burned fiercely at this juncture from a thousand directions. Little flames illumined the Nova Scotia skies, shot across the Canadian boundaries, lighted the dreary

¹ See map of De Lancey's estate, Vol. I. 616. "Abstract of Sales," with purchasers' names and prices paid, may be found in *De Lancey's Notes to Jones's History of New York in the Revolution*, Vol. II. 540 - 559.

² See portrait of Andrew Hamilton, Vol. I. 551.

³ A fine painting by Benjamin West is preserved among Chief Justice Allen's descendants, which represents a family fête in the grounds of Governor John Penn, at his seat on the Schuylkill, Philadelphia, the site of the Centennial Exposition of 1876, which contains portraits of Penn and his wife, of all the Allen family, and of West himself—who said "he never executed a better painting."

⁴ See sketch of Livingston manor-house, built by Henry Walter Livingston, Vol. I. 320.

coasts of Newfoundland, raged under the tropical sun of the Bahamas and the Bermudas, and sent forth a lurid glare from England, Scotland, and Ireland. Each party endeavored to blacken the character of the other by every known means. Attached to both, as in all civil wars, were persons whose crimes against humanity deserved swift punishment. Instances were innumerable where such escaped, and men of candor, veracity, and honor bore the obloquy. If the termination of the war could have been followed with an oblivion of its offenses, New York would have been spared years of internal agitation. James De Lancey was the agent of the committee of loyalists chosen from each State to obtain compensation from the English government for losses "sustained by the faithful subjects of the Crown during the late unhappy dissensions in America." In 1788 he drafted a formal address to the commission organized under the four several acts of Parliament, passed in the years 1783, 1785, 1786, and 1787, for investigation into the merits of each particular claim, with a petition to Parliament for information "concerning the general rules and principles adopted in pushing inquiries so interesting to the public." Five years' weary working for the liquidation of claims in England, amounting to many millions, was not calculated to soften anger towards kinsmen and countrymen who had been instrumental in enacting confiscation laws in America. These were denounced as partial, unjust, malicious, and avaricious. England admitted the wrong perpetrated upon the colonies. But the loyalists, wounded upon all sides, were apparently beyond the pale of healing influences. Of the seven sons of Peter De Lancey of Westchester, James, before the war high sheriff of the county, was the famous commander of the "Cow Boys," and retired to Nova Scotia, where he was appointed counselor to the governor. It is said that when he turned his back forever upon his large possessions in the beautiful valley of the Bronx his iron heart was torn with emotion and he wept aloud. His brother Oliver, next younger than himself, was a lieutenant in the British navy, which position he resigned because he would not fight against his native land. Of their five sisters, Anne was the wife of John Cox, of Philadelphia; Alice was Mrs. Ralph Izard; Jane was Mrs. John Watts; and Susanna was Mrs. Thomas Barclay — the mother of six sons, Henry, De Lancey, Thomas, George, Sir Anthony, and Beverley Barclay, and of four daughters afterwards prominent in society, Mrs. Schuyler Livingston, Mrs. Simon Fraser, Mrs. Peter G. Stuyvesant, and Mrs. William H. Parsons.

John Peter, fourth and youngest son of Lieutenant-Governor De Lancey — whose son, William Heathcote De Lancey, was the first Bishop of Western New York — the brother of James in London, and of Mrs. Judge

Thomas Jones and Mrs. William Walton, of New York,¹ had received a military education in England, and been four years in the regular British army at the commencement of the war; he was then twenty-two years of age. He returned to America in 1789, having received the Heathcote estate of his mother at Scarsdale, and a small portion of the estate of his father in New York:

The Livingstons were even more numerous than the De Lanceys, with hardly less wealth. They were in power, which inspired anything but love in the breasts of their conquered adversaries. They divided the control of the river counties with the Van Rensselaers and Schuylers, whose great manorial estates lay to the north of their own, and were leaders in commerce and law as well as agriculture. At least nine prominent men at this date, of national celebrity, bore the name of Livingston. They were of distinguished Scotch lineage, with a proved pedigree of at least seven hundred years, with plenty of republican Dutch blood handed along through intermarriages with the Schuylers, Beekmans, and other Holland families of colonial New York. And besides the Livingstons themselves, many public men of influence had married Livingston wives, not least among whom were John Jay, Secretary of Foreign Affairs, and James Duane, Mayor of the city.

It has been sagely remarked that "an intimate knowledge of the domestic history of nations is absolutely necessary to the prognosis of political events." It is certain that no correct understanding of the nature of political parties in early New York can be obtained without carefully observing the endless ramifications of kinship. Those who have in former pages traced the great family quarrel of the De Lanceys and Livingstons until merged in the Revolution, can now see it color the whole loyalist controversy; and its results are to be felt for many a long year. In no other State had the war made such a division in families as in New York. Two of the Van Cortlandts, cousins, fought on opposite sides. General Philip Schuyler was the first cousin of General Oliver De Lancey, their mothers being sisters; he bore also the same relationship to the wife of Counselor John Watts, whose daughter was



Walton Arms.

¹ The Waltons were among the before and after the Revolution; contest. See Vol. I. 684, 685, 686. through a full century. The family Verplancks, De Lanceys, Crugers, nelia Beekman Walton, daughter greatly beloved, who had lived in New Jersey during the war, died at the "Old Walton House" on Franklin Square in 1786.

great merchants of New York both they endeavored to be neutral in the The name William was carried intermarried with the Beekmans, Ogdens, and Morrisises. Mrs. Cor- of Dr. William Beekman, a lady

the wife of Sir John Johnson. The De Peysters, who, like the De Lanceys, were chiefly loyalists, had intermarried with the Van Cortlandts in nearly every generation. And the mother of John Jay was a Van Cortlandt. There was never a more curious mixture of conflicting interests than agitated New York through the remainder of the century; sharp denunciation, rancorous abuse, heart-burnings, and maledictions, rather than the memory of gallant deeds and heroic sacrifices, long survived the shock of armies.

The lawyers of the city were full of business. They were mostly men of promise, eminence, and conspicuous talents. The community inevitably measured every candidate for a professional career, and the unlearned or mediocre aspirant stood at fatal disadvantage. Hamilton had commenced practice at the bar, and already demonstrated to the world that he was a great lawyer. Aaron Burr, small of stature, with gigantic ambition, cool, wary, artificial, and imposing of manner, in his arguments curt and severe, confining himself invariably to a few strong and prominent points, rarely lost a case. Melancthon Smith was in the high tide of a successful practice. Also Egbert Benson, who was more profoundly versed in the principles of philosophy upon which the law rests, and in technical information, than any other lawyer of the period. James Kent, afterwards chancellor, son of Moss Kent, surrogate of Rensselaer County, was a student in Benson's office; he was first admitted to the bar in 1787, and soon acquired habits of vast industry and method, and a taste for literary labor. John Sloss Hobart had been elected one of the three justices of the Supreme Court; he was nearly fifty, with perhaps no special distinguishing trait, but possessing an assemblage of qualities which gave him great influence. Samuel Jones, the elder, styled the "father of the New York bar," had been an ardent loyalist, and subsequently was appointed Recorder of the city and then Comptroller of the State. Brockholst Livingston, the brother-in-law of John Jay, was admitted to the bar in 1783, at the age of twenty-seven, and was one of the most accomplished scholars, able advocates, and fluent speakers of his time in the city—but violent in his political feelings and conduct. Edward Livingston, youngest brother of the chancellor, who subsequently acquired world-wide reputation as a jurist, commenced practice in 1785, at the age of twenty-one. Morgan Lewis, whose wife was sister to the latter, soon became attorney-general of the State—in 1791—and two years later chief justice of New York. Richard Morris was the present chief justice, having succeeded John Jay in 1779; he filled the office until 1790, when, being sixty years of age, he retired, and Robert Yates was appointed in his stead. John Cozine and Robert

Troup were both able lawyers, and men of much general information; Cozine is described as good-humored and amiable, inclined to indolence, corpulence, and high living. Josiah Ogden Hoffman was younger, but rose quickly to distinction. His forte was in the examination of witnesses and the management of juries. John Lawrence, John Rutherford, and John McKesson were among the legal luminaries of the time. Also Jacob Morton, Robert Benson, John Watts, Jr., William Wickham, and Daniel Crommelin Verplanck; the latter was a young man of twenty-five.¹

His uncle, Gulian Verplanck, third president of the Bank of New York — appointed in 1790 — was a merchant of excellent parts, and a man of many accomplishments; he was one of the early graduates from Columbia College, and received in Holland his mercantile training.² His city residence was in Pearl Street, although he subsequently erected a fine mansion in Wall Street.

¹ Daniel Crommelin Verplanck, born in 1762, was twice married. His first wife, Elizabeth, daughter of President William Samuel Johnson of Columbia College, mother of Gulian C. Verplanck, died in 1789, at the age of twenty-four. His second wife was Ann, only daughter of William and Ann De Lancey Walton; their children were Mary Ann, Louisa, Samuel, Elizabeth, William Walton, James De Lancey, and Anna Louisa. His father, Samuel Verplanck, born 1739, died students, the first class graduating 1758; and being sent to his uncle, a mercantile education, married, melin. The father of Samuel was 1751, the great-grandson of the married Mary, daughter of Charles The Sinclair family descended Lords Sinclair of Scotland. Ann ried Gabriel Ludlow, and Mary Charles McEvers of New York. Samuel Verplanck, was Speaker 1796; and from 1790 until his the University of the State of New York. Daniel Crommelin Verplanck was member of Congress from 1802 to 1809, and Judge of Common Pleas in Dutchess County until 1828. A sketch of his son, Gulian C. Verplanck, born 1786, died 1870, a graduate of Columbia College in 1801, will appear upon a future page.



Verplanck Arms.

1820, was first on the list of eight from Kings (Columbia)-College, in Daniel Crommelin, in Holland, for in 1761, his cousin, Judith Crom-Gulian Verplanck, born 1698, died first of the name in New York; he and Anna Sinclair Crommelin. from the Earls of Orkney, and Verplanck, sister of Samuel, married Verplanck, a second sister, married Gulian, the youngest brother of of the Assembly in 1791, and in death was one of the Regents of

² See Vol. I. 741.

CHAPTER VIII.

1787 - 1790.

NEW YORK CITY THE CAPITAL OF THE NATION.

WALL STREET IN 1787. — DIPLOMATIC ENTERTAINMENTS. — SOCIAL AFFAIRS AT THE CAPITAL. — CLERICAL CHARACTERS. — MEDICAL CELEBRITIES. — THE CITY HOSPITAL. — THE DOCTORS' MOB. — RESIDENCES. — THE TWO POLITICAL PARTIES IN NEW YORK. — ALEXANDER HAMILTON. — THE INSURRECTION IN MASSACHUSETTS. — REPRESENTATIVE MEN OF THE CONVENTION. — THE FEDERAL PRINCIPLE. — FRAMING THE CONSTITUTION. — GOUVERNEUR MORRIS. — THE ADOPTION OF THE CONSTITUTION BY THE STATES. — ACTION OF NEW YORK. — THE FEDERAL CELEBRATION. — NEW YORK CITY. — FEDERAL HALL IN WALL STREET. — THE PRESIDENTIAL RESIDENCE. — POSTMASTER-GENERAL OSGOOD. — THE ELECTION OF A PRESIDENT. — THE FIRST CONGRESS UNDER THE CONSTITUTION. — ARRIVAL OF WASHINGTON IN NEW YORK CITY. — THE INAUGURATION. — THE FIRST CABINET. — THE INAUGURATION BALL. — THE FESTIVITIES OF THE CAPITAL. — SOCIAL CELEBRITIES. — MEMBERS OF CONGRESS. — PROGRESS OF THE CITY.

THE city received a sudden, strong, healthful, forward impetus in the spring of 1787, through large accessions to its population. Every dwelling-house was occupied. Rents went up, doubling in some instances; fresh paint and new shutters and wings transformed old tenements, and carpenters and masons found ready employment in erecting new structures. The streets were cleaned and pavements mended. New business firms were organized and old warehouses remodeled; the markets were extended and bountifully supplied, and stores blossomed with fashionable goods. Wall Street, the great centre of interest and of fashion, presented a brilliant scene every bright afternoon. Ladies in showy costumes, and gentlemen in silks, satins, and velvet, of many colors, promenaded in front of the City Hall — where Congress was holding its sessions. At the same time Broadway, from St. Paul's Chapel to the Battery, was animated with stylish equipages, filled with pleasure-seekers who never tired of the life-giving, invigorating, perennial sea-breeze, or the unparalleled beauty of the view, stretching off across the varied waters of New York Bay.

The social world was kept in perpetual agitation through distinguished

arrivals from various parts of the United States, and from Europe. Dinners and balls were daily occurrences. Secretary and Mrs. Jay entertained with graceful ease, gathering about them all that was most illustrious in statesmanship and letters; they usually gave one ceremonious dinner every week, sometimes two. Their drawing-rooms were also thronged on Thursdays, Mrs. Jay's day "at home"; and evening parties were given at frequent intervals. The manners of Secretary Jay were described by Europeans as affable and unassuming; and his purity and nobility of character impressed the whole world in his favor. He dressed in simple black, wearing his hair slightly powdered and tied in the back. His complexion was without color. His eyes were dark and penetrating, as if the play of thought never ceased, but the general expression of his face was singularly amiable and tranquil. Mrs. Jay was admirably fitted, through her long residence in the Spanish and French capitals, and her own personal and intellectual accomplishments, for the distinguished position of leader of society in the American capital. She dressed richly, and in good taste, and observed the most rigid formalities in her intercourse with the representatives of foreign nations.

Nothing better illustrates the spirit and character of this formative period than the movements in its polite and every-day life. But a mere glimpse must suffice. The infant Republic was interesting, and vastly promising, while it had not yet learned to walk. Its capital was the seat of a floating community composed of the most diverse elements. Curiosity, criticism, and cavil were in the air. The importance attached to the doing of national hospitalities in the Old World, could not be ignored in the New. Entertainments were something more than mere profitless amusements; then, as before and since, they were strong links in the chain which binds nations together.

The Secretary of War and Mrs. Knox lived in a large house and gave munificent banquets. Mrs. Knox was celebrated for her brilliancy in conversation and unfailing good-humor; she had the tact and talent to convert her home into a resort of the intellectual and cultivated, as well as the diplomatic and fashionable. Sir John Temple made it a point to call upon every stranger of note immediately upon his arrival in New York; Lady Temple was the daughter of Governor Bowdoin, of Massachusetts, and, according to the writers of the day, "very distinguished-looking, and agreeable"; she received guests every Tuesday evening, and gave dinners, notable for their costliness, nearly every week to twenty or more guests. Miss Van Berckel assisted her father, the Dutch ambassador, in dispensing hospitalities. Otto, of the French legation, afterwards Comte de Mosloy, married twice in New York, first Miss Livingston

in 1782, and, after her death, Miss Crevecoeur, in 1790, daughter of the French consul; he is said to have possessed charming social qualities. The Marquis de Moustier arrived in 1787, accompanied by his sister, Madame de Brehan, a clever woman who wrote with spirit and had some skill as an artist, "but with," according to Abigail Adams Smith, "the oddest figure eyes ever beheld." John Armstrong — soldier, statesman, and author — wrote about the same time: "We have a French minister now with us, and if France had wished to destroy the little remembrance that is left of her and her exertions in our behalf, she would have sent just such a man — distant, haughty, penurious, and entirely governed by the caprices of a little, singular, whimsical, hysterical old woman, whose delight is in playing with a negro child and caressing a monkey."

The mother of Chancellor Livingston returned with her family to the city from Clermont, residing at 51 Queen Street — now Pearl — a little above Wall Street. Her daughters were highly bred and educated, well versed in public affairs, and fond of discussing the grave questions of the hour. Her drawing-rooms were the center of attraction for a refined and cultured circle, including many French dignitaries. It was not unusual for articles upon finance, politics, diplomacy, and religion, to be read there by their authors before publication. The younger ladies and some of their more habitual guests often played whist — a game not interdicted by the mistress of the household, but which in deference to her religious tastes was never commenced until she retired from the parlors. John Armstrong married Alida, the youngest daughter of Mrs. Livingston, in 1789. It is related of Mrs. Montgomery, the eldest daughter, that on one occasion, after entertaining a guest of the heavy sort, she expressed relief at his departure with an audible sigh. A bright little niece exclaimed, "Why, aunty, you have not much patience with dull people!" "Ah, no, my dear!" she replied, "I have never been used to them."

Rufus King was described by Brissot de Warville as thirty-three, and passing "for the most eloquent man in the United States," but so modest that "he appeared ignorant of his own worth." His young bride was remarkable for personal beauty — face oval, with a clear, brunette complexion, delicately formed features, expressive blue eyes, black hair, and exquisite teeth; "her motions were all grace, her bearing gracious, her voice musical, and her education exceptional." They resided with her father, John Alsop, near the corner of Maiden Lane and William Street. Colonel William and Lady Kitty Duer had taken up their abode in Broadway, nearly opposite St. Paul's Chapel. The latter, and her sister, Lady Mary Watts, often assisted their cousin, Mrs. Jay, in receiving

guests. Kitty Livingston, Mrs. Jay's sister, was married in April of this year to Matthew Ridley, of Baltimore; Susan, the elder sister, having married John Cleve Symmes, a member of Congress, was residing in New York; two younger sisters were also in society, although their home was still at "Liberty Hall," in Elizabeth. The governor, in apologizing to a friend in March for his penmanship, said: "My principal secretary of state, who is one of my daughters, has gone to New York to shake her heels at the balls and assemblages of a metropolis, which might better be more studious of paying its taxes, than of instituting expensive diversions."

General Matthew Clarkson had recently married Mary, the daughter of Walter Rutherford. The young and pretty wife of Richard Varick was the daughter of Isaac and Cornelia Hoffman Roosevelt; and her sister Cornelia had, within a year, married Dr. Benjamin Kissam, the recently appointed Professor of the Institute of Medicine in Columbia College. Mrs. James Beekman presided once more over her beautiful home on the East River, which had so long been occupied by British celebrities.¹ Upon the return of the Beekman family from their seven years' exile, costly treasures in the way of silver and china ware which they buried under the greenhouse before their departure were exhumed uninjured.² Two exquisite statuettes in rare old Chelsea, thus preserved in the earth, and numerous pieces of ancestral table-ware — gems of beauty — are in possession of the descendants. Mrs. Beekman had the genius to aid her husband in book-keeping while he was striving to retrieve his impaired fortunes; and she sustained her part in the social kingdom of the capital with distinguished effect.

Nearly all the clerical characters of the period were men of profound learning. They mingled with the youth and beauty of the capital at official dinners and at private parties. Bishop Provost was deeply versed in classical lore, in ecclesiastical history, and in the natural and physical sciences. He conversed with ease and pleasantry, and was ever a welcome guest, as was also Mrs. Provost.³ Governor George Clinton occupied the mansion of Henry White, in Pearl Street, property sold under the confiscation act in 1786; the same year Mr. White died in Golden Square, London. His widow, Eve Van Cortlandt White, resided with her

¹ See sketch of Beekman mansion, Vol. I. 569; Mrs. Beekman, I. 759, II. 188.

² This greenhouse was the first upon Manhattan Island. Lemon-trees bore fruit underneath its roof of glass before the war; in the summer of 1776 Washington and his staff were treated to lemonade made from lemons picked from the trees in their presence.

³ Rev. Samuel Provost, Bishop of New York from 1786 to 1801, consecrated at Lambeth, England, was the son of John Provost and Eve, daughter of Harmanus Rutgers, and grandson of Samuel Provost and Maria Sprat, granddaughter of the first De Peyster in New York. He was born March 11, 1742, and died September 6, 1815. — *Halden's Ms. Gen. Coll.*

daughters, conspicuous belles in New York society, at 11 Broadway, the homestead inherited from her father, until her death in 1836. She was a lady of great wealth. The Bayards and the Ludlows remained in the city; also many other loyalist families. The Misses Bayard were among the New York social beauties mentioned by a French writer.

Dr. John Charlton, an English surgeon who had been much at the court of George III., coming to New York with the British army, married Mary De Peyster, daughter of Treasurer Abraham and Margaret Van Cortlandt De Peyster, and settled in the city; he was a short, stout man of florid complexion, fond of riding on horseback, and practised medicine principally among his family connections. The oldest and most eminent physician of the time was Dr. John Bard, one of the founders of the New York Hospital. He was seventy-three, a Huguenot by descent, and noted for his skill and learning scarcely less than for his extreme urbanity of manner. He usually wore a red coat and a cocked hat, and carried a gold-headed cane; he drove about the city in a low pony phaeton, accompanied by a faithful negro almost as venerable as himself. Frank Van Berckel, the son of the Dutch Minister, drove in a high phaeton, and a caricature print was issued representing the aged doctor in his little vehicle, passing under the body and between the wheels of the gay young Dutchman's elevated equipage without touching. It is said no one relished the humor of the illustration more than Dr. Bard himself. In 1788 he became the first president of the New York Medical Society. His son, Dr. Samuel Bard, who studied medicine in Edinburgh, and married his cousin, Mary Bard, organized the first medical school in connection with Kings College, and took the chair of physic in 1769, subsequently becoming dean of the faculty. He succeeded to his father's practice, and when Washington was inaugurated President, became his family physician; and he attained greater eminence than any of his predecessors. Dr. John Cochrane stood next to Dr. Bard in seniority, having achieved so high a reputation during the war that he enjoyed a wide patronage among the citizens of New York City. His home in Broadway was the hospitable centre of a large circle of Schuyler and Livingston relatives, and it was where the prominent generals of the army were entertained in the most princely manner. Dr. Thomas Jones, a man of fortune who had married a Livingston, was perhaps more eminent as a politician than physician, but in either field was distinguished as a scholar and a gentleman. He was a brother of Dr. John Jones of Philadelphia. Dr. Kissam and Dr. McKnight both held professorships in the college, as before mentioned; the latter was the best surgeon of his day, besides having an extensive family practice.

The City Hospital, between Duane and Anthony Streets, upon the west side of Broadway, which had been projected before the war, and the edifice completed in time to be converted into a barrack for the reception of troops in 1776, stood unrepaired, and unused for the purposes of a hospital, until January 3, 1791, when it was opened for the admission of eighteen patients, and began its great work. The accompanying sketch illustrates its appearance about the beginning of the present century. The Society of Governors, established in 1771, meanwhile, simply preserved its corporate existence by holding annual elections; in the summer of 1785, some destitute Scotch emigrants were allowed to use the vacant building as a place of shelter for a few weeks; the following winter Dr. Richard Bailey obtained permission to occupy one or two rooms



The City Hospital.

[From a rare old print, never before reproduced.]

for anatomical lectures. Subsequently the legislature of the State were allowed to fit up some rooms for their accommodation during a particular session. The next year Dr. Bailey operated upon a patient in one of the rooms he had used for his lectures, and finding him unfit to be removed, was allowed to attend him there until he recovered.

Suddenly the doctors and their anatomies came to grief. The public mind had been startled during the winter by rumors that dead bodies had been stolen by the medical students from the different cemeteries of the city. On Sunday morning, April 13, 1788, some meddling boys playing about the building were impelled to climb a ladder, which had been left resting against one of the walls by a workman the day before, and peeped through the window to see what was going on within. A

young surgeon, busy upon a subject in the dissecting-room, greeted the foremost inquisitive youngster with the flourish of an arm — not his own — and the boy fled with the news to his father, a mason, who repeated the story to his comrades, and, seizing such tools of their trade as would best serve them as weapons, they started in a body for the hospital. Their force increased as they advanced, and the whole city was in a wild tumult. The hospital was surrounded, the doors burst in, several subjects were discovered, and a collection of anatomical specimens destroyed. The doctors took refuge in the jail, where they were with difficulty protected by the hastily summoned militia. The mob swore vengeance upon all the doctors of the city, and started for the house of Dr. Cochrane, which they ransacked from cellar to garret in search of subjects. They omitted to open the scuttle and look out upon the roof, or they would have discovered Dr. Hicks, of whom they were in hot pursuit, snugly hiding behind the chimney. In the height of the frenzy they passed the house of Sir John Temple, and mistaking the name of Sir John for "surgeon," attacked it furiously, and were just barely restrained from leveling it with the ground.

As night approached the ranks of the rioters were thinned, and it was hoped the trouble had ended. But small bands patrolled the streets, and in the morning the mob was greater than ever, having been joined by sailors from vessels in the harbor; and it proceeded at once to storm the jail, breaking the windows, tearing down the fences, and threatening to drag the doctors out and hang them. Governor Clinton, Mayor Duane, Secretary Jay, Baron Steuben, Hamilton, and other prominent citizens endeavored to appease the popular fury, but in vain. Jay, in driving to the scene, was severely wounded in the head from a stone thrown through the glass of his chariot. The mayor hesitated to give the order to fire upon the mob; Baron Steuben, in the benevolence of his heart, was remonstrating with the governor against attempting to quell the riot with fire-arms, when he was hit in the forehead with a brick-bat, and fell bleeding to the pavement, crying loudly, "Fire, governor, fire!" The soldiers did fire, and five persons were killed and seven or eight badly wounded; upon which the crowd fled. Steuben was carried to Duer's house, and there being no surgeon at hand, and none daring to show themselves, Lady Kitty stanchd his wound and bound up his head.

The site of the hospital was a five-acre lot purchased from the Rutgers estate. The marshes in the region of Chatham Square caused so much fever and ague, that it is said Rutgers at one time prayed the king for a better title to his property, that he might sell it to somebody willing to make drains, "because the inhabitants lost one third of their time by

sickness." There were but few houses as yet above that of William Axtell, which, being sold under the confiscation act about this time, became the residence of Lewis Allaire Scott, son of John Morin Scott, who was secretary of the state of New York for a considerable period.¹ Near Hanover Square were several fine old mansions; that of Gerard W. Beekman had been occupied in 1782 by Admiral Digby, who entertained Prince William Henry, afterwards William IV. of England. Andrew Hamersley's residence was nearly opposite, all the appointments of which were in a style of costly elegance. The homes of the Gouverneurs, the Hoffmans, the Van Hornes, and the Clarksons were in that immediate vicinity. Gerardus Duyckinck, proprietor of the "Universal Store" whose advertisements and display of wares were the most curious and unique of the period, lived on Pearl Street; he married the daughter of Dr. Henry Livingston. Samuel Hake, claimant to the title of Lord Hake, a wealthy importer who had remained in New York during the war, built a house a little out of the city, on the Bowery Road; his wife was the daughter of Robert Gilbert Livingston, and their daughter married Frederic, eldest son of James and Sarah Reade De Peyster. General John Lamb established his residence in Wall Street when he returned from the wars. Shortly after his election to the Assembly he was appointed Collector of the Port, the emoluments of which office, together with the results of investing his depreciated debt certificates in forfeited lands, as a speculation, rendered him comfortably opulent. He was of a kind, benevolent nature, and opened his doors hospitably to every soldier of the Revolution, whatever his rank. But no acts or arguments could modify his inflexible antipathy to the loyalists. He blamed them indiscriminately for the course they had taken in the Revolution, and said they deserved punishment. He was as positive as he was honest in his convictions; but reasoning from arbitrary premises he followed rigidly a single line of thought, like a railway in its grooves, and fearful of the revival of aristocratic influences, became the determined opposer of every movement towards the union of the States in empire under a specific constitution.

Foremost on this plane stood Governor George Clinton, whose long and faithful services at the helm of affairs had given him a strong hold upon the affections of the people of New York. He had made his mark,

¹ See page 207 (Vol. II.) for sketch of the Rutherford and Axtell houses, upon the corner of Vesey Street, where the Astor House now stands, which together formed a uniform building of brick. Mrs. Axtell was a beautiful woman, the sister of James De Peyster, and of Mrs. Dr. Charlton and Mrs. Clarkson; her portrait, by Copley, is preserved in the De Peyster family of the present generation.

and his clear, logical brain and great decision of character inspired confidence in his political judgment; he possessed, moreover, the power of distributing the patronage of the government. He was ably supported by John Lansing, Robert Yates, Melancthon Smith, and other men of importance, and the State rights party thus represented was largely in the majority.

Meanwhile General Philip Schuyler, with magnanimity similar to that which characterized his treatment of the conquered Burgoyne in 1777, was striving for the restoration of the loyalists to full citizenship. Hamilton was his son-in-law, and, having recently acquired special influence through the operations of the bank established under his auspices, was elected, in spite of the strength and magnitude of the opposition, to the Assembly of 1787. He at once attacked the vexed subject of the continued exclusion of the loyalists from participation in the elections, and with such bold strokes—lessons which touch the American heart more deeply than the most stirring memories of Greece and Rome—that on the last day of January he secured the passage of a bill repealing the disfranchising act, which, aided by the efforts of Schuyler, was carried through the Senate on the 3d of February. But an attempt to surrender the control of the imposts to Congress was a total failure. New York was conscious of her prospective importance, and resisted every encroachment upon her sovereignty. Jealousy of the national scheme took possession of the New York soul, and fear of an elective despotism sharpened her sagacious vision. In connection with Schuyler and Hamilton the leading spirits who looked beyond the special interests of the State to a more positive union on some definite grounds were Secretary Jay, Chancellor Livingston, and the Van Rensselaers. They spent the month of February in striving for the assent of the Legislature to the appointment of delegates to the Convention. This bill was carried March 6, notwithstanding the Federal party was in what seemed a hopeless minority. But of the three delegates chosen, John Lansing and Robert Yates were notably of the governor's mind, and although Hamilton was the third choice, the anti-Federalists thought they could safely trust the interests of New York to a delegation of which the majority were in favor of preserving her individual powers, and whose action was confined specifically by a legislative resolution to the business of amending the Articles of Confederation, instead of creating a new Constitution.

New York little dreamed that the boldness, energy, acute sense, and well-balanced intellect of the youthful Hamilton was to overbear by eloquence, interpret essential needs by illustration, usurp powers with imperious will, and then convince by argument a large proportion of her

population that he was in the right, and finally compel a public recognition and justification of the wisdom of his conduct. But such were the facts, as the reader will soon learn. The whole story reads like fiction.

The character and genius of Hamilton furnish a never-failing source of food for captivating study.¹ He was not yet thirty, and almost as boyish-looking as when he was the confidential companion of Washington. There was, perhaps, more gravity resting upon his expressive countenance at times, but intelligent vivacity predominated. He was frank, amiable, and high-bred, and attracted his friends irresistibly; while his enemies both hated and stood in awe of him. He had a mind of immense grasp, and could endure more unremitted and intense labor than any other man in New York. His thought flashed forth like a calcium light, illuminating the broad scene, and placing him in the front rank of artists in government-making. He had been ripening for his work through patient attention to facts and a grand generalization of their subtle principles, until he could see into consequences yet dormant in ideas. His growth in the science of practical statesmanship had been pushed to its full stature by the forces of that remarkable age; and his versatility and creative gifts had been sharpened by the peculiar social and political conditions of the community in which his lot was cast. He was never fully up to the tide of popular sympathy in all things, or responsive to its

¹ The following letter, never before published, written by Hamilton to Miss Schuyler three weeks before their marriage — dated October 13, 1780 — will be read with interest by every student of Hamilton's career. The original copy is treasured by one of the family, through whose courtesy the author has been permitted to make this copy: —

"I would not have you imagine Miss that I write to you so often either to gratify your wishes or to please your vanity; but merely to indulge myself and to comply with that restless propensity of my mind, which will not allow me to be happy when I am not doing something in which you are concerned. This may seem a very idle disposition in a philosopher and a soldier; but I can plead illustrious examples in my justification. Achilles had like to have sacrificed Greece and his glory to his passion for a female captive; and Anthony lost the world for a woman. I am sorry the times are so changed as to oblige me to summon antiquity for my apology, but I confess, to the disgrace of the present age, that I have not been able to find many who are as far gone as myself in such laudable zeal for the fair sex. I suspect, however, if others knew the charms of my sweetheart as well as I do, I should have a great number of competitors — I wish I could give you an idea of her — you have no conception how sweet a girl she is — it is only in my heart that her image is truly drawn. She has a lovely form and a mind still more lovely; she is all goodness, the gentlest, the dearest, the tenderest of her sex — Ah, Betsey, how I love her!

"Two days since, I wrote to you my dear girl and sent the letter to the care of Colonel Morris: there was with it a bundle to your mamma, directed to your father, containing a cloak which Miss Livingston sent to my care. I enclosed you in that letter, the copy of a long one to my friend Laurens with an account of Arnold's affair. I mention this for fear of a miscarriage as usual.

"Well, my love, here is the middle of October; a few weeks more and you are mine; a

pulse-beat; but he could give more point to a discussion than any one of his contemporaries, and he was unsurpassed in the electricity of his make.

The Convention assembled at Philadelphia in May. Congress had regarded the movement with coldness, questioning its constitutionality until aroused by the alarming condition of affairs in ^{1787.} ^{May.} Massachusetts. A riotous insurrection, caused by public and private debts, scarcity of money, and decline of trade during the autumn of 1786 and winter following, threatened the whole country with anarchy and ruin. The people, imbued with wild notions of liberty, headed by Daniel Shays, resisted the payment of obligations and taxes, and obliged the courts of law to adjourn. The rebellion extended into New Hampshire, where the legislature convened at Exeter was besieged, and imprisoned for several hours, the object of the insurgents being to force an issue of paper money agreeably to a petition signed by thirty towns which had not been granted. "I am mortified beyond expression," wrote Washington to Henry Lee in Congress, "at such a melancholy verification of what our transatlantic foes have predicted, and of another thing more to be regretted, that mankind when left to themselves are unfit for their own government." This pressure for reform in the general governing system was finally made effective through the action of the New York Legislature,

sweet reflection to me — is it so to my charmer? Do you find yourself more or less anxious for the moment to arrive as it approaches? This is a good criterion to determine the degree of your affection by. You have had an age for consideration, time enough for even a woman to know her mind in. Do you begin to repent or not? Remember you are going to do a very serious thing. For though our sex have generously given up a part of its prerogatives, and husbands have no longer the power of life and death, as the wiser husbands of former days had, yet we still retain the power of happiness and misery; and if you are prudent you will not trust the felicity of your future life to one in whom you have not good reason for implicit confidence. I give you warning — don't blame me if you make an injudicious choice — and if you should be disposed to retract, don't give me the trouble of a journey to Albany, and then do as did a certain lady I have mentioned to you, find out the day before we are to be married that you 'can't like the man'; but of all things I pray you don't make the discovery afterwards — for this would be worse than all. But I do not apprehend its being the case. I think we know each other well enough to understand each other's feelings, and to be sure our affection will not only last but be progressive.

"I stopped to read over my letter — it is a motley mixture of fond extravagance and sprightly dullness; the truth is I am too much in love to be either reasonable or witty; I feel in the extreme; and when I attempt to speak of my feelings I rave. I have remarked to you before that real tenderness has always a tincture of sadness, and when I affect the lively my melting heart rebels. It is separated from you and it cannot be cheerful. Love is a sort of insanity and every thing I write savors strongly of it; that you return it is the best proof of your madness also.

"I tell you, my Betsey, you are negligent; you do not write to me often enough. Take more care of my happiness, for there is nothing your Hamilton would not do to promote yours."

which instructed her delegates in Congress to move for an act to sanction a revision or change; thus Congress advised the States to confer power upon a convention, which should comprehend the highest civil talent of the country — representing every interest, and every part of the Union.

The members numbered fifty-five. Washington, the heart and hand of America, towards whom all eyes turned in dire emergencies, came from Mount Vernon, and, with his usual punctilious observance of etiquette, paid an immediate visit to the President of Pennsylvania, Dr. Franklin. The philosopher was in his eighty-second year, but his health had improved since his return from France, and he attended the Convention regularly, five hours a day, for more than four months. Robert Morris, whose personal credit had proved such a valuable element in securing independence, George Read, a signer of the Declaration, Edmund Randolph, the governor of Virginia, and Gouverneur Morris, who had resided in Philadelphia since the termination of his service as Assistant Financier, were conspicuous delegates. New Jersey sent Governor William Livingston, one of the most forcible and elegant writers, and probably the best classical scholar in the assemblage. The reader has known him best as a soldier and a statesman, but he had great tact and talent as an essayist, his satirical powers were unrivaled, he was a poet of no mean ability, and his literary taste was singularly refined for the day.

From New Hampshire came John Langdon, subsequently governor of that State, a severely practical republican of social habits and magnetic and pleasing address, the patriot who furnished means to equip Stark's New Hampshire militia in the dark days prior to the victory of Bennington, pledging his plate among other valuables for the purpose. From South Carolina came a polished and accomplished delegation: John Rutledge, who, like his brother Edward, had received legal training at the Temple, and was versed in all the intricacies of the English law; and the two Pinckneys, Charles Cotesworth and Charles — the latter, afterwards governor of South Carolina, a dozen or more years younger than the former — both of whom were educated for the bar, the elder of the two at Westminster, Oxford, and the Temple, and had since passed through every vicissitude of a soldier's life. From Massachusetts came a fine specimen of the old Puritan character, Caleb Strong, born in Northampton thirty years before the breaking out of the Revolution, a student of law, of spotless private character, a statesman of inflexible adherence to principle, who while governor of Massachusetts during the War of 1812 denied the right of the President, upon constitutional grounds, to make requisition upon the State for troops; he affected no elegance of style, was tall, with a somewhat long visage, his hair but slightly powdered,

resting loosely upon a high, thoughtful brow, from beneath which eyes of singular beauty beamed with gentleness and kindness. Elbridge Gerry was forty-three, one year the senior of Strong, a master in all questions of commerce and finance, a gentleman small and slight of stature, and of extreme urbanity of manner. Rufus King was also sent by Massachusetts, and his vigorous oratory, and rare combination of personal and intellectual endowments, made him a prominent figure. Rhode Island was not represented. Connecticut sent three of her brightest and best men, William Samuel Johnson, Roger Sherman, and Oliver Ellsworth. Johnson was not only a jurist, but a man of broad intelligence, science, and literature. He had resided five years before the war in England as agent of Connecticut, and was on intimate terms with the celebrated Dr. Samuel Johnson, as well as a privileged guest in the cultivated circle of which that literary colossus was the acknowledged chief. Sherman, according to Jefferson, "never said a foolish thing in his life." He was forty-six, tall, erect, well-proportioned, of fair complexion and manly bearing, habitually calm, grave, self-poised, and possessed of much practical wisdom, and a knowledge of human nature that seemed intuitive. He was really one of the most remarkable men present. He was the son of a New England farmer, obtained the rudiments of education in a common school, and worked at the shoemaker's trade, with his books around him, while preparing himself for the stern realities of a useful life. He hardly ever had known an idle hour. He had already been, for some years, a judge of the highest court in Connecticut. Ellsworth was also a lawyer, and afterwards chief justice. He was forty-two, an independent thinker and an eloquent speaker, an unassuming, consistent republican, who combined all the charms of good-breeding with the excellences of the Christian gentleman.

Georgia and North Carolina were not behind the other States in contributing merit to this august body. Georgia's most notable delegate was a son of her adoption, Abraham Baldwin, a young Connecticut lawyer of thirty-three, a graduate of Yale, the brother-in-law of Joel Barlow, who at the request of General Greene removed to Savannah in 1784. North Carolina sent William Richardson Davie, by birth an Englishman, a graduate from Princeton, and commissary-general of the Southern army under Greene. He was but thirty-one, remarkably handsome, of commanding physique, voice of peculiar melody, and an accomplished orator. He was subsequently governor of North Carolina. Hugh Williamson was fifty, and his reputation for integrity such that no one dared to approach him with flattery or falsehood. He was a thorough scholar in divinity, excelled in mathematics, had studied medicine at

Edinburgh and Utrecht, and was a writer upon a great variety of abstruse topics. Virginia's delegation was renowned. The central figure was Washington. George Wythe, Chancellor of Virginia for more than twenty years, was sixty-one, and as exceptionally wise and pure-minded as he was venerable. He, like Sherman, was the son of a farmer, although educated chiefly by his mother, a remarkable classical scholar; but he had taught himself Greek, and become thoroughly learned in jurisprudence. His pupil, James Madison, of whom Virginia was justly proud, stood by his side, a fair-faced man of thirty-seven. Maryland, Delaware, and Pennsylvania together supplied eighteen delegates. Luther Martin, of Maryland, was a lawyer of commanding intellect, afterwards the personal and political friend of Aaron Burr, whose acquittal he was instrumental in procuring when tried for treason in 1807; one of his colleagues, John Francis Mercer, afterwards governor of Maryland, had been a soldier and a citizen of deserved distinction in his own State; John Dickinson, son of Judge Samuel Dickinson, had just reached his fifty-fifth year, a man of elegant learning and fine conversational powers, who, trained in law at the Temple, had displayed unusual gifts, not only at the bar, but in legislation and authorship. George Clymer, of Pennsylvania, was forty-eight, of medium size, fair complexion, and features radiant with intelligence and benevolence; he rarely made a speech, through extreme diffidence, but wrote with exceeding care and accuracy, and his opinions were always received with marked respect; it is said that he was never heard to speak ill of the absent or known to break a promise, and was always on the alert to promote every scheme for the improvement of the country in science, agriculture, polite learning, the fine arts, or objects of mere utility. James Wilson, born in Scotland, had studied successively at Glasgow, St. Andrews, and Edinburgh, and finally completed his legal education in the office of John Dickinson, of Delaware, who was ten years his senior. He was a clear, sagacious, forcible political writer, and a statesman of high order. The soldier, Thomas Mifflin, was one of the immortal company; also Jared Ingersoll, whose father, Jared Ingersoll, was the stamp-master of Connecticut, captured and conducted to Hartford in 1765, and forced by the indignant people to resign his office, as related in a former chapter. The son went to London and studied law five years in the Middle Temple, and then returned to reside in Philadelphia, where he became a prominent jurist, holding many offices of trust in the courts and councils of the country.

There was scarcely a man in the Convention who was not a specimen of strong individuality, of commanding will, of manly statesmanship, and of gentlemanly culture; and nearly all had acquired political wisdom and

achieved eminence in some field of public service. It was a body of earnest thinkers, to whom had been confided in a larger degree than ever to any other body of men the destinies of nations. It organized with Washington as its presiding officer, bound itself to secrecy, and proceeded to its work with closed doors; it was soon found impossible to amend the existing Articles of Confederation, and various were the resolutions submitted as the basis of a new constitution. Franklin opposed every proposition that tended towards an arbitrary government. He thought the chief magistrate should have no salary and little power, and that the government should be a simple contrivance for executing the will of the people. He said that ambition and avarice, the love of power and the love of money, were the two passions that most influenced the affairs of men, and argued that the struggle for posts of honor which were at the same time places of profit would perpetually divide the nation and distract its councils; and that the men who would thrust themselves into the arena of contention for preferment would not be the wise and moderate, those fitted for high trusts, but the bold, the selfish, and the violent, and that in the bustle of cabal, and the mutual abuse of parties, the best of characters would be torn in pieces.

Hamilton went to the other extreme. He did not favor a monarchy, but he was for having a perpetual senate and a perpetual governor. His peculiarly constructive ideas were toned, however, by a chivalrous generosity, and an unerring perception of the practicable and the expedient. The work before the Convention was of a nature to develop, to the fullest extent, the most conflicting opinions and the most opposite theories. No subject in the whole range of human thought and human endeavor could be more complex. The prevailing fear of a close corporation with despotic powers, obstructed the development of the great Federal principle which Hamilton had long cherished, and first defined in the midst of the gloom and uncertainty of the civil contest — a principle which acknowledged the inalienable right of the individual state to control absolutely its own domestic and internal affairs, because better able to do it intelligently than any outside power, but which also recognized the desirability and necessity of a central government, that should settle and determine national questions. To embody such a scheme, with all its delicate details, in a written document, required serious, searching, conscientious, and discriminating examination and deliberation. No aid of special significance could be gleaned from history, as the world had then seen little of real liberty united with personal safety and public security.

And this novel undertaking, unknown to the science of politics, was to be tried in a new land, under new social conditions, and it is no matter of wonder that it should have been regarded as a prodigious experiment.

All summer the toil went on. In the early part of July Hamilton's associate New York delegates, Yates and Lansing, returned home, because they thought the Convention was transcending its powers. Hamilton, left alone to represent the great Empire State, brought his marvelous gifts and best energies to the task. He had less direct agency than some others in framing the chief provisions of the Constitution, but he was the main engineer of the structure. Never untimely obtrusive with his clear-cut opinions, or hesitant when discussion was appropriate, he brought his profound knowledge of the practical workings of all the political systems of the world into grand review, and with deferential, courteous, and yet authoritative air, and singularly fascinating manners, commanded the ear of the Convention whenever he lifted his voice.

The facts and philosophy of the situation invest the slight figure which towered so high in the midst of the assembled greatness with new light and life. Hamilton's bright, vivacious countenance illumined every dark point of the troublesome and often misfitting framework. He was essentially the guide of the builders. Curtis says he evinced "a more remarkable maturity than has ever been exhibited by any other person, at so early an age, in the same department of thought"; and, furthermore, that Hamilton "proved himself to be a statesman of greater talent and power than the celebrated Pitt, two years his junior, who became Prime Minister of England at the age of twenty-four; for none can doubt, that to build up a free and firm State out of a condition of political chaos, and to give it a government capable of developing the resources of its soil and people, and of insuring to it prosperity, power, and permanence, is a greater work than to administer with energy and success—even in periods of severe trial—the constitution of an empire whose principles and modes of action have been settled for centuries." Hamilton was the youngest man in this remarkable body, which for moral completeness of character and breadth of intellectual vision never has been excelled in this or any other country; and he stood opposed to Franklin, the oldest man present—upwards of fifty years his senior—whose fame filled the eastern as well as the western hemisphere.

But although Franklin occasionally pushed his peculiar fancies to the utmost verge of truth through excess of worldly wisdom, he rose grandly above all fanaticism or intolerance, and his prudent influence was one of the great elements that ruled the hour. The next day after Hamilton was deserted by his New York colleagues, Franklin delivered a speech in which he attributed the "small progress made in four or five weeks' continual reasoning with each other without results, to the melancholy imperfection of the human understanding," and urgently recommended that the sessions be opened every morning with prayer.

Washington's serene and commanding presence was of vital consequence at this important crisis of human affairs — without which Hamilton's extraordinary forecast and luminous discussions would have availed little. Madison's accurate and clear logic and Rufus King's brilliant efforts were also of the first importance. Madison, in addition to his manifold duties during the session, preserved a full and careful record of the discussions with his own hand; King was the author of a prohibition of the States to pass laws affecting the obligations of contracts, which was incorporated in the phraseology of the instrument on the 14th of September. The ardent and impulsive Gouverneur Morris, with flashing eloquence, discarded all narrow notions for the welfare of the whole continent, and contributed largely towards attaining the objects of the Convention. Several of the statesmen, in a spirit of comprehensive magnanimity, yielded points, for the general good, which they had held with great tenacity. Hamilton himself, with rare felicity of temperament, accepted in the end certain features which he thought defective, believing it to be the best government that the wisdom of the Convention could frame, and the best that the nation would adopt.



Gouverneur Morris.

[From a painting by Ames, in possession of the New York Historical Society.]
 [Presented by Stephen van Rensselaer, in 1817.]

A committee was appointed on the 8th of September, consisting of Hamilton, Madison, William Samuel Johnson, Rufus King, and Gouverneur Morris, to revise the style and arrange the articles of the draft of a constitution, which had been under debate since the early part of August, and at last substantially agreed upon by its framers. This finishing work was delegated to Gouverneur Morris, whose facile pen and fine literary taste clothed the instrument in clear, simple, and expressive

Sept. 8.

language, giving to the substance its admirable order and symmetry, and to the text its distinguishing elegance.

The revised draft having been reported and engrossed, it was duly signed by a majority of the members, and submitted to the States
 Sept. 17. for ratification; after which the Convention adjourned.

When Hamilton returned home, he found that the anti-Federalists as a whole, and a large proportion of his own constituents, accredited him with having perpetrated the worst of mischiefs in signing the Constitution in behalf of New York. "You were not authorized by the State," said Governor Clinton. "You will find yourself, I fear, in a hornet's nest," said Chief Justice Richard Morris. Washington's official letter
 Sept. 28. reached Congress on the 28th, containing a draft of the Constitution, which, in accordance with a unanimous resolution of that body, was transmitted to the several State legislatures, in order to be submitted for approval to a Convention to be called in each State for the purpose — the assent of nine of the thirteen States being required for its ratification. The publication of the instrument in New York opened a spirited and violent contest. Not only the city but the whole State was in a ferment. It was not possible for the same principle of concession and mutual forbearance, and the same breadth of understanding, to prevail among the masses as among their enlightened representatives in the Convention. All manner of prejudices were awakened, State pride, State interests, and State jealousies were aroused, suspicions and terrors were created, and hostile legions sincerely believed that the terrible Constitution would be the grave of American liberty.

From Georgia to New Hampshire a formidable proportion of the people rallied with great enthusiasm and vigor for the defense of State rights. The new Constitution proposed a voluntary surrender of political power from one class of men to another. It had been constructed by a Convention authorized solely to amend the old system. Brilliant orators in every State along the whole Atlantic seaboard predicted arbitrary despotism, and called attention to the fact that the Convention had exceeded its powers. As a natural consequence, inflammatory resentment spread with fearful rapidity. The eloquent Patrick Henry lent all his persuasive gifts to the great work of preventing the adoption of the Constitution. He said: "When I come to examine its features, they appear to me horribly frightful. Among other deformities, it has an awful squinting; it squints towards monarchy; and does not this raise indignation in the breast of every true American? Your president may easily become king. Your senate is so imperfectly constructed, that your dearest rights may be sacrificed. Where are your checks in this government?"

In New York the anti-Federalists, calling themselves Federal Republicans, organized for determined opposition. A society, formed in the city, of which General John Lamb was chairman, and his son-in-law, Charles Tillinghast, secretary, opened a correspondence with the chief men holding similar views in other States, to concert measures to prevent the adoption of the Constitution. On the other hand, Hamilton commenced writing a series of essays, which, published in the New York newspapers, were copied far and wide into nearly all the journals of America. He addressed himself to the reason and good sense of the people at large, explaining his position and clearly elucidating his principles of public policy. Associated with him in this educating process were Secretary Jay and James Madison. In simple, forcible diction they pointed out the advantages of an energetic government, and gradually overcame the ill-grounded apprehensions of the multitude. They had faith in the intelligence and honesty of the community whenever it should attain to a better knowledge of the ample provisions for the maintenance of the rights and interests of all classes of citizens and State organizations, made by the instrument under consideration. These papers commanded careful attention, and carried conviction to the great body of thinking men in all parts of the country; they were published in two small volumes during the year 1788, entitled *The Federalist*, the first volume being issued before the final essays were written, the second following as soon as the series was completed. This work is preserved, and justly prized as an exhaustive reply to the many objections raised against the Constitution, and as the most important source of contemporaneous interpretation which the annals of America afford.

In the conventions called by the States the best talent was engaged, and opposing views were advocated with a fullness, force, and earnestness never surpassed on any occasion in American history. The parties were so evenly balanced, in some instances, that it was impossible to conjecture what would be the fate of the Constitution; and the small majorities show how reluctantly the new government was accepted. Debts and outside dangers moved several of the States to prompt action. An exciting month was spent in debate by the Convention of Massachusetts. "The State government," said Fisher Ames, "is a beautiful structure, but it is situated on the naked beach. What security has it against foreign enemies? Can we protect our fisheries or secure by treaties a sale for the produce of our lands in foreign markets?" The eminent men of Virginia were not assembled in convention until June. Patrick Henry wrote on the 9th to General Lamb, "I am satisfied four fifths of our inhabitants are opposed to the new scheme of government,

and yet, strange as it may seem, the numbers in convention appear equal on both sides; the friends and seekers of power have, with their usual subtilty, wriggled themselves into the choice of the people by assuming shapes as various as the faces of the men they address on such occasions." The brilliant Virginian resisted the Constitution to the last. When likely to be overpowered he expressed his sentiments in manly terms: "I will be a peaceable citizen! My head, my hand, my heart, shall be at liberty to retrieve the loss of liberty and remove the defects of the system in a constitutional way."

Meanwhile New York was agitated from centre to circumference with acrimonious disputation. The two parties vilified each other in pamphlets, in the newspapers, in conversation on the streets, and in social and business circles. Hamilton, meeting General Lamb one morning, expostulated with him upon the folly of his fears respecting "the abuse of power," saying, "It is a matter of certainty that Washington will be the first President." Admitting that unlimited power might safely be trusted to that great man, Lamb added that he knew of no other mortal to whom he would be willing to confide the enormous authority granted by the Constitution, and that not even the influence of a name so illustrious could shake his opposition to the dangerous instrument. But when nine States had signified their approval and the government was sure to go into operation, it was plain that New York must do one of two things—unite with the others or secede. A resolution for the call of a State Convention, offered by Egbert Benson in January, passed both branches of the legislature after some delay, and the delegates were accordingly elected. The capital was represented by Hamilton, Secretary Jay, Chancellor Livingston, Chief Justice Richard Morris, and Mayor Duane. The delegation from Albany were anti-Federalists. The members altogether numbered sixty-seven, embracing a very large proportion of the men of talent and prominence then on the political stage, of whom a decided majority were opposed to the Constitution. This New York Convention assembled

June 17. at Poughkeepsie on the 17th of June, and organized with Governor George Clinton President.

Chancellor Livingston opened the discussion on the 19th, pointing out the absolute necessity of the Union to New York, especially on account of her peculiar local situation and the consequent confusion of her commercial relations, and in the most eloquent terms urged the magnitude and importance of the question at issue, and the duty of the gentlemen to divest themselves of every preconceived prejudice in order to deliberate with coolness, moderation, and candor. The anti-Federalists argued that New York would, in accepting the Constitution, sacrifice too much polit-

ical consequence and too great a proportion of the natural advantages accruing from her commanding geographical position.

July came, and still the various clauses of the Constitution were hotly discussed. News from Virginia on the 3d saddened the opposition. In Albany the Federalists were jubilant, and celebrated the ^{July 3} event by a procession conducted with much pomp and ceremony. The anti-Federalists, angered by the display, gathered themselves together, and after listening to inflammatory speeches burned the Constitution in the faces of their foes. Both parties then attempted to march through the same street, and a serious scrimmage ensued in which several persons were wounded. The news of the accession of New Hampshire followed swiftly that of Virginia. The Convention was in the very depths of troubled waters. Jay's continuity of mental effort and aptitude for harmonizing differences and smoothing down rough places were of the utmost use in the emergency. But the most remarkable speech of the session was that of Hamilton, when the delegates assembled for the final vote. He addressed them for three hours, bringing forward every argument, and dwelling with matchless skill upon the miseries that must ensue if the Constitution was rejected. Some of his audience were melted into tears; Kent, who was present, said "he never could have believed the power of man equal to so much eloquence." Gilbert Livingston, one of the opposition, rose, and solemnly remarked "that there was much truth in Mr. Hamilton's words." The sagacious Clinton at the last was believed to have privately advised Melancthon Smith to vote with the Federalists. The momentous decision took place on Thursday, the 26th of July, New York adopting the Constitution by a majority ^{July 26} of three — with the recommendation of several proposed amendments. Thus turned the pivot in the history of the English-speaking race.

The metropolis had grown restless while waiting for the action of the Convention, and on Monday, three days before the great event just recorded, proceeded to carry out the plan of an imposing celebra- ^{July 23.} tion, matured by a committee, and arranged under the special supervision of Major L'Enfant. It was thought that an exhibition of the popular feeling would materially influence the obstinate body at Poughkeepsie, and bring matters to a crisis. The morning was ushered in by a salute of thirteen guns from the Federal ship *Hamilton*, moored off the Bowling Green. This vessel had been built for the occasion and presented by the ship-carpenters. It was equipped as a frigate of thirty-two guns, twenty-seven feet keel and ten beam, with everything complete in proportion, both in hull and rigging, and was manned with upwards of thirty sailors, and a full complement of officers, under command of the veteran Commo-

dore James Nicholson. It was drawn through the streets by ten beautiful horses.

The procession was formed upon a scale of vast magnitude, and it being the first of the kind in New York — or in America — which nothing since has excelled in magnificence of design or splendor of effect, a brief outline of its principal features will vividly illustrate the spirit of the age. It was marshaled in ten divisions, in honor of the ten States that had already acceded to the Constitution. The Grand Marshal was Colonel Richard Platt. His associate officers were Morgan Lewis, Nicholas Fish, Aquila Giles, James Fairlie, William Popham, and Abijah Hammond.

First came an escort of light-horse preceded by trumpeters and a body of artillery with a field-piece. Then foresters with axes, preceding and following Christopher Columbus, on horseback. Farmers came next, Nicholas Cruger, in farmer's costume, conducting a plow drawn by three yoke of oxen. John Watts, also in farmer's dress, guided a harrow drawn by oxen and horses, followed by a number of gentlemen farmers carrying implements of husbandry. A newly invented threshing-machine was manipulated by Baron Pollnitz and other gentleman farmers in farmers' garb, grinding and threshing grain as they passed along. Mounted upon a fine gray horse, elegantly caparisoned, and led by two colored men in white Oriental dresses and turbans, Anthony Walton White bore the arms of the United States in sculpture, preceding the Society of the Cincinnati in full military uniform. Gardeners followed in green aprons, with the tools of their trade; and then the tailors, attended by a band of music, making a brilliant display. The measurers of grain were headed by James Van Dyke, their banner representing the measures used in their business, with the lines:—

“Federal measures, and measures true,
Shall measure out justice to us and to you.”

The bakers were headed by John Quackenboss and Frederick Stymetz. Ten apprentices, dressed in white with blue sashes, each carrying a large rose, decorated with ribbons, and ten journeymen in like costume, carrying implements of the craft, were followed by a large square platform mounted on wheels, drawn by ten bay horses, bearing the “Federal Loaf,” into which was baked a whole barrel of flour, and labeled with the names in full length of the ten States that had ratified the Constitution. Their banner represented the decline of trade under the old confederation. The brewers paraded horses and drays with hogsheads ornamented with hop-vines and barley. Upon the first, mounted on a tun of ale, was a beautiful boy of eight years, in close-fitting flesh-colored silk, representing Bacchus, with a silver goblet in his hand.

The second division was headed by the coopers, led by Peter Stoutenburgh. Thirteen apprentices, each thirteen years of age, dressed in white shirts and trousers, with green ribbons, on their ankles, carried kegs under their left arms. They were followed by forty-two more in white leathern aprons, with green oak branches in their hats, and white oak branches in their right hands; upon a car drawn by four bay horses decorated with green ribbons and oak branches were coopers at work under John Post, as boss, upon an old cask, the staves of which all their skill could not keep together; and, in apparent despair at their repeated failures, they suddenly betook themselves to the construction of a new, fine, tight, iron-bound keg, which bore the name of the "New Constitution." Butchers followed with a car drawn by four horses, each mounted by a boy dressed in white, upon which was a stall neatly furnished, and butchers and boys busily at work; it also bore a fine bullock of a thousand pounds' weight, which was presented to the committee by the butchers and roasted on the ground during the afternoon. This car was followed by one hundred of the trade in clean white aprons. The banners were carried by William Wright and John Perrin. The tanners and curriers carried a picturesque emblem with the motto, "By union we rise to splendor." The skinners, leather-breeches makers, and glovers were dressed in buckskin waistcoats, breeches, gloves, and garters — with bucks' tails in their hats. James Mott was the standard-bearer, their motto being, "Americans, encourage your own manufactures." To these William C. Thompson, the parchment manufacturer, attached himself, with a standard of parchment, inscribed, "American manufactured." The third division was happily and ingeniously conceived, and most effective in the novelty of its display; the cordwainers led, headed by James McCready, bearing a flag with the arms of the craft, inscribed, "Federal Cordwainers," followed by twelve masters; then came the car of the Sons of St. Crispin, drawn by four milk-white horses with postilions in livery, upon which was a shop with ten men diligently at work; in the rear of the main body of three hundred and forty workmen Anthony Bolton bore a similar flag to the one in front. The fourth division commenced with the carpenters, who numbered, altogether, upwards of two hundred; each carried a rule in his hand, and a scale and dividers hung from his neck with a blue ribbon. The furriers attracted great attention, their leader bearing a white bear-skin; he was followed by an Indian in native costume loaded with furs, notwithstanding it was one of the hottest days in July; a procession of workmen, clad in fur-trimmed garments, and a horse led by an Indian in a beaver blanket with two bears sitting upon packs of furs upon his back, terminated the show, together with the unique figure of one of the prin-

cial men dressed in a superb scarlet blanket, wearing an elegant cap and plumes, and smoking a tomahawk pipe.

The hatters wore blue cockades and blue sashes ; they numbered about seventy. The peruke-makers and hair-dressers, forty-five in all, displayed the arms of the trade — a wig in quarters, with three razors for a crest. The artificial florists carried a white flag ornamented with flowers ; the whitesmiths, an elegant pedestal of open scroll-work supporting the arms of the trade — Vulcan's arm and hand with hammer ; the cutlers wore steel breastplates and green silk aprons ; the confectioners bore Bacchus's cup in sugar, four and one half feet in circumference, and an enormous "Federal Cake." The stone-masons displayed the Temple of Fame supported by thirteen pillars, ten finished and three unfinished, with the inscription : —

"The foundation is firm, the materials are good,
Each pillar's cemented with patriots' blood."

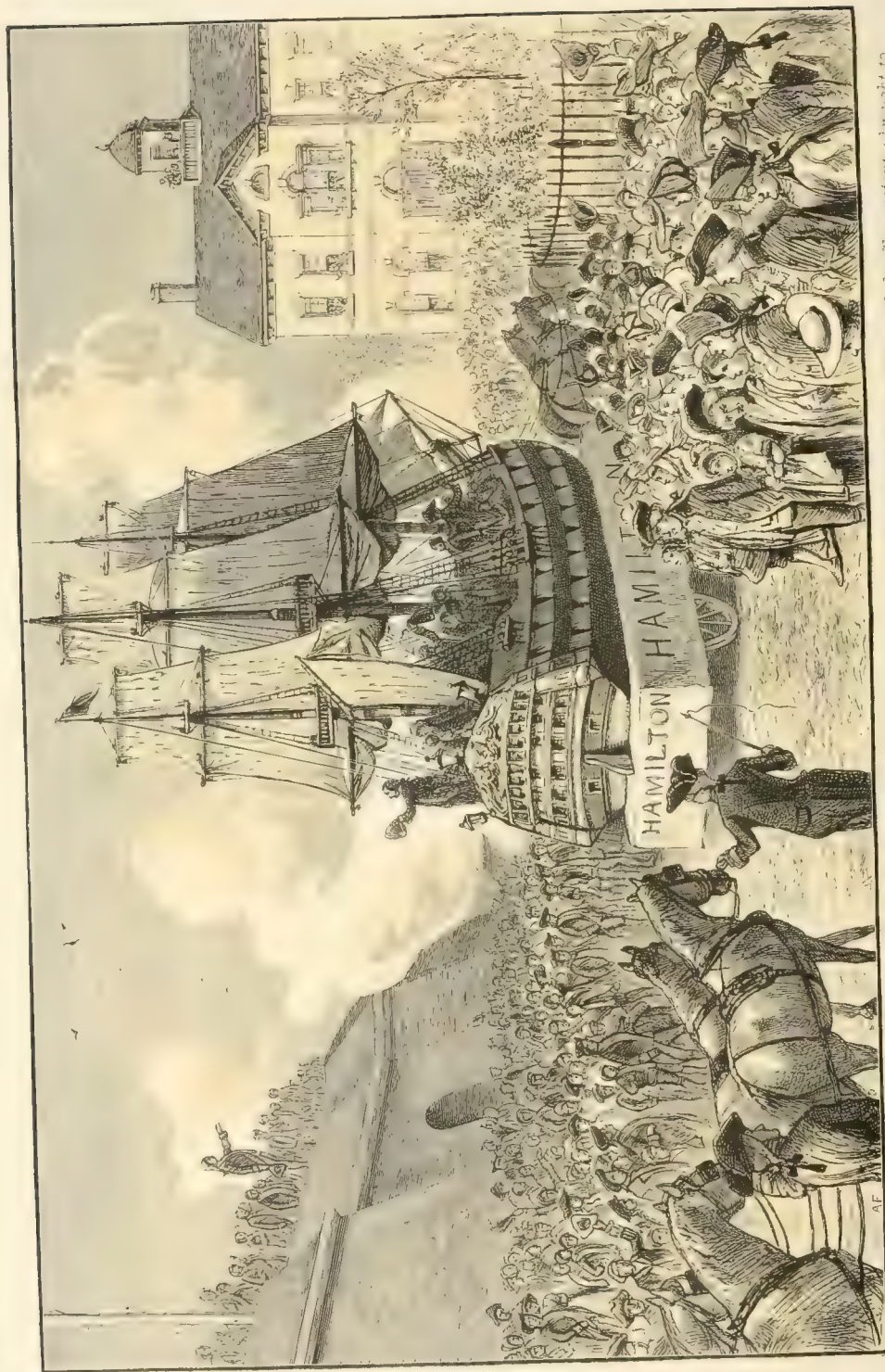
The decorations of the societies were of the greatest variety and significance, and the image of Hamilton was carried aloft on banners in every part of the procession, the Constitution in his right hand and the Confederation in his left. He had to all appearances turned the scale for the Union, and fame was indeed crowning him with well-earned and enduring laurels.

The upholsterers displayed upon a superbly carpeted car, drawn by six horses, the Federal chair of State, prepared by William Mooney, afterwards Grand Sachem of the Tammany Society, above which was a rich canopy nineteen feet high, overlaid with deep-blue satin, hung with festoons and fringes, gold and glitter ; on the right of the chair stood John De Grushe, representing the Goddess of Liberty, with a scroll, inscribed "Federal Constitution, 1788," and on the left was a figure in the character of Justice, blindfolded and bearing the sword and balance.

The picture of the scene will not be perfect without the bricklayers, with their motto, "In God is our trust ;" the painters and glaziers, with various specimens of their handicraft ; the cabinet-makers, with a car drawn by four beautiful horses, upon which a table and a cradle were completed during the march ; the chair-makers, sixty or more, with the motto upon their standard, —

"The Federal States in union bound,
O'er all the world our chairs are found" ;

the ivory-turners and musical-instrument makers, their standard representing Apollo playing on a lyre, with a border of musical instruments festooned in the manner of trophies ; the lace and fringe weavers, bearing orange colors elevated on a gilt standard, with the device of an angel



The steamship "Hamilton" in the harbor of New York, and the large crowd of people gathered on the river bank to see her depart. The ship is a large steamship, and the crowd is very large. The building in the background is the New York City Hall.

bearing a scroll, inscribed, "Federal Constitution," and underneath, "O, never let it perish in your hands, but piously transmit it to your children"; the paper-stainers, with standard borne by John Colles; the civil engineers, carrying a design of a dock for building and repairing men-of-war; the shipwrights, with Noah's ark upon their banner; the blacksmiths and nailers, numbering one hundred and twenty, who began and completed an anchor upon their stage during the march, while their motto floated in the breeze, —

" Forge me strong, finish me neat,
I soon shall moor a Federal fleet " ;

the ship-joiners; the boat-builders; the block and pump makers, with a stage upon which they made a complete pump on the route; the sail-makers, who, in picturesque attire, with pine branches in their hats, constructed a ship's foretopsail upon a car drawn by four horses, and sewed about fifty-six yards on a steering sail; and the riggers, to the number of forty-one, headed by Richard Clark, bearing a standard representing a ship in process of being rigged, with the motto, —

" Fit me well, and rig me neat,
And join me to the Federal fleet."

But by far the most imposing part of the gorgeous pageant was the Federal ship with Hamilton's name emblazoned upon each side of it, heading the seventh division, its crew going through every nautical preparation and movement for storms, calms, and squalls, as it moved slowly through the streets; when abreast Beaver Street the proper signal for a pilot brought a pilot-boat, eighteen feet long, upon a wagon drawn by a pair of horses, from its harbor to the ship's weather-quarter, and a pilot was received on board; when opposite Bowling Green the president and members of Congress were discovered standing upon the fort, and the ship instantly brought to and fired a salute of thirteen guns, followed by three cheers, which were returned by the Congressional dignitaries; when in front of the house of William Constable, in Pearl Street, Mrs. Edgar came to the window and presented the ship with a suit of colors; while abreast of Old Slip, the Spanish Government vessel saluted the *Hamilton* with thirteen guns, which was returned with as much promptness as though actually a ship of war upon the high seas. The Marine Society followed in the wake of the pilot-boat, the president wearing a gold anchor at his left breast. The printers, book-binders, and stationers came next, preceded by Hugh Gaîne and Samuel Loudon on horseback. Upon a stage drawn by four horses was a printing-press, with compositors and pressmen at work, several hundred copies of a song written by Duer being struck off and distributed among the crowd during the march.

The eighth division consisted of three hundred cartmen in gay equipments; a horse-doctor bearing a standard with a curious device; a band of mathematical instrument makers, with banner encircled by ten stars, exhibiting a Hadley's quadrant telescope, compass, and hour-glass, with the motto, "Trade and Navigation"; a few carvers and engravers; coach and harness makers, preceded by a stage drawn by ten black horses, with men at work; coppersmiths, with a significant standard; tin-plate workers, exhibiting "The Federal Tin Warehouse," raised on ten pillars, with the motto, —

"When three more pillars rise,
Our union will the world surprise";

pewterers; gold and silver smiths; potters; chocolate-makers, with the device upon one side of their banner of a man with thirteen heads looking different ways, and upon the other ten men supporting "one presidential head"; tobaccoists, numbering forty-five, with their arms encompassed by thirteen tobacco-plants, and each carrying a hand of tobacco with ten leaves bound closely together; dyers dressed in various colors, their motto being, "Give glory to God"; brush-makers with a beautiful banner, and carrying a large brush called a Turk's head, upon staves twelve feet long; tallow-chandlers, bearing a flag with thirteen stripes, beneath which was a picture of Washington on one side, and of Hamilton on the other — anticipating the administration of the first President of the new nation — and over the arms of the trade were thirteen candles, ten burning and three not lighted; and the saddlers, harness, and whip makers, followed by a richly caparisoned horse led by a groom with an elegant whip in his hand, and ten stable-boys dressed in character.

Every class of the population participated in this remarkable procession. In the ninth division marched the judges and lawyers in their robes, preceded by the sheriff and coroner; John Lawrence, John Cozine, and Robert Troup bore the new Constitution elegantly engrossed on vellum, and ten students of law followed, bearing in order the ratifications of the ten States. The Philological Society, headed by its president, Josiah Ogden Hoffman, came next, the standard, with its arms, borne by William Dunlap; Noah Webster, the great American lexicographer, was in the procession. The Regents of the University, and the president, professors, and students of Columbia College, all in their academic dresses, next appeared, their banner emblematical of science. Then the Chamber of Commerce, merchants and traders, John Broome, president of the Chamber, and William Maxwell, vice-president of the Bank of New York, in a chariot, and William Laight on horseback, bearing a standard with thirteen stars about an oval field, and Mercury surrounded by em-

blems of commerce supporting the arms of the city. The tenth division embraced clergymen, physicians, scholars, gentlemen, and strangers, preceded by a blue flag with the motto, "United we stand, divided we fall." In the rear of the whole was a detachment of artillery.

The spectacle furnishes a broader view of the various elements and industries, and teaches us more of the real character of the inhabitants of the city at that time than any chapter of description extant. No occasion better deserves a place in history. It was not the triumphal entry of a conqueror, with trophies of war, and captives in chains, as in the days of antiquity, but an exhibition of all the implements of the useful arts, in which the trades vied with the merchants and scholars in celebrating the victory of Hamilton for the Constitution, and in manifesting the rapturous attachment of an intelligent people to a powerful yet free government, which should preserve peace and concord among the States, and promote individual happiness and national glory—a government that has had vitality enough within itself to quell one of the greatest rebellions in the civilized world; a government which, in its moment of direst peril, when its chief head had been struck down by an assassin's hand, was so perfect in its machinery that not a wheel was clogged, and which, proving itself sufficient for its continually extending territory, justly commands the respect of every nation on the globe. Well might New York do honor to Hamilton by these peculiar festivities.

The city was pervaded by a singular stillness as the novel procession moved along its chief streets—watched by multitudes even to the house-tops—no sounds being heard save that of horses' hoofs, carriage-wheels, and the necessary salutes and signals. It disappeared beyond the trees and over the hills towards Canal Street and Broadway, the point where the Lutheran Church had been offered a plot of six acres, which the trustees decided "inexpedient to accept as a gift, since the land was not worth fencing in." The line was over a mile and a half long, and contained more than five thousand persons. A great banquet had been prepared at the Bayard country-seat near Grand Street, beneath a rustic pavilion temple; and the ship *Hamilton* clewed her topsails, and came to anchor in fine style. Tables were spread for six thousand persons, the president and members of Congress, and other distinguished personages, occupying one in the centre elevated a little above the others. Above their heads the pavilion terminated in a dome surmounted by a figure of Fame, with her trumpet proclaiming a new era, and holding a scroll, emblematic of the three great epochs of the War, "Independence, Alliance with France, and Peace." The colors of the

different nations who had formed treaties with the United States, and escutcheons inscribed with the names of the ten States which had ratified the Constitution, added greatly to the brilliancy of the scene. At four o'clock a salute of thirteen guns gave the signal for return to the city. The march occupied somewhat over an hour. At half past five the ship *Hamilton* anchored once more at the Bowling Green, amidst the acclamations of thousands. In the evening there was a display of fireworks under the direction of Colonel Bauman, city postmaster and commander of artillery, "whose constitutional irascibility," writes President Duer, "was exceedingly provoked by the moon, which shone with pertinacious brilliancy, as if in mockery of his feebler lights."

On the following Saturday, about nine o'clock in the evening, news reached the city of the adoption of the Constitution by the Convention at Poughkeepsie on Thursday. The bells pealed one long, loud cry of joy, and from the fort and the Federal ship *Hamilton* the discharge of artillery was deafening. Merchants and citizens, headed by some of the first characters, went to the houses of Hamilton, Jay, Livingston, Duane, and other members of the Convention, and testified their approval by giving three cheers before each. The general excitement was so great that many of the anti-Federalists also drank and shouted for the Constitution.

The immediate result was a cessation of rancorous party strife. The doctrine of State rights fell into disrepute. All eyes were turned towards the consummation of union, since it was no longer to be defeated. The public mind wondered at its own obstinacy as the prospect brightened; and the general satisfaction was increased by speculations upon what might have been the condition of the country as thirteen independent sovereignties eternally counteracting each other. Congress publicly announced the adoption of the Constitution on the 13th of September, and appointed the first Wednesday of the coming January for the people of the United States to choose electors for a chief magistrate under its provisions; the first Wednesday of February following was the day fixed for the electors to meet and make choice of a President. Wednesday, the fourth day of March, was designated for the meeting of a new Congress under the Constitution, and the general organization of the new government.

New York City was hilarious with anticipation, and began to extend her borders. The autumn of 1788 was emphatically one of sunshine. The elements favored every enterprise. The air was mild and balmy until December, the breezes blew softly, and the skies seemed to have adopted a new order of blue. In short, the city breathed a fresh atmos-

phere of promise, and every project prospered. The utmost activity prevailed. Houses sprung into sudden notice along the country roads above Chambers Street, more particularly in the vicinity of the rivers, and numerous costly warehouses arose in the lower part of the town. Industrious mechanics and tradesmen were finding means to procure modest homes of their own, and places of business multiplied in rapid ratio. All the trades bristled with new life. An electrical current seemed to have passed through every department of business.

Prominent citizens hastened to contribute thirty-two thousand dollars for the enlargement and adornment of the old City Hall, preparatory to the novel event which was about to thrill the whole civilized world. The most intense anxiety was manifested by all classes concerning the settlement of the question as to the future seat of the national government. But it was hoped that liberality on the part of New York would determine the issue in her favor. The Federal Hall, when completed, presented quite a stately appearance. The first or basement story was in the Tuscan style, with seven openings; four massive pillars in the centre supported heavy arches, above which rose four Doric columns; the cornice was ingeniously divided to admit thirteen stars in the metopes, which, with the eagle and other insignia in the pediment, and the sculptures of thirteen arrows surrounded by olive branches over each window, marked it as a building set apart for national purposes. The entrance fronting on Broad Street was through a lofty vestibule paved with marble and elegantly finished. The Hall of Representatives was of slightly octangular shape, sixty-one by fifty-eight feet in dimension, with an arched ceiling forty-six feet high in the centre. It had two galleries, a speaker's platform admirably arranged, and a separate chair and desk for each member. Its windows were large, and some sixteen feet above the floor, under which were the quaintest of fireplaces.

The Senate Chamber was a smaller apartment, forty by thirty feet in extent and twenty feet high, with an arched ceiling of light blue—a sun and thirteen stars in the centre. It was finished and decorated most artistically, and its numerous fireplaces were of highly polished variegated American marble. The President's chair, under a rich canopy of crimson damask, was elevated three feet above the floor. The chairs of the senators were arranged in semicircles, and covered with the same bright material as the canopy and curtains. It had three windows opening upon Wall Street, and a balcony twelve feet deep, guarded by an iron railing, where the President was to take the oath of office.

One of the finest mansions in the city stood on the corner of Cherry Street and Franklin Square. It was built by Walter Franklin, who had

in his lifetime been esteemed one of the richest merchants in New York, with, it is said, as much money in Russia as in America. In 1783 his widow, a lady of great beauty, was married to the distinguished Samuel Osgood, of the Treasury Board, who became the owner of the edifice, as



Washington's Residence.
[The Walter Franklin House.]

also of the property in its vicinity where the Harper Brothers subsequently erected their world-renowned publishing establishment. This dwelling was selected as the official residence of the President, Osgood removing elsewhere that it might be furnished anew for its distinguished occupancy.¹

While these and other preparations were being pushed with vigor, Gouverneur Morris

sailed for France, arriving in Paris early in February. His first dinner

was with Jefferson, and the second with Lafayette. He was received with charming cordiality by Lafayette's family, and one of his little daughters sang a song after they left the table which happened to be one of Morris's own composition. But the republicanism of Lafayette and the revolutionary projects and principles which were lighting up the whole French horizon were, in the view of Morris, greatly to be deplored. A sense of equality was maddening the French mind, and it struck Morris as irrational. Every man was giving advice to every other man; and each one in the high-colored pride of freedom thought it a great pity that

Samuel Osgood (born at Andover, Massachusetts, February 14, 1748, died in New York, August 12, 1813) was graduated from Cambridge with the highest honors in 1766; he studied theology, but, losing his health, became an importing merchant. In 1774, in view of the disturbed relations with Great Britain, he abandoned business, and was immediately sent to the Essex County Convention, and thence a delegate to the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts. He took part in the battle of Lexington, but was shortly elected to the State Legislature, and left the army, thinking he could serve the country best in a civil capacity. From 1780 to 1784 he was a member of the Continental Congress, and from 1785 to 1789, first commissioner of the United States Treasury; the bonds required for this last office were so heavy that he was about to decline the appointment rather than ask his friends to become security, but the Legislature of Massachusetts came forward in a body and became his bondsman, an honor never accorded to any other private individual. With the organization of the new government, he was made the first Postmaster-General of the United States. He subsequently held several positions of great trust in New York, where he resided until his death. He was distinguished for integrity, piety, and public spirit, and for scientific and literary attain-

he was not the king. He was at least equal to a king in his own estimation. And the more ignorant the man the greater his assumption of equality. "The literary people here, observing the abuses of their monarchical form," writes Morris, "imagine that everything must go better in proportion as it recedes from the present establishment, and in their closets they make men exactly suited to their systems; but unluckily they are such men as exist nowhere else, and least of all in France."

Notwithstanding the contrariety of opinion concerning the new Constitution, there was but one mind in the choice of a President. The American heart turned as naturally to Washington as the morning-glory of the garden to the rising sun. It is an isolated instance in the history of nations for one man to so possess the confidence and affection of a great people as to command every voice and vote in his favor, without the aid of a nominating convention, or any electioneering process whatever. But it was thus with the first President of the United States of America.

1789.

The election of the first Federal Congress under the Constitution was one of the most orderly elections the country had ever witnessed. The presidential electors met upon the day appointed and gave in their ballots. The results were immediately known, and preparations made accordingly, although no action could be given the new political machinery until Congress should assemble. The 4th of March was the time appointed. The City of New York was awakened at early dawn of that particular morning by the roar of cannon and the ringing of bells. But eight senators and thirteen representatives appeared — not enough for a quorum in either house — which was owing partly to the severity of the weather and muddy roads. Stages were as yet few, and in out-of-the-way districts they had no fixed days for leaving specific points; and

March 4.

ments, wrote several volumes on religious subjects, and was the author of a work on chronology. He was the son of Peter Osgood, descended from John Osgood of Wherwell, England, who sailed for Boston in 1638. He married Martha Brandon, in 1775, who died childless in 1778. Eight years afterward he married Maria Bowne, the widow of Walter Franklin, whose father was Daniel Bowne, and whose mother was the sister of Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts. She had three daughters at the time of her marriage to Mr. Osgood, Maria Franklin, first wife of De Witt Clinton; Sarah Franklin, who became Mrs. John Lake Norton; and Hannah Franklin, who married George, the brother of De Witt Clinton. The children of Samuel and Maria Bowne Osgood were: Martha Brandon Osgood, second wife of the French Minister, Citizen Edmond Charles Genet, and mother of Mr. George C. Genet, of New York (the first wife of Genet was Cornelia Tappan Clinton, the second daughter of Governor George Clinton); Julia, who married her cousin, Samuel Osgood; and Susan Maria, who married Moses Field of New York — great-grandson of Benjamin Field and Hannah Bowne, daughter of John Bowne, the first of the Bownes in this country — and was the mother of Judge Maunsell B. Field, assistant secretary of the Treasury under Chase.

they not infrequently tarried on the route for storms to pass, or to repair breakages. March was the worst month of the year for traveling, all comfortable facilities were wanting, and the roads in many places, as well as the fords of the rivers, were rendered impassable by floods.

"We crossed the Raritan, at New Brunswick, in a scow, open at both ends to receive and discharge the carriage, without unharnessing or dismounting," wrote a traveler of the time, "and the scow was pulled across the river by a rope. We passed the Delaware in another scow, which was navigated only by setting poles." De Warville described a journey from Philadelphia to New York, made in "a kind of open wagon, hung with double curtains of leather and woolen cloth — carriages," said he, "which keep up the idea of equality, the member of Congress riding beside the shoemaker who elected him, in fraternity." Between New York and Boston stages were constructed usually without springs. "By the time we had run thirty miles among the rocks," wrote De Warville, "we were convinced that a carriage with springs would very soon have been upset and broken." The mails were conveyed to and from New York, Boston, Albany, and Philadelphia three times a week in summer and twice a week in winter. But the reader will readily perceive that communication between distant portions of the country was liable to serious delays.

The first business after the organization of Congress, on the 6th of April 6. April, was to open and count the votes for President. Washington received every one. The majority of the votes for vice-President elected John Adams, who had returned from his mission to England in 1788. The same day Secretary Thompson was appointed to convey official information to Washington, and the next morning left New York on horseback for Virginia; about the same hour a messenger started for Boston, to communicate the intelligence to John Adams.

A puzzling question immediately arose. How should the President be addressed in his official capacity? The first title suggested was "Excellency." This did not meet general approval. "Roger Sherman has set his head at work to devise some style of address more novel and dignified," wrote John Armstrong on the 7th. "His Highness the President of the United States and Protector of their Liberties" was proposed; also, "His Serene Highness," and "High Mightiness." After mature consideration it was decided to reject all titles whatever and adopt the simple name of "President of the United States."

Thompson arrived at Mount Vernon on the 14th, and on the morning of the 16th Washington started for the seat of government. April 16 He wrote to Knox that his "feelings were not unlike those of a culprit going to the place of execution"; and in his diary recorded

his "mind oppressed with more anxious and painful sensations than he had words to express." His journey, however, was like one continued triumphal procession. Cities, towns, and villages vied with each other in doing him honor. People gathered by the roadside and shouted as he rode by. Soldiers were paraded, triumphal arches were erected, and flowers were strewn along his pathway. At Gray's Ferry, over the Schuylkill, he was escorted through long avenues of laurels transplanted from the forests, bridged with arches of laurel branches, and as he passed under the last arch, a youth concealed in the foliage dropped upon his head a beautiful civic crown of laurel, at which tumultuous shouts arose from the immense multitude. At Trenton a magnificent triumphal arch, supported by thirteen pillars, had been erected by the ladies, and as the hero passed under it on his white charger, thirteen lovely maidens carrying baskets scattered flowers plentifully before him, singing at the same time an ode composed for the occasion. At Elizabethtown Point he was received by a committee from Congress, of which Elias Boudinot was chairman, and by Chancellor Livingston, Secretary Jay, Secretary Knox, the Commissioners of the Treasury, the Mayor and Recorder of New York, and other dignitaries.

An elegant barge constructed for the purpose of conveying him to the city was in waiting, manned by thirteen masters of vessels in white uniforms, commanded by Commodore Nicholson, in which he embarked, and as it moved from the shore other barges fancifully decorated fell into line. The glittering procession glided through the narrow strait between New Jersey and Staten Island, when, as if by magic, dozens of boats gay with flags and streamers dropped into its wake. All the vessels and sloops in the bay were clad in holiday attire, and each saluted Washington as he passed. The Spanish man-of-war, *Galveston*, displayed every flag and signal known among nations, as the presidential barge came abreast of her. Upon a sloop under full sail were some twenty-five gentlemen and ladies, singing an ode of welcome written for the occasion to the tune of "God save the King." Another small vessel came up, distributing sheets of a second ode, which a dozen fine voices were engaged in singing. Bands of music on boats upon all sides, perpetual huzzas, and the roar of artillery, filled the air, while over the whole exhilarating scene the sunshine fell from cloudless heavens.

The ferry stairs at Murray's Wharf were carpeted, and the rails hung with crimson. Governor Clinton received the President as he landed upon the shore which had been recovered from a powerful enemy through his own valor and good conduct, at which moment popular enthusiasm was at its climax. The streets were lined with inhabitants as thick as

they could stand, and the wildest and most prolonged cheers rent the air. Military companies were in waiting to conduct Washington to the mansion prepared for his reception, but it was with difficulty that a passage could be pressed through the joyous throng. Colonel Morgan Lewis, aided by Majors Morton and Van Horne, led the way, and the various regiments were followed by the officers of the militia, two and two, the committee of Congress, the President elect with Governor Clinton, the President's suite, the Mayor and Aldermen of the city of New York, the clergy, the foreign ministers, and an immense concourse of citizens.

Every house on the route was decorated with flags and silken banners, garlands of flowers and evergreens. Every window, to the highest story, was filled with fair women and brave men. Every inanimate object seemed alive with the waving of handkerchiefs and hats. From the skies, apparently, fell flowers like snow-flakes in a storm. And in every possible form of unique device and ingenious ornamentation the name of WASHINGTON was suspended from roof to roof, and upon fanciful arches constructed for the occasion. The multitude shouted until hoarse, and the bells and the guns caught up the echoes, and with ceaseless clamor and deafening din proclaimed the universal gladness.

Upon reaching his destination Washington was immediately waited upon and congratulated by the foreign ministers, and by political characters, military celebrities, public bodies, and private citizens of distinction. He then dined with Governor Clinton at the gubernatorial residence in Pearl Steet. In the evening the entire city was brilliantly illuminated.

John Adams had arrived in New York two days before, and taken the oath without parade and his place as president of the Senate. In his opening speech he said it would be impossible to increase the confidence of the country in Washington, or add in the smallest way to his glory; he asked: "Where, in looking over the catalogues of the first magistrates of nations, whether called presidents, consuls, kings, or princes, shall we find one whose commanding talents and virtues and overruling good-fortune have so completely united all hearts and voices in his favor—engaging the esteem and admiration of foreign nations and fellow-citizens with equal unanimity? . . . Providence has indeed marked out the head of this nation with a hand so distinctly visible as to have been seen by all men and mistaken by none."

Richmond Hill House became the residence of the Vice-President. Mrs. Adams was charmed with the loveliness of the situation, and her vivid pen-touches invest our authentic illustration of the mansion upon a former page with fresh interest. "In natural beauty," she writes, "it might vie with the most delicious spot I ever saw. It is a mile and a

half distant from the city of New York. The house stands upon an eminence; at an agreeable distance flows the noble Hudson, bearing upon its bosom innumerable small vessels laden with the fruitful productions of the adjacent country. Upon my right hand are fields beautifully variegated with grass and grain, to a great extent, like the valley of Honiton in Devonshire. Upon my left the city opens to view, intercepted here and there by a rising ground and an ancient oak. In front, beyond the Hudson, the Jersey shores present the exuberance of a rich, well-cultivated soil. In the background is a large flower-garden, enclosed with a hedge and some very handsome trees. Venerable oaks and broken ground covered with wild shrubs surround me, giving a natural beauty to the spot which is truly enchanting. A lovely variety of birds serenade me morning and evening, rejoicing in their liberty and security."

This rural picture of a point near where Charlton now crosses Varick Street naturally strikes the prosaic mind familiar with the locality at the present day as a trick of the imagination. But truth is stranger, and not infrequently more interesting, than fiction.

The six never-to-be-forgotten days between Washington's arrival and his inauguration were devoted to the perfection of preparations for the imposing ceremonial. The city opened its hospitable doors for the entertainment of guests from all parts of the Union. The crush was bewildering. Every public house was filled to its utmost capacity, and the private mansions overflowed. "We shall remain here if we have to sleep in tents, as many will have to do," wrote Miss Bertha Ingersoll. "While we are waiting at Mrs. Vandervoort's, in Maiden Lane, till after dinner, two of our beaux are running about town, determined to obtain the best places for us to stay at which can be opened for love, money, or the most persuasive speeches." New York had never before housed and sheltered a gathering of such magnitude. Everybody struggled for a glimpse of Washington. The aged declared their readiness to die if they could once behold his face. The young described him as looking more grand and noble than any human being they had ever seen.

A national salute ushered in the morning of the 30th of April. The day had arrived for the final step in the creation of a national government. All business was suspended. The streets were ^{April 30} filled with men and women in holiday attire, while constant arrivals from the adjoining country by the common roads and ferry-boats, and by packets which had been all night on the Sound or coming down the Hudson, swelled the eager throng. At nine o'clock the bells pealed merrily from every steeple in the city, then paused; and presently in slow measured tones summoned the people to the churches "to implore

the blessing of Heaven on the nation and its chosen President — so universal was a religious sense of the importance of the occasion.”¹

At the close of these solemn services the military began to march from their respective quarters with unfurled banners and inspiring music. At noon they formed under the immediate direction of Colonel Morgan Lewis, in Cherry Street, opposite the Presidential mansion. From the Senate, Ralph Izard, Tristram Dalton, and Richard Henry Lee, and from the House of Representatives, Egbert Benson, Charles Carroll, and Fisher Ames had been chosen a joint committee of arrangements. The procession moved in the following order: the various regiments, the sheriff of the city and county of New York, the committee of the Senate, the President elect, the committee of the House of Representatives, Chancellor Robert R. Livingston, Secretary John Jay, Secretary Henry Knox, the Commissioners of the Treasury, and distinguished citizens. They marched through Pearl Street and Broad to Wall Street; when in front of Federal Hall the troops formed in line upon each side of the way, through which Washington, having alighted from his chariot, walked in the midst of his illustrious attendants to the building, and ascended to the Senate Chamber, where Congress had just assembled; he was received at the door by the Vice-President, and conducted to the chair of State. After formally introducing Washington to the august body, Adams addressed him with stately ceremony:—

“Sir, the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States are ready to attend you to take the oath required by the Constitution, which will be administered by the Chancellor of the State of New York.”

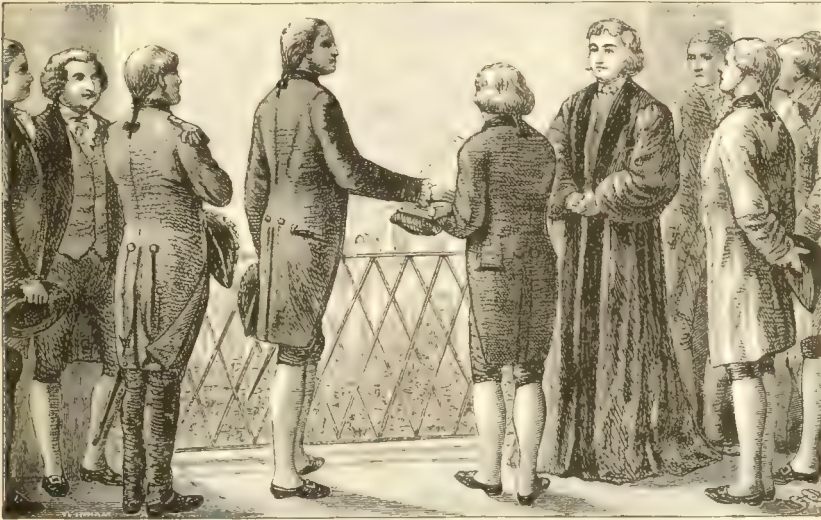
“I am ready to proceed,” was the grave reply.

The Vice-President then conducted Washington to the balcony, accompanied by the senators, and other gentlemen of distinction. Broad Street and Wall Street, each way, were filled with a sea of upturned faces — the windows and house-tops crowded with gayly dressed ladies — and a silence reigned as profound as if every living form which composed the vast assemblage was a statue carved in stone. Washington’s fine figure appeared in the centre of the group of statesmen between the two pillars,

¹ The clergymen of the city in 1789 were Rev. Dr. John Rodgers of the Presbyterian Church, Rev. Dr. John Mason of the Scotch Presbyterian, Bishop Provost, Rev. Benjamin Moore (afterwards Bishop), and Rev. Abraham Beach of the Episcopal, Rev. Dr. John Henry Livingston and Rev. Dr. William Linn of the Dutch Reformed, Rev. Dr. John Christopher Kunze (Professor of Oriental Languages in Columbia College) of the Lutheran, Rev. Dr. John Daniel Gross (Professor of the German Language and of Moral Philosophy in Columbia College) of the German, Rev. Mr. Morrill and Rev. Mr. Cloud of the Methodist, Rev. Benjamin Foster of the Baptist, and Rev. Gershom Siexas of the Jewish Synagogue.

his head uncovered, and his powdered locks gathered and tied in the prevailing fashion of that day. Opposite Washington stood the Chancellor in his robes, ready to administer the oath of office, and between them the Secretary of the Senate held an open Bible upon a rich crimson cushion, upon which Washington rested his hand.

The Chancellor pronounced slowly and distinctly the words of the oath. The Bible was raised, and as the President bowed to kiss the sacred volume, he said audibly, "I swear," adding with fervor, his eyes closed, that his whole soul might be absorbed in the supplication, "so help me God."



Washington taking the Oath.

"It is done," said the Chancellor; then, turning to the multitude, he waved his hand, crying in a loud voice, —

"Long live George Washington, President of the United States!"

Silence was at an end. A flag was instantly displayed on the cupola of Federal Hall, and all the bells in the city rang one triumphant peal. Shouts and acclamations burst from the waiting thousands, and repeated again and again, echoed and re-echoed, and were answered by cannon from every direction upon both land and water, until it seemed as if the city would be jarred from its very foundations.

And even now, at the end of nearly a century, who among us can be brought into a close review of the sublime incidents of this creative epoch in the history of nations without a draught from the same ecstatic fountain of emotion. With the act which completed the organization of the

government of the Union — the impressive oath, solemnly administered and reverently uttered — the life-current leaped into a perpetual flow, and our national greatness was secured.

Washington bowed to the assemblage, and returned to the Senate Chamber, where, after the members of Congress and other dignitaries had taken their seats, he arose and delivered a short inaugural address. He then proceeded to St. Paul's Chapel in Broadway, attended by Vice-President Adams, Chancellor Livingston, Secretary Jay, Secretary Knox, Commissioners Osgood and Walter Livingston, the members of Congress, and many other distinguished characters, where prayers were read by Bishop Provost, who had been chosen one of the chaplains of Congress. These services concluded, the President was escorted to his own residence.

In the evening the city was illuminated with unparalleled splendor. Every public building was in a blaze of light. The front of the little theatre in John Street was filled with transparencies, one of which represented Fame like an angel descending from heaven to crown Washington with the emblems of immortality. At the Bowling Green was an enormous transparency, with Washington's portrait in the centre under a figure of Fortitude, and the two branches of the new government upon his right and left under the forms of Justice and Wisdom. All the private residences of the city were brilliantly lighted, but none more effectively than those of the French and Spanish ministers, who seemed to have exercised a generous rivalry in their preparations. They both lived on Broadway, in the vicinity of the Bowling Green. The doors and windows of De Moustier's mansion were bordered with lamps, which shone upon numerous paintings suggestive of the past, the present, and the future of American history, from the pencil of Madame de Brehan, the sister of the Minister. Don Gardoqui's decorations were even more elaborate; the principal transparency in front of his residence contained figures of the Graces artistically executed amid a pleasing variety of emblems; and in the windows were moving pictures so skillfully devised as to present the illusion of a living panorama in a little spot of fairyland. One of the vessels at anchor off the Battery resembled a pyramid of stars. The display of fireworks, under the direction of Colonel Bauman, was the finest New York had ever seen. Washington drove to the residence of Chancellor Livingston, on Broadway, from whose windows he obtained a full view of the imposing spectacle.

The days immediately following were chiefly occupied by the President in acquainting himself with the details of domestic and foreign affairs. In his desire to master the whole subject of our relations with other

nations, he applied himself with energy to the task of reading all the correspondence that had accumulated in the office of the Secretary since the close of the war. He also produced with his own hand abstracts of the reports which were made by the Secretaries Jay and Knox, and the Treasury commissioners, that he might better impress the actual condition of the different departments upon his memory. He employed Samuel Fraunces, proprietor of the famous Fraunces' Tavern, steward of his household. David Humphreys, the soldier, diplomatist, and poet, rendered essential service in the matter of admitting callers, instinctively understanding who were best entitled to an audience, and in what manner to dismiss others without giving offense. But the door was besieged from morning till night, and it was evident that some system must be established for the reception of visitors, in order that the President might have time for the performance of public duties. It was an affair of great delicacy. Popular theories must not be rudely jarred. Republicanism was a novelty, and it was fondly expected that the chief magistrate of the people would be accessible to every citizen. Washington was in favor of receiving every visitor on proper occasions and for reasonable purposes. But he was deeply impressed with the necessity of maintaining the dignity of his office with forms that would command deference and respect; and he hoped to draw a well-balanced line between too much ceremony on the one hand and an excess of familiarity on the other.

He took counsel of the renowned group of statesmen by whom he was surrounded and sustained. Opinions upon this subject, as upon all others, were at variance. Vice-President Adams, like Lord Bellomont nearly a hundred years before, had seen power so constantly associated with pomp in foreign lands, that he found it difficult to believe that the substance would exist unless "human minds collected into nations" were dazzled by the trappings. He talked of chamberlains and masters of ceremony. Secretary Jay better understood the American disposition, and calmly advocated an orderly uniform system which should not overstep the limits of republican simplicity. Hamilton was in favor of maintaining the dignity of the office, but pertinently suggested caution, lest too high a tone shock the prevalent notions of equality. A line of conduct which, it was hoped, would combine public advantage with private convenience was finally adopted. The President appointed Tuesday afternoon, from three o'clock until four, for the reception of visits of courtesy. No invitations were extended, but he was prepared to see whoever came. Visitors were shown into the room by a servant, and retired at their option without ceremony. "At their first entrance they salute me, and I them, and as many as I can, I talk to," wrote Washington. "Gentlemen, often in

great numbers, come and go; chat with each other, and act as they please. What 'pomp' there is in all this I am unable to discover." Foreign ambassadors and official characters were received on other days of the week. And the President was always accessible to persons who wished to see him on business. On Sundays the President attended St. Paul's Chapel in the morning and spent the afternoon and evening at home, never receiving company, however, unless some intimate or family friend.

The Constitution left all the details of administration to the action of Congress, which moved slowly in the matter of establishing the three departments of State, the Treasury, and that of War—to which last was added whatever might appertain to the naval concerns of the United States. Troublesome questions arose and were argued with spirit. The President, for instance, was empowered to appoint the heads of departments, but the Constitution was silent as to where the power of removal was lodged. Equally eminent men stood opposed in the discussion. It was decided in favor of the President. But that it should not be deemed a grant of power by Congress, the bill was so worded as to imply a constitutional power already existing in the President, thus, "Whenever the Secretary shall be removed by the President of the United States," etc.; and it is still a matter open to dispute whether our First Congress decided wisely and well.

At the President's request John Jay officiated as Secretary of State until the following spring. In forming his cabinet, Washington asked Jay's acceptance of any place he might prefer. But with the organization of the National Judiciary it seemed eminently fitting that Jay should become the first Chief Justice of the United States. He had been the first Chief Justice of the State of New York in that most critical of all periods, when the armies of his late sovereign were spreading terror and desolation around him. His habits of mind, calm serenity, and great legal acumen were peculiarly adapted to that branch of the government termed by Washington "the keystone of our political fabric," through which the laws of the land were to be faithfully and firmly administered; and Jay was disposed to exert his talents for the common good. Thus he received the appointment, in September, although the Supreme Court was not fully organized until the following April; and he will ever remain to the nation and the world an example of personal and judicial purity. The words of one of the great masters of our language have passed into history—"When the ermine of the judicial robe fell on John Jay it touched nothing less spotless than itself."

Oliver Ellsworth was chairman of the committee who prepared the bill establishing the Supreme Court, and circuit and district courts, an organi-

zation which has remained substantially the same to the present time. It was to hold two sessions annually at the seat of government. Five associate justices were appointed — William Cushing, the first chief justice of Massachusetts as a State; James Wilson, one of the Convention which framed the Constitution; Robert H. Harrison, chief justice of Maryland; John Blair, of Virginia, also one of the famous Convention; and John Rutledge, the brave-spirited South Carolina statesman whom Patrick Henry pronounced the greatest orator in the First Continental Congress. Harrison declined, and James Iredell of North Carolina, was appointed in his stead. These gentlemen procured homes and brought their families to reside at the capital.

Thomas Jefferson, who had obtained permission to return from France, was made Secretary of State. Hamilton was placed at the head of the Treasury Department. Knox was continued in the War office. Governor Edmund Randolph, of Virginia, was chosen Attorney-General. And Samuel Osgood, of New York, received the appointment of Postmaster-General.

The President dined with Chancellor Livingston, with Secretary and Mrs. Jay, with Governor Clinton, and with Hamilton at his pleasant home in Wall Street, during the week following the inauguration. On the 7th of May a public ball was given in his honor. A writer of the day says, "The collection of ladies was numerous and brilliant, ^{May 7.} and dressed with consummate taste and elegance." Mrs. Washington had not yet reached the city, but Mrs. Jay and Mrs. Hamilton were among those present; also Lady Stirling and her two daughters, Lady Mary Watts and Lady Kitty Duer; Mrs. Peter Van Brugh Livingston, Lord Stirling's sister; Mrs. Clinton, Mrs. Mayor Duane, Mrs. James Beekman, Lady Temple, Lady Christina Griffin, Mrs. Chancellor Livingston, Mrs. Richard Montgomery, Mrs. John Langdon, Mrs. Elbridge Gerry, Mrs. Livingston of Clermont, the Misses Livingston, Mrs. William S. Smith, daughter of the Vice-President, the beautiful bride of James Homer Maxwell, who as Miss Van Zandt had repeatedly danced with Washington while the army was at Morristown, Mrs. Edgar, Mrs. McComb, Mrs. Dalton, the Misses Bayard, Madame de Brehan, Madame de la Forest, and Mrs. Bishop Provost. The President, the Vice-President, the Secretaries of State and War, the majority of the members of both Houses of Congress, the governor of New York, the mayor of the city, the Chancellor, the French and Spanish Ministers, Baron Steuben, Colonel Duer, and a great many other distinguished guests rendered the occasion memorable. The company numbered over three hundred. Washington was the star of the evening. He danced in two cotillions. His partners were Mrs. Peter

Van Brugh Livingston and Mrs. Hamilton. He also danced a minuet with Mrs. Maxwell.

On the following Thursday evening De Moustier gave a magnificent ball in honor of the President at his residence in Broadway. Madame
May 14. de Brehan was heard to declare that she "had exhausted every resource to produce an entertainment worthy of France." Two sets of cotillion dancers in complete military costume, one in that of France and the other in the buff and blue of America, represented our alliance with that country. Four of the ladies wore blue ribbons round their heads with American flowers, and four were adorned with red ribbons and the flowers of France. Even the style of the dance was uniquely arranged to show the happy union between the two nations. One large apartment was devoted to refreshments, in which the whole wall was covered with shelves and filled with fruits, ices, and wines, supplied to the guests by servants standing behind a table in the center of the room.

Mrs. Washington left Mount Vernon in her private carriage on the
May 19. 19th to join her husband in New York; she was accompanied by her grandchildren, Eleanor Curtis and George Washington Parke Curtis, and attended by a small escort on horseback. All the large towns and cities on her route sent cavalcades of dragoons and citizens out to meet her, processions defiled on either side of the highway for her carriage to pass, cheers and acclamations everywhere greeted her approach, and the old and the young, the rich and the poor, the wise and the simple, were alike eager to do her homage. When within seven miles of Philadelphia she was met by a brilliant company of ladies and gentlemen in carriages, and conducted into the Quaker City with distinguished ceremony, where she was the guest of Mrs. Robert Morris. She left for New York on the Monday following, accompanied by Mrs. Morris. It rained violently in the afternoon, and they spent the night at Trenton. The weather was charming on Tuesday, and they journeyed as far as "Liberty Hall" in Elizabeth, the home of Governor Livingston, where they were to be entertained. The mansion was charmingly decorated with May-flowers, and the surrounding trees upon every side were filled with beautiful banners. Mrs. Jay was present to aid her father and mother in extending graceful hospitalities to the wife of the President. The guest-chamber set apart for Mrs. Washington was the one over the Governor's Library. Mrs. Robert Morris occupied the apartment over the great entrance hall in the center of the front of the dwelling.

The President entered his elegant barge at five o'clock the next morning, and accompanied by John Jay, Robert Morris, and other distinguished characters, crossed the Bay and reached "Liberty Hall" in time to

breakfast with Mrs. Washington. When the Presidential party returned to the city, conducting Mrs. Washington and her retinue, New York Bay presented a similar scene to that witnessed on the day of Washington's reception. As the unique craft, with thirteen pilots in white costume, approached the landing, bearing its precious burden, salutes were fired from all the war vessels at anchor, and from the Battery, while delighted throngs of people surged through the streets, filling the air with shouts of welcome.

Mrs. Governor Clinton, Mrs. Chancellor Livingston, Mrs. Hamilton, Lady Stirling, Lady Mary Watts, and Lady Kitty Duer were chief among the group of ladies who received Mrs. Washington. Mrs. Beekman, Mrs. Provost, Mrs. Livingston of Clermont, the Misses Livingston, the Misses Bayard, Mrs. Edgar, and the wives and daughters of the foreign ministers and members of Congress, with many others, paid their respects early on Thursday morning. On Thursday evening the following gentlemen dined informally at the President's table: Vice-President Adams, Governor Clinton, John Jay, the French Minister De Moustier, the Spanish Minister Gardoqui, General Arthur St. Clair, Speaker Muhlenberg, and Senators John Langdon, Ralph Izard, William Few, and Paine Wingate. The latter has left a description of this dinner. He says, no clergyman being present, Washington himself said grace, on taking his seat. He dined on a boiled leg of mutton, as it was his custom to eat of only one dish. After the dessert a single glass of wine was offered to each of the guests, when the President rose, the guests following his example, and repaired to the drawing-room, each departing at his option, without ceremony.

On Friday evening Mrs. Washington held her first reception, or levee, as it was styled, which was attended by all that was distinguished in official and fashionable society. Henceforward she received ^{May 29.} every Friday evening from eight until ten o'clock. These levees were arranged on the plan of the English and French drawing-rooms, visitors, entitled to the privilege by official station, social position, or established merit and character, came without special invitation; and full dress was required of all. The President was usually present.

It was not long ere Mrs. Washington was pronounced an "aristocrat," and her rigid exclusion of the ill-bred and unrefined from her levees was caustically criticised as "queenly" and "court-like." The dignity and formality of both the President and his wife rebuked all attempts at familiarity; thus without ostentation social intercourse assumed a high tone, and democratic rudeness not having yet gained the ascendancy, cultured elegance, grace, and good manners prevailed.

While the bill was pending in Congress for the establishment of the heads of departments, and vigorous debates over a contemplated revenue system were occupying attention, the question of salaries to be paid the President, Vice-President, and other officials of the government came before the House. Washington had at his inauguration signified his wish to serve the country, as hitherto, without salary. But it was inexpedient to establish the precedent, as succeeding Presidents might not find it possible to incur a similar loss of time and money; and, moreover, Congress was required by the Constitution to provide compensation. It was, after many days, decided to fix upon a liberal sum, but to leave the style in which the President should live — it not being esteemed a legitimate subject for legislation — to the discretion and judgment of Washington himself. The pay of the Vice-President, and the Senators and Representatives, furnished food for lengthy and animated discussions. Some were for giving the Vice-President a daily, instead of a yearly allowance, and others thought the Senators deserved more than the Representatives because "they were the purified choice of the people." The various propositions for amending the Constitution were next in order. Virginia suggested twenty alterations in the organic instrument, Massachusetts nine, South Carolina four, Pennsylvania twelve, New Hampshire twelve, North Carolina twenty-six, and New York thirty-two. After mature deliberation seventeen amendments were adopted by two thirds of the House. The Senate reduced the number to twelve by omitting some, and merging the principles of two or more into one. When these twelve were transmitted to the legislatures of the States for ratification, ten only were accepted.

The first Congress was justly famous for its men of parliamentary talent and social accomplishment. The leading antagonists in the House were James Madison and Fisher Ames, particularly in debating the revenue system and the policy of assuming State debts incurred during the Revolution. Both were orators, able and impressive, but in different ways. Madison was the better logician, Ames possessed the greater imagination. Madison was profoundly versed in domestic concerns, financial and political economy. Ames reasoned from principles of general policy and constitutional and international jurisprudence. Madison's eloquence in depth and smoothness might be compared to the ocean in repose, that of Ames flowed like the current of some clear, beautiful river. Madison was the older by six well-rounded years. Ames was thirty-two. William Smith of South Carolina, one of the best debaters and most accomplished gentlemen that ever appeared in Congress from that State, sustained Ames with brilliant oratory; he resided in Broadway, next

door to the Spanish Minister. Theodore Sedgwick, Elbridge Gerry, and George Thacher, from Massachusetts, were all men of mark. Gerry was decidedly anti-Federal; but, unwilling to forfeit the good-will and friendship of those with whom he had been associated during the Revolution, he claimed to be neutral and impartial between the two parties. This course was denounced by Thacher, who was a celebrated wit, and, understanding the sensitive temperament of his colleague, made him the perpetual victim of daring humor and biting sarcasm. Connecticut was represented by Roger Sherman, Jonathan Trumbull, Benjamin Huntington, Jeremiah Wadsworth, and Jonathan Sturges. Trumbull was the son of the great war-governor of the same name, and had himself been secretary and aide to Washington, and a member of the chieftain's military family from 1780 to 1783. Hugh Williamson was the most conspicuous member from North Carolina. It was during this year that his marriage with Miss Apthorpe of New York was solemnized. Elias Boudinot, the philanthropist, was one of the leading New Jersey representatives. Speaker Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg and General Peter Muhlenberg, from Pennsylvania, took up their abode in the family of Rev. Dr. Kunze, the Lutheran scholar and divine. George Clymer and Henry Wynkoop were also among the Pennsylvania members. From New Hampshire, Nicholas Gilman, treasurer of the State, Samuel Livermore, and the clerical statesman, Abiel Foster, were prominent in the complicated business before the House.

Egbert Benson, who had participated largely in the various measures resulting in the establishment of a general government, was one of the leading New York members.¹ He was a pleasing speaker, and his personal popularity added weight to his arguments. His colleagues were

¹ Egbert Benson was one of the five commissioners appointed by New York to attend the Annapolis Convention in 1786, and the only one who accompanied Hamilton, and aided materially in securing the call of the Constitutional Convention of 1787 — not only in the incipient movement, but afterwards in Congress as a member from New York. He also supported the resolutions of Congress at a later date to transmit the Constitution to the action of the States; and in January, 1788, as a member of the New York Assembly, he introduced into that house the resolution to call a State convention to act upon the Constitution, which singularly enough was opposed by twenty-five out of fifty-two votes. He was one of the Congressional committee to receive Washington on his triumphal approach from Virginia; and chairman of the committee from the House to report on the "styles and titles of the presidential office." He was also chairman of the joint Congressional committee to arrange for the inauguration of Washington; and was associated with Madison, Clymer, Sherman, and others, in preparing the response to Washington's inaugural address. He was twelve years in Congress, and from 1794 to 1801 Judge of the Supreme Court of New York. He received many literary honors; and he was the first president of the New York Historical Society. At the time of the organization of the general government he was forty-three years of age. He was a bachelor, and resided with his brother, Robert Benson, corner of Nassau and Pine Streets.

John Lawrence, a man of fine address and marked influence, William Floyd, who signed the Declaration of Independence, Peter Sylvester, John Hathorn, and Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, afterwards lieutenant-governor of New York.

The New York senators were Philip Schuyler and Rufus King; from Massachusetts came Caleb Strong and Tristram Dalton; from Connecticut, Oliver Ellsworth and William Samuel Johnson; from New Hampshire John Langdon and Paine Wingate; from New Jersey, William Patterson and Jonathan Elmer; from Pennsylvania, Robert Morris and William Maclay; from Delaware, George Read and Richard Bassett; from Maryland, Charles Carroll and John Henry; from Virginia, Richard Henry Lee and William Grayson; from South Carolina, Ralph Izard and Pierce Butler; from Georgia, William Few and James Gunn; and from North Carolina, after the first session, Benjamin Hawkins and Samuel Johnston.

A violent illness confined the President to his house through the greater part of June and July. The anniversary of the Declaration of

Independence was celebrated in the city with exceptional enthusiasm. The Society of the Cincinnati waited upon the President in the morning with a complimentary address, to which he responded in a few brief sentences. He was too feeble otherwise to do more than appear for a moment in the door of his mansion while the military companies of the city were passing, clad in the uniform worn during the Revolution. The Cincinnati, led by Baron Steuben, marched in procession to St. Paul's Chapel, where a great concourse of distinguished citizens and strangers were assembled to hear Alexander Hamilton deliver an oration on the life and public services of General Nathaniel Greene.

It was a glowing tribute. "Did I possess the powers of oratory, I should with reluctance attempt to employ them upon the present occasion," said Hamilton, with impressive earnestness. "The native brilliancy of the diamond needs not the polish of art; the conspicuous features of pre-eminent merit need not the coloring pencil of imagination nor the florid decorations of rhetoric. The name of Greene will at once awaken in your minds the images of whatever is noble and estimable in human nature. In forming our estimate of his character we are not left to supposition and conjecture. We have a succession of deeds as glorious as they are unequivocal, to attest his greatness and perpetuate the honors of his name."

The President regretted being too ill to leave his house on this occasion. But Mrs. Washington, Mrs. Jay, Mrs. Hamilton, and Mrs. Adams graced St. Paul's with their presence; also many other ladies. The assemblage was pronounced the most brilliant ever seen in New York.

The mother of Washington died in August, at Fredericksburg, aged eighty-two, which affected him deeply. Prior to the close of the first session of the first Congress in September, a joint committee ^{Aug 25} from the two houses requested him "to recommend to the people of the United States a day of public thanksgiving and prayer, in acknowledgment of the signal blessings which had afforded the opportunity of peacefully establishing a constitution of government." He accordingly appointed the 26th of November.

After the adjournment of Congress New York was for a few weeks comparatively quiet. Washington exercised daily on horseback, walked about the city at his pleasure, and drove every pleasant morning with Mrs. Washington and others, sometimes in the post-chaise and sometimes in the coach. His horses were numerous, and the finest the country produced. He drove four and not infrequently six before his carriage, with outriders in livery, the stylish establishment preceded usually by his two secretaries on horseback. He gave frequent dinners; on Thursday, October 1, the guests at his table were Postmaster-General ^{Oct 1} Osgood and Mrs. Osgood, Colonel William and Lady Kitty Duer, James Madison, George Read, Colonel Bland, Mrs. Greene—the widow of General Nathaniel Greene—Lady Christiana Griffin and daughter, Miss Brown, Colonel Lewis Morris, and Mayor James Duane. Mrs. Washington received visitors as usual on the Friday following. On Saturday the President sat two hours to Madame de Brehan, who was painting his miniature profile—subsequently engraved in Paris.

Washington records a conversation between himself and Hamilton on Monday the 5th, concerning a tour through the New England ^{Oct 5} States; and on Wednesday a similar conversation with Jay, who signified hearty approval of the plan. The President also consulted both Hamilton and Jay the same afternoon in reference to the propriety of taking informal means of ascertaining the views of the British Court concerning the American posts still in their possession, and a commercial treaty. Hamilton thought Gouverneur Morris a fit person for the business. The next day Washington consulted Madison on both subjects, who saw no impropriety in the New England trip, but was dubious about the private agency to England. He thought if the necessity did not press, it would be better to wait the arrival of Jefferson. He feared that employing Morris would be a commitment for his employment as Minister, should one be sent to England, or wanted at Versailles in place of Jefferson. His opinions coincided with those of Hamilton and Jay in regard to the superior talents of Morris—but he thought with Jay that Morris's imagination sometimes outran his judgment. He said further "that the

manners of Morris before he was well known created unfavorable opinions which he did not merit."

Madison took his leave; and an hour later Gardoqui, the Spanish Minister, called to say his adieus prior to embarking for Spain. That day at the President's dinner-table were the entire family of the Vice-President, including himself, wife, son, son-in-law, daughter, and niece; also Governor George Clinton and two daughters, Tristram Dalton and Mrs. Dalton, and Mr. and Mrs. Dubois. In the evening De Moustier and Madame de Brehan came in for an hour. De Moustier told Washington that he had received permission to return to his court.

On the 10th Washington, accompanied by Vice-President Adams, Governor Clinton, Ralph Izard, and Colonel Smith, the son-in-law of the Vice-President, visited Flushing to examine some fruit orchards and gardens, and on their return stopped at the country-seats of the General and Gouverneur Morris, in Morrisania, to view a barn which the latter had often described to the President as something novel, costly, and convenient. As they were returning leisurely through the little village of Harlem, they met Mrs. Washington in her carriage, with Mrs. Adams and her daughter, Mrs. Smith. They all alighted, and dined at a small tavern kept by Captain Marriner, who had been actively concerned in whale-boat warfare in the vicinity of New York during the Revolution. Four days later the President wrote letters to France, and while with Mrs. Washington on an informal visit to De Moustier and his sister, who were about to sail, placed them in the hands of the Minister. Washington also prepared letters the same day for Gouverneur Morris, requesting him as a private agent to sound the British Ministry.

The next day was Thursday. The President's proposed journey through New England having been generally esteemed advisable, he left
Oct. 15. the city in his own chariot, drawn by four Virginia bays, attended by his two secretaries, Tobias Lear and Major Jackson, on horseback in advance, and a retinue of six servants. Chief Justice Jay, Secretary Hamilton (of the Treasury), and Secretary Knox accompanied him some distance beyond the Harlem River.

Washington passed through Rye, Norwalk, Fairfield, and Stratford to New Haven, where he was welcomed by Governor Samuel Huntington, Lieutenant-Governor Oliver Wolcott, and the mayor of the city, Roger Sherman. At Wallingford the President saw the white mulberry growing to feed the silk-worm, and wrote of some fine silk thread, and of a sample of lustring which had been manufactured from the cocoon in that town. "This," he said, "except the weaving, is the work of private families, without interference with other business, and is

likely to turn out a beneficial amusement." In company with Oliver Ellsworth and others he visited the factories of Hartford. He took special note of all the industries and occupations of the people upon the whole route. He was pleased with the appearance of thrift and progress; and his conclusions were that the country was rapidly recovering from the ravages of war, and that the new government was generally approved. He avoided Rhode Island, as that State had not yet ratified the Constitution. North Carolina voted her own admission into the Union the same day that he returned to New York; Rhode Island yielded her scruples on the 29th of May following. His journey was a continuous triumphal march, unparalleled in history for its exhibition of love, gratitude, and reverence. Civil authorities, religious societies, literary institutions, and other bodies exhausted the vocabulary of praise in flattering addresses, and crowds sometimes followed him for miles.

During the absence of the President and of Congress, New York prepared for a gay winter. All the tradespeople were employed; house-renovating, house-building, horse-furnishing, house-adorning, and the production of personal outfits of exceptional costliness kept the wheels of industry rolling. It was necessary to provide for a larger population than at any previous period. The markets were enlarged and taverns and boarding-houses multiplied. Among other public improvements it was proposed to extend the sidewalks from Vesey Street to Murray Street upon the west side of Broadway, and although not completed until the next year, a similar foot-pavement—quite narrow—was laid along the Bridewell fence on the east side. Reade and Duane Streets were not opened until 1794; and the year 1797 came before an attempt was made to grade the hills on the Broadway road between Murray and Canal Streets, the highest point of which was in the neighborhood of Anthony Street.

The "Fresh Water Pond" still sparkled in the sunshine, a smooth, clear, beautiful, miniature inland sea, the locality of which may be significantly traced upon the map of Manhattan Island, on a former page. But it was too far out of town to be much noticed. At a club dinner in December some imaginative individual was very much ridiculed for suggesting the propriety of purchasing it, with the lands surrounding, for park purposes, and with a view to the future ornamentation of the prospective metropolis. Capitalists had no faith in any wild, visionary scheme of that character. New York would never in their judgment reach such a remote point of the compass. One of the springs which supplied the fabulously reported unfathomable depths of this remarkable lake bubbled forth near the present junction of Chatham and Roosevelt

Streets, where was erected the famous "Tea Water Pump" which supplied the city with wholesome drinking-water; the various wells in the lower part of the town affording only a miserable and brackish substitute for water.

It was confidently understood that the first question to come before Congress when it should reassemble in the winter would be the location of the permanent seat of government, and the New York heart throbbed with feverish anxiety. The heads of departments were appointed, as we have seen, and the whole machinery of the great structure was substantially organized. Washington seems not to have measured men by their speculative views, or evinced a disposition to punish them for difference of political opinion. The offices in his gift were generally bestowed upon those who had been active in establishing the Constitution; thus, James Duane, the mayor, was made judge of the district of New York, Richard Harrison, United States attorney, and Colonel William S. Smith, marshal. But there were notable instances to the contrary, as in the case of General John Lamb. Neither the fact that this honest soldier had been inflexibly opposed to the Constitution, nor the charges and complaints against him provoked in the heats of conflicting interests, and through a zeal too warm to admit the wisdom and purity of an opponent or the possibility of its own error, influenced Washington's decision, who in August sent the name of General Lamb to the Senate, which unanimously ratified his appointment as Collector of the Port.



Residence of General John Lamb. Wall Street.

CHAPTER IX.

1790-1793.

REMOVAL OF THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT.

PRESIDENT WASHINGTON. — LIFE IN NEW YORK. — THE JOHN STREET THEATER. — SOCIAL CELEBRITIES. — NEW YEAR'S DAY. — THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT. — THE NATIONAL DEBT. — OLIVER WOLCOTT. — THE PRESIDENT AND HIS SECRETARIES. — THE MCCOMB MANSION IN BROADWAY. — ORIGIN OF THE TAMMANY SOCIETY. — HAMILTON'S FINANCIAL SYSTEM. — INDIAN WAR IN OHIO. — INDIAN CHIEFS IN NEW YORK CITY. — VERMONT. — ARRIVAL OF JEFFERSON. — THE CITY TREASURER. — DEATH OF FRANKLIN. — CHANCELLOR LIVINGSTON. — THE FAVORITE DRIVE OF NEW YORK. — POLITICAL QUESTIONS. — THE PERMANENT SEAT OF GOVERNMENT. — AARON BERR. — NEW YORK MEN AND MEASURES. — THE TONTINE ASSOCIATION. — NEW YORK ELECTION.

THE winter of 1790 opened auspiciously. New York City was in promising health and picturesque attire. The weather until February was remarkably mild and lovely. "I see the President has returned fragrant with the odor of incense," wrote Trumbull to Wolcott in December. "This tour has answered a good political purpose, and in a great measure stilled those who were clamoring about the wages of Congress." The community at large was full of pleasing anticipations. People flocked into the metropolis from all quarters, and the presence of so much dignity of character, statesmanship, legal learning, culture, and social elegance produced new sensations, aspirations, and ambitions.

Washington was the observed of all observers. His wonderful figure, which it has pleased the present age to clothe in cold and mythical disguises, was neither unreal nor marble. He stood six feet three inches in his slippers, well-proportioned, evenly developed, and straight as an arrow. He had a long muscular arm, and probably the largest hands of any man in New York. He was fifty-eight, with a character so firm and true, kindly and sweet, kingly and grand, as to remain unshaken as the air when a boy wings his arrow into it, through all subsequent history. His great will-power and gravity seem to have most attracted the attention of mankind. His abilities as a business man, the accuracy of his accounts, which through much of his life he kept with his own hand, and his boundless generosity should also be remembered. He took care of his

money ; at the same time he cast a fortune worth at least three quarters of a million into the scale — to be forfeited should the Revolution fail. But the greatest of all his traits was a manly self-poise founded upon the most perfect self-control. He was withal essentially human, full of feeling, emotional, sympathetic, and sometimes passionate. He was fond of society, conversed well, enjoyed humor in a quiet way, and was sensitive to the beauty and open to the appeal of a good story.

While loyal to every duty, and closeted with Jay, Hamilton, and Knox for hours each day in shaping the conduct of the departments, he found time for healthful recreation. The citizens of New York grew accustomed to his appearance upon the streets in one or another of his numerous equipages, or on horseback, and on foot. His diary throws many a domestic and private light upon the pleasing picture. He tells us, for instance, how after visiting the Vice-President and his wife one afternoon, at Richmond Hill, with Mrs. Washington, in the post-chaise, he walked to Rufus King's to make a social call, "and neither Mr. King nor his lady was at home, or to be seen." On another occasion he sent tickets to Mrs. Adams, Mrs. Greene, General Philip and Mrs. Schuyler, Secretary and Mrs. Hamilton, and Mr. and Mrs. Rufus King, inviting them to seats in his box at the little John Street theater. Music commenced and the audience rose the moment Washington and his friends entered the building. The play was *Darby's Return*, written by William Dunlap. Darby, an Irish lad, proceeded to recount his adventures in New York and elsewhere, to his friends in Ireland. Washington smiled at the humorous allusion to the change in the government:—

"Here, too, I saw some mighty pretty shows —
A revolution without blood or blows ;
For, as I understood, the cunning elves,
The people all revolted from themselves."

But at the lines:—

"A man who fought to free the land from woe,
Like me, had left his farm a soldiering to go,
Then having gained his point, he had, *like me*,
Returned, his own potato ground to see.
But there he could not rest. With one accord
He is called to be a kind of — not a lord —
I don't know what : he's not a *great man*, sure,
For poor men love him just as he were poor ;"

the eyes of the audience were fixed curiously upon the President, who changed color slightly, and looked serious ; when Kathleen asked,

"How looked he, Darby ? Was he short, or tall ?"

and Darby replied that he did not see him, because he had mistaken a man "all lace and glitter, botherum and shine," for him, until the show was out of sight, Washington's features relaxed and he indulged in a rare and hearty laugh.

The next day, Washington says he called upon Chief Justice Jay and Secretary Knox on business, made informal visits to Governor Clinton, Mr. Ralph Izard, General Philip Schuyler, and Mrs. Dalton, entertained Dr. Johnson, lady and daughter, Mr. and Mrs. Ralph Izard and son, and Chief Justice Jay at dinner; "after which went with Mrs. Washington to the dancing assembly, and remained until ten o'clock."

Mrs. Izard had spent several winters prior to the Revolution in the brilliant society of London, after which she had resided in Paris, accompanied her husband to the Court of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and visited nearly all the points of interest on the European Continent. She was handsome, witty, and universally admired. She was a New York lady, as the reader has hitherto learned, one of the famous De Lancey family so conspicuous in New York's public affairs, the granddaughter of Lieutenant-Governor Colden, great-granddaughter of Stephanus Van Cortlandt, the first lord of the manor, with a line of distinguished ancestry reaching backward to the very first little dorp on Manhattan Island. Her marriage with the accomplished Ralph Izard of Charleston, South Carolina, in 1767, whose



Mrs. Ralph Izard.

education at the University of Cambridge had engendered foreign tastes, and whose liberal fortune had enabled him to gratify them, separated her in a measure from the influences conspiring to attach the De Lanceys to the Crown. Her affections and her sympathies must have been severely tried, for while she was moving in the honored circle of the most illustrious character in modern history, her favorite brother, who had commanded the forces raised to fight for the king in Westchester,

was an exiled wanderer from the land of his birth. Her sister, Mrs. John Watts, resided in Broadway; and during the first session of the first Congress entertained Senator Izard and his family in the spacious Watts mansion. While Mrs. Izard was in London her portrait was painted by Gainsborough. One of Copley's finest pictures represents both Mr. and Mrs. Izard in a Roman palace, with a window in the background looking out on one of the most interesting parts of the Eternal City.

Washington's note-book affords further bewitching glimpses of the inner life of the city at this period. On the 10th of December Mrs. Rufus King, Colonel and Lady Kitty Duer, Senator and Mrs. William Few, Mr. and Mrs. Harrison, Miss Brown, Oliver and Mrs. Wolcott, Cyrus Griffin, former President of Congress, and Lady Christiana and daughter were guests at the President's table. On the 12th he "exercised with Mrs. Washington and the children in the coach between breakfast and dinner — went the fourteen miles round." On the 14th, "walked round the Battery in the afternoon." On the 16th, "dined with Mrs. Washington at Governor Clinton's, in company with the Vice-President and Mrs. Adams, Colonel and Mrs. Smith, Mayor Richard Varick (recently elected) and wife, and the Dutch Minister, Van Berckel, who had just returned from Europe with his daughter. It would seem that the President's family rarely dined alone. On the 17th the company consisted of Chief Justice and Mrs. Jay, Senator Rufus King, Colonel and Mrs. Lawrence, Egbert Benson, Bishop Provost, Rev. Dr. Linn and his wife, and Mrs. Elbridge Gerry. On Christmas, which was Friday, the following entry is characteristic of the great man who penned the lines: "Went to St. Paul's Chapel in the forenoon. The visitors to Mrs. Washington this afternoon were not numerous, but respectable." On Saturday, the 26th, the President mentions exercise on horseback, and tells us that Chief Justice Morris, Mayor Varick, and their ladies, Judge Hobart, Colonel Cole, Major Gilman, Miss Brown, Secretary Samuel A. Otis of the Senate, and Mr. Beekley dined with him. On the Tuesday following he records a storm, and "not a single person appearing at his levee." On the last day of the outgoing year his dinner-table was enlivened by the Vice-President and Mrs. Adams, Colonel and Mrs. Smith, Chancellor and Mrs. Livingston, and Miss Livingston, one of the Chancellor's sisters, Baron Steuben, Elbridge Gerry, George Partridge, Thomas Tudor Tucker, and Alexander White from North Carolina.

New Year's day brought a cessation of all kinds of labor. During the early morning hours the streets were pervaded with a Sabbath stillness.

Jan 1. But as the day waned handsome equipages laden with gentlemen in the showy costume of the day moved rapidly from

point to point, and the narrow sidewalks were filled with pedestrians stepping briskly along as if impelled by some unusual and agreeable impulse. The custom of making New Year's calls was one of the peculiar institutions of New York. It was a novelty to Washington. It had been introduced by the Dutch with the first settlement on Manhattan Island, and the Huguenots had helped to perpetuate the pleasant observance. No other American city or town had then even so much as thought of borrowing the fashion — and it was likely to find little favor in places more purely of English origin and population.

Between the hours of twelve and three o'clock the President was visited by the Vice-President, the governor, the senators, and representatives, foreign public characters, and all the principal gentlemen of the city, either in public or private life. Later in the afternoon a great number of gentlemen and ladies visited Mrs. Washington, as usual, the day being Friday. In the evening such guests as remained were seated and served to tea, coffee, and plum and plain cake. We can almost see Washington in the flesh, as, balancing in his hand one of the exquisite cups and saucers for which his table was famous, he asked of a New-Yorker near him whether such usages were casual or otherwise, and being told that New Year's visiting had always been maintained in the city, observed: "The highly favored situation of New York will, in the process of years, attract numerous emigrants, who will gradually change its ancient customs and manners; but whatever changes take place, never forget the cordial and cheerful observance of New Year's Day."

John Pintard, then a young man of fashion, says many persons took advantage of the day to pay their respects to Washington who were personally unacquainted with him, but no one complained of the stateliness which about this time alarmed a sagacious Virginia colonel for the safety of the Republic. The latter stated at the table of Governor Randolph that Washington's "bows were more distant and stiff" than any he had seen at the Court of St. James! The critic's words reached Washington's ears, who calmly expressed his sorrow that his bows should not have been acceptable, as they were the best he was master of. "Would it not have been better," he asked, "to throw the veil of charity over them, ascribing their stiffness to the effects of age, or to the unskillfulness of my teacher, rather than to pride and dignity of office?"

New York City was then regarded by all good puritanical New-Englanders as a "vortex of folly and dissipation." But the mother of Oliver Wolcott, on the same New Year's evening while Mrs. Washington was dispensing hospitalities, holding an open letter in her hand written from the capital eleven days before by her subsequently distinguished son, read

as follows: "There appears to be great regularity in the city. Honesty is as much in fashion as in Connecticut, and I am persuaded that there is much greater attention to good morals than has been supposed in the country. So far as observance of the Sabbath is a criterion of religion, a comparison between this city and many places in Connecticut would be in favor of New York. We have not been able to hire a house, and shall continue in lodgings till the spring. Great expense is not required, nor does it add to the reputation of any person."

As Washington himself, on his late tour through Connecticut, on one occasion passed thirty-six hours at a very poor country tavern because "it was contrary to law and disagreeable to the people of the State to travel on the Sabbath day," and New York did not suffer by comparison in the mind of a keen Connecticut observer, the inference is clear.¹

Oliver Wolcott had been appointed Auditor of the Treasury in September, at a yearly salary of fifteen hundred dollars,² an office which he hesitated about accepting. Hamilton wrote to him, "I am persuaded you will be an acquisition to the department. I need scarcely add that your presence here as soon as possible is essential to the progress of business." Ellsworth furnished him with an estimate of the cost of living in New York, and remarked that he could keep his expenses within one thousand dollars per annum, unless he should change his style, which was wholly unnecessary. Wolcott, after reaching the city and instituting personal investigations, decided to enter the service. He wrote to his wife announcing the fact, saying, "The example of the President and his family will render parade and expense improper and disreputable." Writing a few days later to his father upon the condition of affairs, he said, "What arrangements are in contemplation with respect to the public debt I have not been able to learn, though I believe, from the character and manners of the Secretary, that they will be prudent, sensible, and firm."

The organization of the Treasury Department occupied much time. The machinery must be constructed upon a plan of indefinite expansion, suited to every object and exigency of the great untried future. The numberless official forms to be used in every branch of business were

¹ *Diary of Washington.*

² Oliver Ellsworth wrote to Oliver Wolcott, September 12, 1789, as follows: "The Treasury Department is at length arranged and filled.

Secretary,	salary,	\$3,500,	Colonel Hamilton of New York.
Comptroller	"	2,000,	Mr. Eveleigh of South Carolina.
Auditor	"	1,500,	Oliver Wolcott, Jr., of Connecticut.
Register	"	1,250,	Mr. Nourse, Pennsylvania.
Treasurer	"	2,000,	Mr. Meridith, Pennsylvania.

I think your merit would have justified your standing higher on the list, but you are young enough to rise, and I believe you ought to accept the appointment." — *Family Archives.*

to be prescribed for the first time; custom-houses and loan-offices regulated; provision made for the efficient collection and distribution of the revenue; the accounts of receipts and expenditures systematized; in all of which the easy attainment of complete information at the Treasury was to be united with the preservation of central and local accountability. Everything connected with the finance of the country was in a state of almost inextricable confusion. The national debt, originating chiefly in the Revolution, was of two kinds, foreign and domestic. The foreign debt, amounting to nearly twelve millions, was due to France, Holland, and a fraction to Spain. The domestic debt, due to individuals in America for loans to the government or supplies furnished to the army, reached forty-two millions. Another class of debts, amounting to some twenty-five millions, rested upon a different footing; the States individually had constructed works of defense within their respective limits, and advanced pay, bounties, provisions, clothing, and munitions of war to Continental troops. Hamilton proposed not only that the foreign debt should be paid strictly according to the terms of contract, but that all domestic debts, including those of the particular States, should be funded, and that the nation should become responsible for their payment to the full amount.

Oliver Wolcott¹ was a young man of thirty, but not without experience in finance, having been for nine years almost constantly employed by his

¹ For the origin of the Wolcott family in America, see Vol. I. 593, 594. A tradition exists concerning the Wolcott coat of arms which is of interest to the curious in matters of heraldry. John Wolcott of Wolcott, who lived in the reign of Henry V., and who married Matilda, daughter of Sir Ford, Knight, won a game the king through skill; whereupon Henry, in re-revent, changed Wolcott's ing castles on the shield in *Stiles's History of Ancient* came to America in 1630, first settlers of Windsor; legislative proceedings of Connecticut; and was an-councils of the latter State Anna married Matthew tate of Saybrook, and among her illustrious des-Chief Justice of the United Simon Wolcott, one of the the beautiful Martha Pit-was the famous Governor Roger Wolcott, who rose to highest military and civil honors. Among his numerous children were Governor Oliver Wolcott (born 1726, died 1797), who signed the Declaration of Independence; and Ursula, who married her cousin, Governor



Wolcott Arms.

Richard Cornwall of Bere-of chess in a contest with, ful uss of the castles; ognition of the remarkable coat of arms by substitut-place of sheaves of wheat. *Wadsw.* Henry Wolcott was in 1635 among the participated in the first both Massachusetts and nually re-elected to the during life. His daughter Griswold, the first mair-founder of Lyme, and scendants is the present States, Morrison R. Waite. sons of Henry, married kin, and their fourth son

native State in public matters of a financial character. Since 1788 he had been Comptroller of Connecticut. He belonged to that line of remarkable men of whom it was said that "none other in America were more honored and trusted." Indeed, as a matter of history, no family on this continent has preserved through all its generations a purer fame.

There was yet no recognized cabinet; and, strictly speaking, no cabinet meetings, according to the usual ministerial consultations at the courts of Europe. The secretaries were the President's auxiliaries rather than counselors. He called them together in council at intervals, but it was chiefly to give them instructions; for the cabinet as an advisory body was unknown to the Constitution and the laws of Congress. The President was made responsible for the administration of the departments, and although he drifted into the habit of consulting with the secretaries, such a course was wholly at his option. In England, according to long-established usages, if the ministers, being the heads of the governmental departments, failed to command the confidence of a majority in the House of Commons, a ministerial disruption immediately followed, and the sovereign intrusted the formation of a new cabinet to a person in favor with that majority. Such change defeated one system of politics and established another. But Congress, although in the prac-

Matthew Griswold of Lyme, and was the mother of Governor Roger Griswold — the lady who had eleven governors among her own immediate family connections and descendants, with at least thirty judges, and numerous lawyers and clergymen of prominence. The Wolcotts have intermarried with many New York families, and their descendants are nearly as numerous in the New York of to-day as in Connecticut.

Oliver Wolcott, the financier, and third governor in the Wolcott family (born 1760, died 1833), was the son of Governor Oliver Wolcott, senior, and a graduate from Yale in 1778. He married Elizabeth Stoughton. He was the Comptroller of the U. S. Treasury from 1791 to 1795, and Secretary of the Treasury from 1795 to 1800, when he was appointed Judge of the United States Circuit Court. In 1802 he removed to New York City, and soon after commenced an extensive manufacturing enterprise at Wolcottville, near Litchfield, in connection with his brother Frederick, who married Betsy Huntington of Norwich; among the children of the latter is Frederick Henry Wolcott of Astoria, Long Island. Mary Ann Wolcott, the youngest sister of Oliver and Frederick, was the distinguished beauty who married Chauncey Goodrich. The wife of Oliver Ellsworth, the chief justice, was Abigail Wolcott, cousin of the governor. Nearly all the Wolcott ladies were celebrated for personal beauty. None more so, however, than Jerusha Wolcott, daughter of Samuel, the brother of Governor Oliver Wolcott, senior, who married Epaphras Bissell, a descendant of John Bissell, one of the founders of Windsor, and projector of the first ferry across the Connecticut River; her sister Sophia married Martin Ellsworth, son of the chief justice. Edward, eldest son of Epaphras and Jerusha Bissell, married Jane Ann Maria Reed in 1823, whose second son, Dr. Arthur Bissell of New York, married Anna Browne, daughter of Judge Browne of Rye, New York, a descendant of Thomas Browne of Rye, England, one of the original founders of the town of Rye, New York, himself a descendant in the direct line from Sir Anthony Browne, standard-bearer of England in the first year of Henry VII., and the first Viscount Montague.



His late Majesty to Federal Hall on Wall Street in a coach and six, preceded by a band of music, and followed by Messrs. Lear and Nelson. Engraved by Messrs. Jones & Co.

tice of requiring the heads of departments to appear in person and give explanations upon any desired subject during Washington's administration, had no power to disturb such officials, and regarded them as under the executive, and of subordinate importance.¹

Hamilton was not slow in applying all the skill and method of which he was master to the production of an elaborate report of the condition of the Treasury; he also unfolded his plans for the maintenance of the public credit, and on Saturday, the 2d of January, submitted both to the President, who, after reading, and conversing for ^{Jan. 2.} some time with the secretary on the subject, walked to Chief Justice Jay's residence, with whom he still further discussed the important matter, remaining to drink tea informally with the chief justice and his family. Secretary Knox presented his report of the state of the frontiers to the President on the 4th, the day on which commenced the second session of the first Congress.

It is interesting to note the formalities observed by President Washington in his early intercourse with the legislative branch of the government. Following the example of the king and parliament of Great Britain, he inaugurated a custom of delivering in person his message on the opening of Congress to the two houses sitting in a joint session — which was subsequently abandoned. Arrangements having been perfected by a committee, he drove on Friday, the 8th, at eleven o'clock in the morning, to Federal Hall in Wall Street, in a coach ^{Jan. 8} drawn by six horses preceded (quoting his own language) "by Colonel Humphreys and Major Jackson in uniform, on my two white horses, and followed by Messrs. Lear and Nelson in my chariot, and Mr. Lewis, on horseback, following them. In their rear was the Chief Justice of the United States, and the Secretaries of the Treasury and War Departments, in their respective carriages, and in the order they are named. At the outer door I was met by the door-keepers of the Senate and House, and conducted to the door of the Senate-Chamber; and passing from thence to the chair through the Senate on the right, and the House on the left, I took my seat. The gentlemen who attended me followed and

¹ "In the month of July the Senate ordered that the Secretary of Foreign Affairs attend the Senate to-morrow, and bring with him such papers as are requisite to give full information relative to the consular convention between France and the United States. The secretary appeared according to the resolution, and made the required explanations. The secretaries were the creatures of the law, not of the Constitution; and for that reason Mr. Jefferson was of opinion that neither branch of Congress had a right to call upon the heads of the departments for information or papers, except through the President. That practice has long since been abandoned; and all communications between the houses of Congress and the departments are by correspondence." *Shepherd's History of America*, Div. III.

took their stand behind the Senators; the whole rising as I entered. After being seated, at which time the members of both Houses also sat, I rose, as they also did, and made my speech; delivering one copy to the President of the Senate, and another to the Speaker of the House of Representatives — after which, and being a few moments seated, I retired, bowing on each side to the assembly (who stood) as I passed, and descending to the lower hall, attended as before, I returned with them to my house."

The importance attached to details in the mind of Washington is curiously revealed in his circumstantial diary. When consulted as to the time and place for the delivery of the answers of the Senate and House to his speech, he decided upon Thursday, at the hours of eleven
Jan. 14. and twelve, and named his own residence; giving as reasons for choosing this place, that it seemed most consistent with usage and custom, and because there was no third room in Federal Hall prepared to which he could call the gentlemen, and to go into either of the chambers appropriated to the Senate or Representatives did not seem proper. Accordingly, "at the hours appointed, the Senate and House presented their respective addresses, the members of both coming in carriages, and the latter with the Mace preceding the Speaker. The address of the Senate was presented by the Vice-President, and that of the House by the Speaker thereof." After the ceremony, twelve members remained to dine with the President.

The same day Hamilton appeared before Congress with his proposition for the funding of the public debt. He presented the subject clearly, and with such courage and consistency that his arguments carried great weight. He said the foreign debt should be paid strictly according to the terms of the contract, and this no one pretended to deny. But when he touched upon the domestic debt, a multiplicity of objections were immediately aroused; and his fearless advocacy of making no difference between the creditors of the Union and those of the States, because both descriptions of debt were contracted for the same objects, gave rise to some of the most exciting debates ever heard in our Congressional halls. As the national legislators comprised a large portion of the prominent characters of the country, and the two parties, friends and opponents of Federal principles, were about equally balanced, every subject being discussed with direct reference to its bearings on State sovereignty — the original apple of discord — a glimmer of the violence of the tempest may be perceived from the first. Hamilton proposed to open a loan to the full amount of the debt, as well of the particular States as of the Union; and to enable the Treasury to bear an increased demand upon it, he

recommended an increase of duties on imported wines, tea, etc., and a duty on home-made liquors.

The sharpest controversy hinged on the assumption of the State debts, and the terms as to the period of payment and rate of interest of the general debt thus proposed to be established. The debts of the respective States were very unequal in amount; and investigations concerning the services rendered by each State brought to the front all the local prejudices of a century, and all manner of invidious comparisons. Another prominent question upon which the members were almost evenly divided was the payment of the whole amount, rather than the mere market value of the government paper. This paper had in most cases passed through many hands, and was immensely depreciated below its nominal value. The original creditors, therefore, and the subsequent holders, had lost in proportion to the scale of depreciation. The proposal to assume the whole debt as it stood on the face of the paper, and pay it to the present holders, was said to be inequitable, inasmuch as these had purchased it at the depreciated value, and had no claim to be remunerated for the losses of the previous holders.

Other business of grave importance came before this session of Congress in New York City, not least of which was the enumeration of inhabitants of the Union, the establishing of a uniform rule of naturalization, the providing of means of intercourse with foreign nations, and for regulating treaties and trade with the Indians, and the location of the permanent seat of government.

Meanwhile the city was gay with all manner of festivities public and private — the balls and dinners were more numerous than the evenings — and the principal statesmen were constantly meeting in social circles, and everywhere discussing the great topics of the hour. Mrs. Washington's levees on Friday evenings were largely attended, and Mrs. Jay, Mrs. Hamilton, and Mrs. Knox each had a special evening, aside from giving dinners every week.

The residence of Washington in Franklin Square proved inconvenient on account of the great distance out of town, and as Postmaster-General Osgood wished to return to his house, having lived at his country-seat three miles to the north during the interim, the President arranged on the 1st of February for removal to the McComb mansion in Broadway, a little below Trinity Church — the former residence of the French minister. On the 3d he tells us that he visited the various apartments of his future home, "and made a disposition of the rooms, fixed on some furniture of the Minister's to be sold, and directed additional stables built"; on the 6th, he walked to the place to decide upon the exact site for the projected

stables; on the 13th, walked again down Broadway to the new house and gave directions for the arrangement of the furniture; and on the 20th, entered the following paragraph in his diary: "Sat from nine until



The McComb Mansion.
[Washington's Residence in Broadway.]

eleven for Mr. Trumbull. Walked afterwards to my new house — then rode a few miles with Mrs. Washington and the children before dinner; after which I again visited my new house, in my coach (because it rained)." The appointments of the Broadway residence were ostensibly arranged for substantial comfort, but such were the tastes and habits of Washington, and the fashion of the times, that the whole mansion when prepared for his occupancy had a very luxurious air. Pictures, vases, and other articles of ornament had been brought from Mount

Vernon, china and glass were imported, much of it having been made to order, and the old family plate was melted and reproduced in more elegant and shapely style. The tea-service was particularly massive, the salver twenty-two inches long by seventeen wide, and every piece bore the family arms. The President's birthday, for the first time being celebrated in nearly all the large cities of the Union, and honored by the "Tammany Society or Columbian Order," in New York,¹ with resolutions to commemorate the occasion forever afterward, was chiefly employed by him in superintending the transfer of his furniture; and on Tuesday the 23d, after

¹ Shortly after Washington's inauguration, May 12, 1789, the "Tammany Society or Columbian Order" was founded. It was composed at first of the moderate men of both political parties, and seems not to have been recognized as a party institution until the time of Jefferson as President. William Mooney was the first Grand Sachem; his successor in 1790 was William Pitt Smith, and in 1791 Josiah Ogden Hoffman received the honor. John Pintard was the first Sagamore. De Witt Clinton was scribe of the council in 1791. It was strictly a national society, based on the principles of patriotism, and had for its object the perpetuation of a true love for our own country. Aboriginal forms and ceremonies were adopted in its incorporation; the year was divided into seasons of blossoms, fruits, and snows, and the seasons into moons. Its officers were a Grand Sachem — chosen from thirteen sachems — a Sagamore, and a Wiskinskie. This was done partly to conciliate the numerous tribes of Indians who were devastating our defenseless frontiers, and partly to counteract the anti-republican principles of the Society of the Cincinnati. It was named from Tammany, the celebrated Indian chief whose legendary history has been curiously sketched by Dr. Mitchell. To John Trumbull, the author, belongs the distinction of first originating the designation "St. Tammany." He thought, it is said, it not worth while to let Great Britain monopolize all the saints in the calendar, and so chose a genuine American guardian.

dinner, he wrote, "Mrs. Washington, myself, and children removed and lodged in our new habitation."

The Indians about this time appeared determined to prevent through barbarous depredations the existence of towns beyond the Ohio River. A New England company, formed in 1787, had purchased a large territory from the general government, and commenced settlements the following year, of which Marietta was the first. But the savages harassed the settlers so perpetually that Congress directed Knox to investigate the whole subject, who, in his able report, stated that over fifteen hundred persons had either been murdered or carried into captivity during the two years since 1788, and an immense amount of property destroyed. Vigorous steps to check the mischief were at once taken. Washington had hoped to give security to the pioneers of Ohio by pacific arrangements, but found it necessary to institute offensive operations in that direction, which, beginning in the summer of 1790, were not terminated until after the signal victory of General Wayne in 1794.

In the Carolinas and Georgia the Indians quarreled with their white neighbors; and the Spaniards tampered with the Creeks of Alabama, Georgia, and Florida, furnishing them with fire-arms and clothing. Several attempts had been made hitherto by the government, without success, to treat with these latter tribes. An ingenious plan was devised in February to lure their great chief, Alexander McGillivray, an educated half-breed, to New York City, for the purpose of convincing him of the propriety of a treaty to avert the calamities of war, about to be precipitated by the disorderly and disreputable people of both nations. On the 10th of March Washington held a long conversation with Colonel ^{March 10} Marinus Willett, who had agreed to undertake a mission to the Creeks which must necessarily be conducted in the most delicate manner, and who shortly started for their country at the South. On the 1st of July official information reached the President that Willett was on his return, accompanied by McGillivray and twenty-eight of his principal chiefs and warriors, and had advanced as far as Hopewell, in South Carolina. Messages were at once sent to the governors of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, requesting them to show every possible respect to the travelers, at the public expense.

Their arrival in New York created a sensation. The members of the Tammany Society, arrayed in Indian costume, went out to meet them, with the military, and escorted them, to the house of Secretary Knox where they were received with great ceremony. They were then taken and introduced to the President, and from thence to Governor Clinton; after which they dined at the city tavern, Knox and a great number

of distinguished men being present. They remained in the city about six weeks. A military review by the President and Secretary Knox, for their benefit, on Colonel Rutgers's grounds, July 27, was rendered memorable by the large array of officers in full uniform. On the 2d of August the Indians were entertained with a great banquet, at which were present all the notable statesmen of the day. The Tammany Society enlivened the occasion with songs, and the Creek sachems danced. The orators of both parties made long speeches, and wine flowed freely. Washington dined several of the chiefs one day at his own table, and after the meal invited them to walk down Broadway. Curious to see the effect upon the savage mind of the large full-length portrait of himself which Trumbull had just completed for the city corporation, he led them suddenly into its presence. They stood stiff and mute with astonishment for some minutes. One of the chiefs finally advanced and touched the cold flat surface with his hand, exclaiming, "Ugh!" Each of the others slowly followed his example, and all turned away, suspicious of the art which could imprint a great soldier, dressed for battle, and standing beside his war-horse, upon a strip of canvas. Trumbull afterwards tried in vain to obtain their portraits. Knox, after some time spent in preliminaries, succeeded in negotiating the terms of a satisfactory and much-desired treaty, which, indeed, ceded to the Indians nearly all the disputed territory, and which was ratified in Federal Hall with great ceremony on the 13th of August. Washington and his suite appeared at noon of that day in the Hall of Representatives, and presently the Tammany sachems ushered in McGillivray and his chiefs, adorned with their finest feathers. The treaty was read and interpreted; and the President in a short forcible speech explained the justice of its various provisions—to each of which the Indian potentates grunted approval. McGillivray made a short speech in reply; the treaty was duly signed, Washington presented the chieftain with a string of wampum, for a memorial, with a paper of tobacco as a substitute for the ancient calumet, then came a general shaking of hands, and the ceremonies were concluded by a song of peace, in which the Creek warriors joined in their own peculiar fashion.

Early in March the legislature of New York appointed commissioners to settle, if possible, the chronic controversy with Vermont. New York had opposed the petition of Vermont for admission into the confederacy in 1776, and Congress had hesitated until the people became indignant, when the second appeal was made in 1777; again in 1787 New York had interposed a protest to defeat an application, although at that time the population of Vermont was increasing so rapidly that New York found it difficult to establish her jurisdiction in the declared rebellious.

districts. But the commissioners, of whom the scholarly Chancellor Livingston was one of the most conspicuous, were in 1790 empowered to declare the consent of New York to the admission of Vermont into the Union — New York relinquishing all claims to lands in Vermont or jurisdiction over them, upon the payment of thirty thousand dollars; and the commissioners were also to decide upon the perpetual boundary between the two States. Vermont acceded to the proposition, and in March of the following year had the honor of being the first State admitted into the Federal Union.

Foreign affairs created intense anxiety at this juncture. With Great Britain several points of difference existed; Adams had found it impossible to negotiate a commercial treaty on favorable terms, and the British Cabinet declined to send a minister to the United States. The old grudges and jealousies of the war had by no means been extinguished, and Americans, regarding the Britons as natural enemies, were ready to take offense easily, as well as eager for an opportunity to retaliate. An effort to treat with Portugal had failed, owing — it was confidently believed — to the adverse influence of England. The Emperor of Morocco had been faithful to his agreements; but the corsairs of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli plundered American vessels and enslaved their masters, which many attributed, together with the bloody incursions of the western savages, to the machinations of the British. And the intricate and embarrassing disputes with Spain concerning the free navigation of the Mississippi helped to render the commerce of the country more restricted than when it had formed a part of the British Empire.

Washington had just returned from St. Paul's Chapel on the morning of March 21, when Jefferson was announced. "Show him in," ^{March 21.} exclaimed the President, his face brightening with real pleasure, then, not waiting an instant, advanced to meet his guest in the entrance passage. The greeting was one of special warmth and cordiality. Jefferson's coming on that day was particularly opportune. Not twenty-four hours had elapsed since Washington and Jay had been engaged in earnest consideration of the course to be pursued with regard to certain captives in Algiers, and the sending of persons in the character of *chargés d'affaires* to the courts of Europe. Jefferson, fresh from the Old World atmosphere, and bringing the latest intelligence concerning its public affairs, was welcome indeed. He had been a fortnight on the route from Monticello — his beautiful Virginia country-seat — a storm of snow having greatly impeded his progress. Obligated, on account of bad roads, to leave his private carriage in Alexandria, to be sent to New York by water, he had consigned himself to a slow stage, which moved only two or three miles

an hour by day and one at night; but his horses were led, and he mounted one of them from time to time to relieve his fatigue. At Philadelphia he visited Franklin, who, although in bed and very feeble, listened with excited interest to a detailed account of the French Revolution.

Jay, Hamilton, Knox, Osgood, Livingston, and the circle of New York's principal citizens, hastened to do honor to the new Secretary of State. "The courtesies of dinner-parties," wrote Jefferson, "placed me at once in their familiar society." He tried to obtain a house on Broadway, but not succeeding rented a small cottage in Maiden Lane, near the residence of Thomas Hartley, member of Congress from Pennsylvania. Business had accumulated in expectation of his arrival, and he was quickly immersed in its perplexing details. But he was amazed at the tenor of table conversations. When he went abroad the democratic tendencies of his own country were at full tide, and he found France heaving with the coming earthquake. His house in Paris had been the resort of the leaders of political reform, and he had taken a deep interest in the success of the revolutionists; had even traveled through their country on foot, entered the hovels of the peasants, peeped into the pot to learn what the poor woman was preparing for dinner, handled the miserable black bread that mothers gave their hungry children, and felt of the bed, on which he had taken care to sit, to ascertain its material and quality. "My conscientious devotion to natural rights cannot be heightened," he wrote, "but it is roused and excited by daily exercise." He had returned home to find the favorite sentiment, according to his observations, a "preference for kingly instead of republican government." He was disappointed with the Constitution. There was, moreover, a practical question before Congress, the assumption of the State debts, which disturbed his sense of justice; and Hamilton's project of a national bank he regarded as an evil of superlative magnitude — a fountain of demoralization.

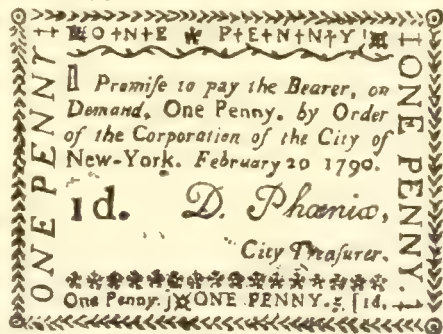
In personal appearance Jefferson was not altogether prepossessing. He had reached the age of forty-seven, was nearly as tall as Washington, well-built but awkward and loose-jointed, with a fair complexion, cold-blue eyes, and reddish hair. His wife dying many years before, he had filled the place of both parents to his lovely daughters, and was a tender and indulgent father, whom they venerated as wiser and better than other men. He possessed original and solid merit, together with great magnetism of intellect, and matchless intensity of convictions upon all subjects to which he gave his attention.

It was at Hamilton's dinner-table that he first advocated aiding France to throw off her monarchial yoke. Hamilton shook his head and

declared himself in favor of maintaining a strict neutrality. This question presently assumed vital importance. Jefferson opposed Hamilton's funding system, and seemed to distrust all his measures. The most stormy discussions were of constant occurrence, trifles were exaggerated, and political excitement spread through the country. Thus developed that division in politics, which, gradually rising to the dignity of party organization, was known as Federalism and Republicanism.

A new edifice had arisen upon the site of the ruins of Trinity Church, which was consecrated on the 25th in presence of a distinguished audience; Washington and family were seated during the exercises in the richly ornamented pew set apart by the wardens and vestrymen for the President of the United States, with a canopy over it¹; another pew was arranged for the governor of New York. On the same evening the Chief Justice and Mrs. Jay, General Philip and Mrs. Schuyler, Secretary Jefferson, Secretary and Mrs. Hamilton, Secretary and Mrs. Knox, Mrs. Greene, Senator Carroll, Senator Henry, Judge Wilson, James Madison, and Colonel William S. Smith dined with the President and Mrs. Washington at their home in Broadway. On the following Thursday we find Governor Clinton, Lieutenant-Governor Van Cortlandt, Speaker John Watts of the New York Assembly, Judge Duane, Baron Steuben, Arthur Lee, Rufus King, Theodore Sedgwick, Mr. Clymer, Stephen Van Rensselaer, the patroon, Mr. Heister, Dr. Hugh Williamson, and other members of Congress, gathered about Washington's dinner-table.

The city treasurer, or chamberlain, appointed in 1789 was Daniel Phoenix, an eminent and wealthy New York merchant, who continued to hold the position for twenty years—until compelled to resign from declining health. A specimen of money issued under his auspices in 1790 will be seen in the sketch. He had been largely instrumental in placing the New York hospital in a position to fulfill the intentions of its founders; and he was a trustee as well as



¹ The resolution to set apart a pew in Trinity Church for the President was adopted March 8, 1790. The wardens were Chief Justice John Jay and ex-Mayor James Duane. Among the vestrymen were Andrew Hamersley, Hubert Van Wageningen, Thomas Randall, John Jones, John Lewis, William S. Johnson, Robert C. Livingston, Matthew Clarkson, William Laight, James Farquhar, Charles Stanton, Nicholas Kortright, Alexander Aylesbury, George Donnick, Nicholas Crampton, Moses Rogers, Anthony L. Blocker, and Richard Harrison.

the treasurer of the New York Society Library. He took an active part, indeed, in the inception of many of the city institutions, contributing liberally to their support. He was also connected with almost every mercantile institution of his day. His name is particularly and pleasantly identified with the history of the Wall Street Presbyterian Church, of which he was a trustee from 1772 to 1812, and the manager, almost exclusively, of its financial concerns.¹

The treasurer of the State at this time was Gerard Bancker, of the wealthy Dutch family whose representatives had filled positions of responsibility in city and State affairs during every generation of that remarkable century. The auditor was Peter T. Curtenius. The latter united with many other citizens, as the spring opened, in an indignant protest against cutting away the beautiful trees with which the streets of the city were ornamented in accordance with an order of the corporation to be executed before the first of June. Some medical philosopher had convinced the authorities that the public health demanded the sacrifice, but the public taste was wounded in a vital point, for the trees were of a rich variety, and had been selected and planted with care.

The news of the death of Franklin, April 17, produced a profound sensation in New York; a resolution moved in Congress by James April 17. Madison was unanimously adopted, that the members should wear mourning badges for one month as a tribute of respect and veneration.

¹ Daniel Phoenix was the son of Alexander Phoenix, and the great grandson of the Alexander Phoenix traditionally reported to have been a younger son of Sir John Fenwick, Bart. of the great Northumbrian family of Fenwicks, who removed to New York City in 1640, and whose descendants have ever since been among the substantial citizens of the metropolis. Daniel Phoenix was born in 1742, and died in 1812. He was liberally educated, and early entered into the business of importing goods from Great Britain, and amassed a large fortune. He was a patriot, and adhered strictly to the non-importation measures, although they fell with special severity upon himself, entirely suspending his business for several years. He was one of the Committee of "One Hundred," and when the British entered the city retired to Morristown with his family. Upon his return, in 1783, he found his house had been burned and much of his property irretrievably lost. But he soon reinstated himself in the commercial world, and was honored by his fellow-citizens with the highest trusts. He married, first, Elizabeth Treadwell; second, Elizabeth Platt. It is recorded as a curious fact, that at the funeral of the latter, in 1784, "the pall-bearers were ladies." His children were: Gerard, died in infancy; Alexander, graduated from Columbia College in 1794, and became pastor of the Congregational Church at Chicopee, Massachusetts — born in 1777, died at Harlem in 1863; Elizabeth, married Nathaniel Gibbs Ingraham, and was the mother of Judge Daniel P. Ingraham of the Supreme Court of New York; Rebecca, married Eliphalet Williams of Northampton, Massachusetts; Amelia, died in infancy; Jennet, married Richard Riker, the well-known District Attorney and Recorder of New York; Sydney, died in 1800, unmarried.

The male line of the descendants of Daniel Phoenix was continued only in the children of his second son, Alexander. — *Contribution by Stephen Whelan Phoenix, in Chamber of Commerce Records.*

The Tammany Society, the Cincinnati, indeed all public bodies, in every part of the Union, adopted similar resolutions, and wore the insignia of mourning. When the news reached France, Mirabeau addressed a silent and sympathetic audience, proposing a decree that the National Assembly should wear mourning three days, for "the genius that could tame tyrants and thunderbolts, which freed America, and rayed forth upon Europe torrents of light—the sage claimed by two worlds, the man for whom the history of science and the history of empires were disputing—one of the greatest men who ever aided philosophy and liberty"; and Lafayette and Rochefoucauld seconded the motion, which was adopted by acclamation. The President of the Assembly addressed a letter to the President of the United States on the loss which the human race had sustained; the Abbé Franchet pronounced a eulogy upon his life and genius in presence of the Commune of Paris; the revolutionary clubs, the Academy of Sciences, the printers, and the municipal authorities of Paris, each held a ceremonial in honor of the departed patriot; and everywhere throughout the kingdom were demonstrations of reverence and of sorrow.¹

While France was doing homage to the memory of Franklin, New York was again in mourning. One of her own native statesmen had completed his useful and eventful life. William Livingston, the widely famed New Jersey governor, died at "Liberty Hall," July 25, at the age of sixty-seven. Few of the great men of the Revolution were more truly of heroic mold, or had exerted a more salutary influence over the forming community. He was consigned to the tomb with touching tenderness, and with every mark of distinguished and genuine respect.

Three weeks prior to the sad event Brockholst Livingston, the governor's son, delivered an oration in St. Paul's Chapel on the occasion of the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. The President was present, with his retinue, the heads of departments, the members of Con-

¹ Sarah, only daughter of Dr. Benjamin and Deborah Franklin, born September 11, 1744, was married October 29, 1767, to Richard Bache; her eight children were—1. Benjamin Franklin, 2. William, 3. Sarah, 4. Elizabeth Franklin, 5. Louis, 6. Deborah, 7. Richard, 8. Sarah. Her descendants, numbering at the present time nearly two hundred, embrace many distinguished characters, scientists, physicians, men of letters, and philanthropists. Her seventh son, Richard, married, in 1805, Sophia Dallas, daughter of Alexander James Dallas, Secretary of the Treasury in 1814, and sister of George Mifflin Dallas, Vice-President from 1845 to 1849; and one of their sons was Alexander Dallas Bache, the intellectual giant who conceived the scientific methods for the development of the Coast Survey of the United States, a work which conferred benefits upon navigation beyond expression in language, and made his name honored throughout the civilized world; another son, George, was an officer of the United States Navy, and lost his life in 1846, while in command of an expedition engaged in the hazardous business of sounding the Gulf Stream.

gress, foreign characters, and all that was notable in the pulpit, halls of learning, or private walks of life in the metropolis. Washington expressed himself greatly pleased with the good sense and eloquence of the speaker,¹ the tendency of whose discourse, he said, was to compare "the excellent government of our own choice with what it would have been had we not succeeded in our opposition to the attempts of Great Britain to enslave us; and to show how we ought to cherish the blessings within our reach and cultivate the seeds of harmony and unanimity in our public councils."² Two years before this, Chancellor Livingston had figured as the orator of the 4th of July celebration in the same sacred edifice, and with keen political foresight pointed out the course in which things were moving, while he enriched with many sagacious reflections and happy aphorisms his varied knowledge of historic and general affairs. Brockholst Livingston dwelt more definitely upon the results which were then undeveloped, and with the habitual flexibility of a lawyer who had chosen the bar as a pathway to the career of public life, entered with much imagery and humor into the popular spirit of the moment. He was then thirty-three. His cousin, the Chancellor, was forty-three, and without the sparkling fancy and vivacity which were the former's natural gifts, was cultured and accomplished to a degree of elegance not often met at that period even in the higher circles of thought.

The mansion of the Chancellor, in lower Broadway, was sumptuously furnished. Its walls were adorned with Gobelin tapestry of unique design, and beautiful paintings and costly ornaments greeted the eye in every apartment. He was a great lover of art-treasures, and his well-filled purse enabled him to import whatever fancy or inclination suggested. He was subsequently one of the founders of the American Academy of Fine Arts, an association organized in 1801 and incorporated in 1808, of which he was chosen the first president. His table-service was of solid silver valued, it is said, at upwards of thirty thousand dollars; four side-dishes each weighed twelve and one half pounds; the center-piece used on state occasions was one of the most exquisite and costly of its kind. His country-seat at Clermont, on the shore of the Hudson, with its library opening into a greenhouse and orangery, its half-mile lawn, its richly cultivated gardens, its blossoming orchards, and its magnificent forests, was for many a long year the seat of a princely hospitality. Foreign notables,

¹ Brockholst Livingston was appointed, in 1802, judge of the Supreme Court of New York, and in 1806 one of the justices of the Supreme Court of the United States. The grandfather of Brockholst Livingston was Philip, second Lord of the Manor. The grandfather of the Chancellor was Robert, younger brother of Philip, to whom was granted the property at Clermont. Thus the two Livingstons, Brockholst and the Chancellor, were second cousins.

² *Washington's Diary.*

and all that was most distinguished in the world of politics and letters, were entertained under its roof; and on numerous occasions, as, for instance, when a brilliant reception was given to Lafayette, the shining waters of the Hudson, as far as the eye could reach, were white with vessels freighted with gay visitors. While New York was the capital of the nation, Washington, more particularly after his removal from the Walter Franklin to the McComb mansion, in Broadway, was in the practice of dropping in to see the Chancellor informally at any hour suiting his convenience, the residence of the latter being only a few rods distant.

Justice Iredell reached New York with his family after a tiresome and protracted journey through the South-



Chancellor Robert R. Livingston.

Engraving by J. A. Kneller, Esq.

Printed by J. A. Kneller, Esq., at the New York Herald Office.

ern States, and established his residence at 63 Wall Street. Born in England, he came to North Carolina at the age of seventeen, and studied law with Governor Samuel Johnston, whose sister he married in 1773. Two of his brothers were clergymen in England; and his son, James, became a statesman of distinction—at one time governor of North Carolina. Judge Iredell was on intimate social terms with Dr. Hugh Williamson, who resided with his wife's family at the Apthorpe mansion. The favorite drive for the New-Yorkers of 1790 was what Washington styled "the fourteen miles' round," the route being over the "Old Boston Road," on the line of Third Avenue, crossing Murray Hill nearly on the line of Lexington Avenue, and bearing westward to McGowan's Pass, thence to the Bloomingdale region, where the beautiful country-seats were like a villa-

of villas, and so down on the Hudson River side of the Island. The President's chariot and six horses were on this road nearly every pleasant day, with many other imposing equipages. Dr. Williamson drove into town every morning, and Judge Iredell often returned with him in the afternoon, to discuss politics and the climate of America, the learned doctor being about to write his celebrated octavo volume on that subject. Iredell was invited to dine with the President soon after his arrival, and writing of the occasion, he said, "We had some excellent champagne; and after it I had the honor of drinking coffee with Mrs. Washington."

During the controversy over the site of the permanent seat of government the President was incessantly active and observant. Harlem Heights, Westchester, and portions of Long Island were from time to time suggested as suitable localities for the proposed district. Brooklyn and Kingston were both discussed as eligible. "Where could a situation be found for the capitol and other public buildings comparable to the heights of Brooklyn?" One great objection was its exposure to hostile invasion. Yet the harbor was claimed to be as capable of defense as that of Philadelphia or Georgetown. Kingston was declared admirably adapted for the site of a great city, and secure from the attacks of an enemy. The gentleman from Connecticut, who broached the subject, was asked if he had forgotten that Kingston was sacked and burnt by the British in the War of Independence? New York City was preferred by the majority; the members from the East could reach it with ease, and it was accessible by sea to those from the South. But neither the State nor the city authorities, writes Duer, were willing to cede the territory and the jurisdiction of the ten miles square which must include it. Washington having previously sent over his servants, horses, and carriage, crossed to Brooklyn, and drove through the Long Island towns of Flatbush, New Utrecht, Gravesend, Jamaica, and beyond for many miles. He breakfasted at Henry Onderdonk's, on the shore of Hempstead Bay, at what is now the pretty village of Roslyn, and dined at Flushing, twelve miles distant. Mrs. Jay wrote to her husband, whose duties as chief justice had carried him as far as Boston on his first circuit through New England, saying: "Last Monday the President went to Long Island to pass a week there. On Wednesday, Mrs. Washington called upon me to go with her to wait upon Miss Van Berckel, and on Thursday morning, agreeable to invitation, myself and the little girls took an early breakfast with her, and then went with her and her little grandchildren to breakfast at General Morris's at Morrisania. We passed together a very agreeable day, and on our return dined with her, as she would not take a refusal. After which I came home to dress, and she was so polite as to

take coffee with me in the evening." In another letter Mrs. Jay wrote: "Mr. and Mrs. Hamilton dined with me on Sunday and on Tuesday." She also mentioned having entertained Mrs. Iredell and her daughter, and Mr. and Mrs. Munro. In the brilliant circle which gathered about Mrs. Hamilton's table was Stephen Van Rensselaer, the patroon, who was the newly elected State senator, although scarcely twenty-six, a model of masculine beauty and courtly manners, and the husband of Margaret, Mrs. Hamilton's sister. His only brother, Philip, had recently married Ann, the daughter of Lieutenant-Governor Pierre Van Cortlandt. In the early part of July a pleasure-party was inaugurated for a drive and a dinner at the Roger Morris mansion, which, with its extensive acres surrounding, had been confiscated, and was in the hands of a common farmer. Washington, the gentlemen of his family, Mrs. Lear, the children, Vice-President and Mrs. Adams, the son of the Vice-President and Miss Smith, Secretary and Mrs. Hamilton, Secretary and Mrs. Knox, and Secretary Jefferson, proceeded in carriages to Harlem Heights, and visited the battle-fields and the old position of Fort Washington, discussing the fine views to be obtained from the picturesque elevation.

While New England was content to have New York remain the capital of the nation, Pennsylvania clamored for its establishment on the banks of the Delaware; and Maryland, Delaware, and Virginia were anxious that it should be on the Potomac. The South Carolinians objected to Philadelphia because her Quakers "were eternally dogging Southern members with their schemes of emancipation." The Philadelphians would not listen to a thought of New York, because "it was a sink of political vice." Dr. Rush wrote to Speaker Muhlenberg, upon hearing that the discussion had turned upon the Susquehanna, "Do as you please, but tear Congress away from New York in any way; do not rise without effecting this business."

"The question of residence is continually entangling every measure proposed," wrote Wolcott from New York in the early part of July, "and a party which is gained by one proposition is frequently lost by the resentment which another party can excite in bringing up some other question." The Assumption Bill and the site of the future capital of the Union were the main points at issue. But the subject of slavery, introduced by a petition from the Quakers of Pennsylvania, that the negroes should receive their freedom, signed by many persons from other States, created no little warmth; and laws of great variety and significance, pensions for Revolutionary services, the patenting of useful inventions, regulation of the mercantile marine, securing to authors the copyright of their works, forming the groundwork for a criminal Code, and making

provision for embassies, light-houses, and a "military establishment," were among the problems to be studied and solved by this Congress. The Assumption Bill created such feuds, that when it was lost in the House by a vote taken one hot July afternoon, the whole business of the nation was in a dead-lock. The Northern members threatened secession and dissolution of the Union. Congress actually adjourned from day to day because opposing parties were too much out of temper to discuss or do business together. Hamilton was in despair. Even Washington was alarmed, and begged Jefferson to act as a peace-maker among the members.

He was on his way to see the President one morning when he met Hamilton on the street, and the two walked arm in arm backward and forward in front of the President's house in Broadway for half an hour, Hamilton explaining with the utmost earnestness the anger and disgust of the creditor States, and the immediate danger of disunion, unless the excitement was calmed through the sacrifice of some subordinate principle. Hamilton appealed so directly to Jefferson for aid in silencing the clamor which menaced the very existence of government, that the latter yielded, and afterwards said he "was most innocently made to hold the candle" to Hamilton's "fiscal manœuvre" for assuming the State debts. He proposed that Hamilton should dine with him the next day, inviting two or three other gentlemen; and at the dinner-table the situation was discussed in all its bearings. It was finally agreed that two of the Virginia members should support the Assumption Bill, and that Hamilton and Robert Morris should command the Northern influence sufficient to insure the location of the seat of government on the Potomac.

The compact thus entered into resulted in the adoption of Hamilton's funding system by a small majority in both houses, and in the decision that founded the city of Washington on its present site. The residence of government for the ten coming years was to be in Philadelphia, to give opportunity for the erection of public buildings and such private dwellings as would be required for the accommodation of persons engaged in public affairs.

Hamilton's original proposition concerning the State debts was modified in the process of bloom. The specific sum of twenty-one and a half millions of dollars was assumed, and apportioned among the States in a proximate ratio to the amounts of the debts of each. An act was passed by which the whole of the domestic debt became a loan to the nation, redeemable at various times and at various rates of interest.

When the great national debt had been brought into tangible shape, steps were taken for its payment; but some years elapsed before the

system was completed. The public credit, however, was immediately improved, and the effect upon the prosperity of the country was magical. Commerce was invigorated, and men entered into agricultural and other pursuits with hopeful and brightening views. In allusion to Hamilton's financial scheme and its bearing on the public welfare, Daniel Webster, a half-century afterward, exclaimed: "He smote the rock of the national resources, and abundant streams of revenue gushed forth."

Meanwhile the experiment was to be tried, and half the nation doubted its success. Jefferson honestly believed the whole system fraught with mischief. Party discords and personal enmities, local interests and State jealousies, jarred Congress, disturbed the harmony of Washington's cabinet, and retarded the execution of every measure. The adversaries of any plan are not prone to cease hostility after having strenuously opposed and suffered defeat. In all free communities there must be two parties, they are a balancing necessity, and every man must belong to one or another; therefore his motives and principles should be judged by his conduct and character, rather than by the side he takes. "An empire so circumstanced," wrote Judge Iredell, "requires to be discussed with the joint aid of the most enlarged and comprehensive minds, and with the utmost moderation and candor to make allowances for those unavoidable differences of opinion, which on such momentous and difficult subjects will arise among men of the greatest abilities and the purest and most candid intentions."¹ Washington had refrained from expressing his sentiments in regard to the act for funding the public debt, while it was under debate in Congress, but he was a decided friend to the measure. He was also silently in favor of the bill which located the future seat of government within easy drive of his own Virginia estate.*

The newspapers of New York during the summer abounded with pungent paragraphs for and against the removal of the government. When the final decision was announced, a caricature print appeared representing Robert Morris marching off with the Federal Hall upon his shoulders, its windows crowded with members of both Houses encouraging or anathematizing this novel mode of deportation, while the devil from the roof of the Paulus Hook ferry-house beckoned to him patronizingly, crying, "This way, Bobby!"

¹ *Life and Correspondence of James Iredell*, by G. J. McRee. Iredell was the justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, who was quoted in England as "a judge who could ride nineteen hundred miles upon a circuit." When he removed his residence from the metropolis to Philadelphia, Robert Lenox, a distinguished merchant and citizen of New York, who had acted as his agent, wrote to him: "It was never my intention to make charge for any service I have been so fortunate as to render you. I am sufficiently repaid in the acquaintance of a gentleman for whom I have so much respect; and if I have been so fortunate as to have laid a foundation for your friendship also, I am repaid indeed."

Congress adjourned on the 12th of August, to meet in Philadelphia in December; both Houses having passed resolutions thanking the corporation of the city of New York "for the elegant and convenient accommodations which had been furnished them." The day following, Federal Hall was the scene of the famous Indian treaty ratification described upon a former page. This was the last time that President Washington drove to Federal Hall in an official capacity. His

Aug. 12. six prancing horses with their painted hoofs, and his cream-colored state coach, ornamented with cupids supporting festoons, and with borderings of flowers around the panels, would no longer be the admiration of Wall Street. But the principles upon which alone the government could live had been determined in that great heart of the nation, and the initiatory questions of interpretation settled. The blended acuteness and argumentation of thinkers, philosophers, orators, jurists, and statesmen had rendered the locality memorable. More complex, intricate, or profound subjects, or of greater importance than those debated in 1790, never came before a body of legislators. Illustrious memories will ever be cherished, in spite of the changes which have placed the marble structure which guards the golden treasures of our government upon the site of Federal Hall, and converted Wall Street into the vital business point where all the life pulses ebb and flow of a great community, which has its financial, commercial, social, and domestic roots stretched to the remotest quarters of the globe.

On the 14th of August Washington sailed for Newport, accompanied by Secretary Jefferson, Governor Clinton, Judge Blair, and other prominent characters. He was welcomed with great enthusiasm; after spending a few days he visited Providence, and returned to the city on the 21st much improved in health. He immediately

Aug. 21. made preparations for a journey to Mount Vernon. The day before his departure from New York he entertained at dinner the mayor and corporation of the city, and Governor Clinton; also Lieutenant Governor Van Cortlandt, and his son Pierre, a young man of excellent parts who, two years later was a member of the State legislature, and who must have been forcibly reminded of an incident in connection with one of Washington's former dinner invitations—which he was fond of relating in after years. Being a lad of fourteen at the breaking out of the war, he was consigned to the new college at New Brunswick, for his education, his father writing a letter introducing him to Washington, then in New Jersey. Young Pierre presented the letter, but his courage oozed away, to use his own language, in the stately presence, and when invited to dinner the next day he stammered a faint "Yes." As the time drew

near, however, to appear again before the great personage, he was overcome with timidity, and after marching towards headquarters for a little distance he turned about and ran home. The next morning he accidentally met Washington, who, before he could escape, exclaimed, "Master Cortlandt, where were you yesterday?" The boy tried to articulate an excuse. "Master Cortlandt," interrupted Washington, with grave solemnity, "Mrs. Washington and myself expected you at dinner yesterday; we waited a few moments for you; you inconvenienced my family by failing to keep your word; you are a young lad, Master Cortlandt, and let me advise you, hereafter, when you make a promise or an engagement, never fail to keep it; Good morning, Master Cortlandt!"

The rules for entertaining company which Washington established in New York were maintained in Philadelphia with little change. On Tuesdays, at three o'clock in the afternoon, his dining-room was thrown open, from which the chairs had previously been removed, and the President was seen by the approaching visitor standing before the fireplace in coat and breeches of rich black velvet, with a white or pearl-colored satin vest, silver knee-buckles and shoe-buckles, a cocked hat in his hand, his hair powdered and gathered into a silk bag, and an elegant sword in its scabbard of polished white leather at his side. He was usually surrounded by the gentlemen of his cabinet and others of distinction, and citizens and strangers, properly introduced, were always admitted. He never shook hands on these occasions. At the levees of Mrs. Washington on Fridays he appeared as a private gentleman, without hat or sword, and conversed without restraint.

He regretted leaving the McComb mansion, although that of Robert Morris, the handsomest house in Philadelphia, was placed at his disposal. The latter was three stories high, and about thirty-two feet wide, with a front displaying four windows in the two upper stories, and three in the first — two on one side of the hall and one on the other. The door was approached by three heavy steps of gray stone, and on each side of the edifice were gardens filled with trees and shrubbery. Washington thought it would hardly accommodate his family without additions. He was not well pleased with certain difficulties he encountered in trying to ascertain what it would cost him, and fancied the policy of delay with its lessee was to see to what heights rents would rise. After writing to his secretary a detailed account of the manner in which it should be furnished if alterations and additions were made, he added: "When all is done that can be done, the residence will not be as commodious as that I leave in New York." As for the stables, he said they were good, but for twelve horses only. There was a room over them which might serve

the coachman and postilions, and a coach-house which would hold all his carriages. He had also observed a smoke-house which he thought might "possibly be more valuable for the use of servants than the smoking of meats." He gave minute directions for the packing of porcelain, glass, and other articles. And, what is more, he suggested in his written communications the precise and particular spot where every household good was to be placed when unpacked in his new home. He told Mr. Lear that he might appropriate "a small room adjoining the kitchen for the Sèvres china, and other things not in common use," and questioned whether a green or a yellow curtain should be "appropriated to the staircase above the hall."

The President's final farewell to New York was extremely touching.

Aug. 30. He had intended to avoid all ceremony. But as the hour of his departure approached on the morning of the 30th, Broadway filled with people, and Governor Clinton, Lieutenant-Governor Van Cortlandt, with the principal officers of the State, Mayor Varick and the corporation of the city, the clergy, the society of the Cincinnati, and a large number of distinguished New-Yorkers appeared, to do the final honors, in connection with the officers of the national government. The President passed the threshold of his residence at half past ten o'clock, accompanied by Mrs. Washington and the various members of his family, and was escorted to the beautiful barge which had been presented to him on his arrival at the metropolis the year before. At the wharf he turned and surveyed the scene. The crowd was immense, standing in tearful silence. He spoke a few words, expressive of the sense he entertained of the courtesy and kindness of the citizens during his residence among them, but seemed overcome with emotion. The instant he stepped into the barge thirteen guns announced the fact from the battery; he stood upright while the boat shoved off, and waved his hat, with the single word, "Farewell," at which a prolonged shout arose from the multitude which seemed to drown even the echo of the guns. Governor Clinton, Chief Justice Jay, Mayor Varick, and Hamilton, Knox, and Osgood accompanied him to Paulus Hook.

The rough corduroy road from this point to Newark proved very tiresome to the whole party. The coachman showed such want of skill in driving, that before reaching Elizabeth they were obliged "to take him from the coach and put him on the wagon. This he turned over twice," wrote Washington, "and has also got the horses in the habit of stopping."

Many another horse acquired the same habit during the months that followed. The removal of households to Philadelphia commenced immediately; and during the whole autumn the roads through New Jersey,

writes Griswold, "looked like a street in New York on the first of May." The New-Englanders were less pleased with the change than the New-Yorkers themselves. They could not discover that the Quakers were so much better than other men. "Some of them wore powder, silver buckles, and ruffles!" Oliver Wolcott wrote in September from New York: "I have at length been to Philadelphia, and with much difficulty procured a house. The rent is one hundred pounds, which is excessive, being near double what would have been exacted before the question of residence was determined. Philadelphia is a large and elegant city. It did not, however, strike me with all the astonishment which the citizens predicted. I have seen many of their principal men, and discover nothing that tempts me to idolatry."

The family of Vice-President Adams tarried on the bank of the Hudson until frost came. Their furniture was shipped in a small vessel for Philadelphia. Mrs. Adams reached the Quaker City to find her new residence, Bush Hill, on the Schuylkill, in possession of painters, brushes in hand. She wrote to her daughter, "It is a beautiful place, but the grand and sublime I left at Richmond Hill." In the midst of the confusion of "boxes, barrels, chairs, tables, trunks," fires that would not burn because of wet fuel, cold, damp rooms, and fresh paint, nearly every member of the household sickened with colds or rheumatism; "and every day, the stormy ones excepted, from eleven until three, the house was filled with ladies and gentlemen." Mrs. Adams said she endeavored to have one room decent for their reception, and was constantly assured that she was much better off than Mrs. Washington would be upon her arrival, whose house was not likely to be completed before the end of the year. "And when all is done it will not be Broadway!" Mrs. Adams thought if New York wanted any revenge for the removal, her citizens would need only to come to the new capital, where it was not possible for the satellites of government to be half as well accommodated as in the metropolis—at least for a long time to come. "Every article has risen to almost double its price," she wrote. "One would suppose that the people thought Mexico was before them and Congress its possessors." "You cannot turn round without paying a dollar," said Jeremiah Smith of New Hampshire. And even James Monroe remarked, "The city seems at present to be mostly inhabited by sharpers."

Matters gradually adjusted themselves, and regrets for New York were lost in the agreeable and stirring events of the winter. Congress commenced its third session on the 6th of December, and was actively busy with public affairs until the 3d of March, 1791. Two im-
Dec. 6.portant measures, the tax on distilled spirits of domestic manufacture,

and a national bank, were vehemently and angrily discussed, and finally adopted. The opponents of the bank denied its necessity or utility, and said that Congress had no authority from the Constitution to create any corporation whatever. The question involved principles of the utmost importance to the United States, and the subject was viewed in every shade of light. Hamilton, with scholastic logic, calmly reasoned that the measure in question was a proper method for the execution of the several powers which were enumerated, and also contended that the right to employ it resulted from the whole of them taken together. The preamble to the bill foretold "that it would be conducive to the successful conducting of the national finances, give facility to the obtaining of loans for the use of the government in sudden emergencies, and be productive of considerable advantage to trade and industry in general." Jefferson was intolerant of banks. He said they were "instituted by a moneyed aristocracy," and that the public was "abandoned to avarice and swindlers by a paper currency." Hamilton's projects were in his eyes only powerful engines for the completion of machinery by which the whole action of the legislature would be under the direction of the Treasury—and shaped to further a monarchical system of government. Hamilton and Jefferson wrangled continually. "Why should either of you be so tenacious of your opinions as to make no allowance for those of the other?" exclaimed Washington.

The bank went into operation, and although the question of its expediency agitated the public mind and divided the national councils for many years afterwards, experience has shown the absolute necessity of such an institution to enable the government to manage its great concerns.

The city of Washington was not yet laid out, and immediately after Congress adjourned in the spring of 1791 the President made a tour through the Southern States, his first business being to confer with the landholders and arrange for the purchase of the site of the future capital.

1791. He left Philadelphia on the 21st of March, precisely at noon, and **March 21.** was attended for some miles by Jefferson and Knox. The roads were so muddy that he was five days in journeying to Annapolis. In his diary, he wrote: "I was accompanied by Major Jackson; my equipage and attendance consisted of a chariot and four horses drove in hand, a light baggage-wagon and two horses, four saddle-horses, besides a led one for myself, and five dependents, to wit, my valet de chambre, two footmen, a coachman, and a postilion."

New York languished for several months after the removal of the seat of government. The winter was particularly dull. The chief excitement grew out of the election of Aaron Burr to the Senate of the United

States. Schuyler had, on casting lots, drawn the shortest term, which would expire with the present session of Congress; hence it became necessary to fill the seat thus made vacant. Schuyler was a candidate for re-election, and Burr was his competitor. Schuyler was a man of integrity and commanding appearance, but a strong partisan, who bore the scars of former political contests; and he was thoroughly identified with Hamilton, whose financial scheme was rending the community in twain. Personally he was reputed austere and aristocratic, which did not enhance his popularity. Burr was a new man in politics, was opposed to the ultras of both parties, and stood before the people an educated and accomplished gentleman, who would represent the State fairly through his moderation. He was opposed to Hamilton's measures, and he was to all appearances equally opposed to Clinton. He was thirty-five years of age, small of stature and well-formed, with handsome features, black eyes of piercing brilliancy, and an irresistibly pleasing address. His specialty was to shine. Except Hamilton, he was thought to be the finest orator in the State, and by many was considered one of the most eloquent and persuasive public speakers of the age. It was nine years since he puzzled the writers of biographical gossip by marrying Mrs. Prevost, the widow of a British officer ten years older than himself, who had two rollicking sons, and no great estate. The lady was not even beautiful; but she was highly cultivated, with great loveliness of character, and the marriage had proved a happy one, notwithstanding Burr's moral defects. They were not much in society; but Burr often said in after years that if his manners were superior to those of men in general it was owing to the insensible influence of his wife. He had been two years Attorney General of the State, prior to which time, in addition to great industry in his profession, he had served one term in the Legislature. He had also been one of three commissioners, in 1790, upon whom New York devolved the duty of classifying and deciding upon the claims of individuals for services rendered and losses sustained in the Revolutionary War. These claimants were legion. Some had served in the State militia, others in the Continental army, many in both. Some had supplied provisions to both descriptions of troops, others had had their estates overrun and houses pillaged or burned by the enemy. Some of the claims were for thousands of dollars, others for the value of horses, cattle, or a few tons of hay. In the throng of claimants were numberless rogues whose accounts needed the closest scrutiny. And when, after all the trouble, the justice of a claim was established, it was often a difficult point to decide whether it was the national or the State government that ought to discharge it. In some cases both seemed liable, and the commissioners must decide in

what proportion. The investigation occupied many months, and at its close Burr drew up a report which was remarkable for its clear and concise statement of the principles upon which claims had been allowed, rejected, or excluded from consideration, and which was accepted by the Legislature without opposition or amendment.

In 1791 he was appointed to serve on another commission of grave importance, the issue of which advanced the reputation of no one concerned. It was to dispose of the wild unappropriated lands in the State of New York, which at the close of the war amounted to more than seven millions of acres. As a matter of State policy it was thought best to offer inducements to such persons as were willing to find a lodgment in the vast wilderness, therefore a law was enacted authorizing these commissioners to sell land "in such parcels, on such terms, and in such manner as they should judge most conducive to the interests of the public." Powers more unlimited were never confided to any body of men, not excepting the old Dutch mercantile companies. The vote in the Legislature creating the statute was nearly or quite unanimous, and evidently met the approval of both political parties. The commission consisted of Governor Clinton, the State secretary, Lewis Allaire Scott, the attorney-general, Aaron Burr, the State treasurer, Gerard Bancker, and the auditor, Peter T. Curtenius.

During the summer these gentlemen sold the enormous quantity of five and a half millions of acres, at an average price of about eighteen cents per acre, in prodigious tracts—one for three shillings an acre, another for two shillings, and some for one shilling. The most extraordinary sale of all was one to Alexander McComb, of more than three million six hundred thousand acres, at the seemingly incredible price of eightpence per acre, payable in five annual instalments, without interest, subject to a discount of six per cent if paid in advance. Large parcels were sold to other persons, among whom were James Caldwell and John and Nicholas Roosevelt.

As soon as these transactions were made public an outcry arose in all parts of the State, and resolutions of censure were moved in the Legislature. It was broadly insinuated that the governor and his friends were personally interested in the purchases. This met with a total denial on the part of the commissioners, who emphatically asserted that no higher offers for the land could be obtained, and that the chief object of the State in selling was to bring private interest to bear upon the actual settlement of the waste places. Hammond says, "After a long and acrimonious discussion of the resolutions of censure, they were finally rejected, and Melancthon Smith, as pure a man as ever lived, introduced a resolution

approving of the conduct of the commissioners, which was adopted in the Assembly by a vote of thirty-five to twenty."

One of the curiosities in the turn of the political wheel was the support given to Burr, in opposition to Schuyler, by the Livingstons. The Chancellor suddenly veered from the Federal party, giving as a reason his want of sympathy with the views of Hamilton. Some said he was disappointed in not having been made Chief Justice of the United States, or at least tendered some of the great offices of the general government. His brother-in-law, Morgan Lewis, received the appointment of attorney-general when Burr took his seat in the Senate. Schuyler felt his defeat acutely, and Hamilton was excessively annoyed. As for Burr, his transcendent abilities, and corrupt principles were henceforward cast into the political caldron. His career as a senator commenced October 24, 1791, with the compliment of being named chairman of a committee of three, to prepare a reply to the annual speech of President Washington before the two Houses assembled in the Senate Chamber.

The merchants of New York about this time formed an association with the purpose of providing a business center for the commercial community, called the "Tontine Association" in honor of Tonti, a Neapolitan, who introduced a similar scheme into France in 1653. The word "Tontine" was to designate "a loan advanced by a number of associated capitalists for life annuities, with benefit to survivorship." The Tontine building was erected on the corner of Wall and Water Streets, between the years 1792 and 1794, and the Association was formally incorporated during the year last mentioned. Among the merchants who pushed forward the enterprise were John Broome, John Watts, Gulian Verplanck, John Delafield, and William Laight.¹

¹ John Broome, for six successive years lieutenant-governor of the State, was born and educated in New York, studying law in the office of Governor William Livingston, although diverted from the legal profession into the importing business by his brother, Samuel Broome, who married Miss Nugent, niece and adopted daughter of Admiral Sir Peter Parker, commander of the British fleet on our coast. *Biographies of Francis Lewis and Morgan Lewis*, by their granddaughter, Julia Delafield. His father was an Englishman, his mother a Frenchwoman, Marie de la Tourette. The parents of this lady were the young Count and Countess de la Tourette of an ancient Huguenot family, and were residents at the old château in La Vendée, when the Edict of Nantes was revoked. The count was informed that his name was on the list of the proscribed, and that an unsuccessful attempt to escape would cost him his life. He proceeded to give a large entertainment to which all the neighboring gentry were invited, and when the gayety was at its height, stole with the countess from the banquetting hall and escaped on foot to the sea-shore, where a vessel bound for Charleston lay at anchor, taking with them only their jewels and their Huguenot Bible. The ship was cast away on Staten Island, where the countess gave birth to the daughter who subsequently became the mother of John Broome. The reader has observed the name of this gentleman on the Revolutionary committees and in the New York Congress during the war. He married Rebecca

Gouverneur Morris wrote constantly from France, and his letters were filled with the shocking excesses of the Revolutionists in that troubled kingdom. In the spring of 1792 he was appointed by the President, minister plenipotentiary to the French Court; but his services in that direction were destined to be of short duration. Down to this period the great mass of Americans were ardent sympathizers with the French reformers. But Washington, Hamilton, Adams, Rufus King, and other leading conservatives began to think the French Revolution essentially diabolical, an opinion which deepened when the news came that Lafayette had lost his authority and was in personal danger, and that the French nation was governed by Jacobin clubs. "Ah! the fact is," said Jefferson, "Gouverneur Morris is a high-flying monarchy man, shutting his eyes and his faith to every fact against his wishes."

Meanwhile New York must needs elect a governor, as Clinton's term of office expired in the summer. Both political parties were intensely excited on the subject. The Federalists were some time in fixing upon a candidate. They applied to Judge Yates, and to Stephen Van Rensselaer, the patroon, both of whom declined. Chancellor Livingston was invited and declined. Chief Justice Jay was much desired, but his high office under the national government and his aversion to party warfare made it seem improbable that he would permit his name to be used. Aaron Burr was suggested. Through the influence of Schuyler and Hamilton, Jay finally accepted the nomination, and Stephen Van Rensselaer that of lieutenant-governor. On the other hand, George Clinton and Pierre Van Cortlandt were nominated for a re-election.

The council of appointment consisted of David Pye, Philip Van Cortlandt, the military son of the lieutenant-governor, Stephen Van Rensselaer, and William Powers. The State canvassers were David Geltson, Thomas Tillotson, whose wife was one of the Chancellor's sisters, Melancthon Smith, Daniel Graham, Pierre Van Cortlandt, Jr., David McCarty, Jonathan N. Havens, Samuel Jones, Isaac Roosevelt, Leonard Ganesvoort, and Joshua Sands. The election was the closest and angriest the State had yet seen, and the issue exasperated parties more than the strife itself. There was an informality in the canvass, and both sides claimed

Lloyd, of Lloyd's Neck. He was an alderman of the city, at one time City Treasurer, President of the Chamber of Commerce, and also President of the New York Insurance Company. His daughter Sarah married James Boggs, many years President of the Phoenix Bank, and his daughter Julia married Colonel John Livingston, great-grandson of the second Lord of the Manor, who purchased an estate on Lake Skaneateles and afterwards received a premium for the best cultivated land in the country, and who was also marshal of the northern district of New York for twenty-seven years. Mrs. Boggs left two daughters, Mary, married Richard Ray, and Julia Augusta, married Lewis H. Livingston.

the victory. Of the eleven canvassers named, seven announced that Clinton had carried the State by a majority of one hundred and eight votes, while the remaining four declared that the victory belonged to Jay. After many stormy discussions they agreed to request the opinion of New York's two United States Senators, Rufus King and Aaron Burr.

It was a peculiar question. The law then required the votes of a county to be sealed by the inspectors of election, and delivered to the sheriff, who was to convey it intact to the Secretary of State. On this occasion the County of Otsego had no sheriff. Richard R. Smith had held that office, but his term had expired. Another sheriff had been appointed, but had not yet been sworn in; and during the interregnum the important business of receiving and conveying the votes had presented itself. Of course Smith performed the duty. But he was not the sheriff. He had been elected to the board of supervisors, an office incompatible with that of sheriff, and had actually taken his seat at the board and performed official acts. The Republicans protested that the votes received and sent by him could not be legally canvassed. The county had given Jay about four hundred majority, and if those votes were not excluded Jay was governor. The two senators, upon conference, found that an irreconcilable difference of opinion existed between them on the subject. King was for admitting the votes, Burr for rejecting them. Each consulted several of the best lawyers in the land before giving his opinion, and could exhibit an imposing array of names in its support. King was for having justice done; Burr for having the law observed. The canvassers, thus left to choose, followed the political preferences of the majority of their number, and pronounced George Clinton duly elected.

The exasperation of the Federalists was, for a time, almost beyond control, and the State seemed in danger of anarchy. As each senator had decided in favor of his own party, the motives of both were assailed. Public meetings were held, and the governor was denounced as a usurper and the canvassing committee as corrupt. Loud protests were made against the legality of Clinton's acts. At this juncture nothing but the conduct of John Jay saved the State from temporary confusion.

He was holding Circuit Court at Bennington, in Vermont, when the decision of the canvassers was made known. Upon his return his political friends met him in crowds at the State line, and his journey home was one continued ovation. Public dinners, addresses, and salutes of artillery greeted him at Albany, Lansingburg, Hudson, and other towns on the route. When within eight miles of New York City, he was met by a body of citizens and escorted to his house with every demonstration

of affection. A public meeting was called, and amid highly inflammatory addresses expression was given to the general indignation because of the measures taken to deprive him of the office to which he had been elected. Jay was calm and dignified through all these exciting scenes, and his words breathed such a spirit of conciliation and moderation that order was restored. "They who do what they have a right to do, give no just cause of offense," he said, "therefore every consideration of propriety forbids that difference of opinion respecting candidates should suspend or interrupt the mutual good-humor and benevolence which harmonize society and soften the asperities of human life and human affairs." A few days later a public dinner was given to Jay, and on retiring from table, the whole company, as a mark of respect, waited upon him to his house. It was an unusual spectacle, that of a popular leader striving to modify the temper of those who believed him to be the rightful governor and were burning to redress his wrongs. Governor Clinton

took the oath of office on the 18th of July, and on the 19th a great dinner was tendered him by his political friends. Samuel Os-
 July 19. good, as chairman of a committee, addressed Clinton, animadverting with much severity on the conduct of his opponents; to which Clinton replied in a gentlemanly and conciliatory manner. When the legislature con-

vened in November, petitions on the subject of the canvass
 Nov 6. poured in from all parts of the State. A tedious investigation ensued. The law regulating elections had made the decisions of the canvassers final; and after some time the Assembly, by a majority of four votes, resolved, "That it does not appear to this House that the canvassers conducted themselves with any impropriety in the execution of the trust reposed in them by the law."

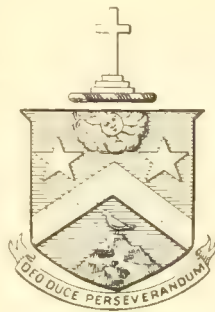
National affairs absorbed the public mind as winter approached. The second election of a chief magistrate occurred, and Washington was again chosen by a unanimous vote. Not so the Vice-President. Herculean efforts were made to defeat the re-election of Adams, and Governor George Clinton was the opposing candidate. The force of the blow was directed chiefly against the measures of Hamilton. Clinton's strength was feared by the Federalists. He was a man of property, integrity, unblemished private life, and had been distinguished above all others in the United States for his resistance to the adoption of the Constitution. Jefferson and Burr were named as candidates in private circles and in public prints, though not regularly nominated.¹ Hamilton thought Burr ap-

¹ In Aaron Burr's letters to his wife he said he dared not trust the public mail with political secrets. When he wrote about politics it was in ciphers. As, for instance, he requested "18 to ask 45, whether, for any reasons, 21 could be induced to vote for 6, and if he could,

peared upon the stage to play the game of confusion in favor of Clinton, and wrote to Rufus King, "I take it he is for or against nothing, but as it suits his interest or ambition. He is determined, as I conceive, to make his way to the head of the popular party, and as much higher as circumstances will permit. Embarrassed, as I understand, in circumstances, with an extravagant family, bold, enterprising, and intriguing, I feel it to be a religious duty to oppose his career." The electoral votes, being cast in their respective States, were forwarded to the seat of government, and opened on the 13th of February, 1793. Clinton received the entire vote of New York, of Virginia, of North Carolina, and of Georgia. But Adams was declared elected by a small majority. 1793.
Feb. 13.

It was a trying moment in the affairs of America when Washington took the oath of office, and entered upon his new four years' term of labor and self-sacrifice. The French Revolution had just reached its highest point of fanaticism, and war threatened all Europe. Would the United States escape the storm? The King of France had been dethroned and murdered, and a republic declared; should the United States receive a minister from that republic? Were the treaties annulled by the Revolution? "What the government of France shall be is the very point in dispute," wrote Hamilton to Jay on the 9th of April. "A regent will doubtless arise who may himself send an ambassador to the United States. Should we in such case receive both?" March 4.
April 9.

Two days later Hamilton wrote again to Jay: "Would not a proclamation prohibiting our citizens from taking commissions on either side be proper? Would it not be well that it should include a declaration of neutrality? If you deem proper? I wish replied without delay: "Let be right to avoid war. show what my present mation are; it is hastily about treaties, it speaks the expression, because sociated with others. I on my way to Richmond. ent that too little should be said than too much."



Jay Arms.

think the measure prusuch a thing as you would much you would." Jay reus do everything that may The enclosed will ideas of a procla- drawn, it says nothing of neutrality, but avoids in this country often as- shall be in Philadelphia I think it better at present

The difficulty and delicacy of deciding what course to pursue was only

whether 14 would withdraw his opposition to 29, and 11 exert his influence in favor of 22. This mode of correspondence was not unusual at that time among politicians, but Barr was one of the most mysterious of them all.

equalled by its importance. Washington sought the advice of his Cabinet. With England diplomatic intercourse had been opened by the appearance of George Hammond in 1791, the first minister plenipotentiary to the United States from that government, but little progress had been made in adjusting differences. Hammond, indeed, had no powers to conclude a treaty of commerce, and Jefferson had interpreted his lack of authority as an evidence of unfriendly sentiments on the part of the British nation. War might easily be precipitated. The multitude who fancied that a brand snatched from our own altars had lighted the fire of liberty upon the wrecks of ancient tyranny, that a political millenium had begun, was ready to plunge into any extreme. Would it not be better to avoid partnership in European jealousies and confusions?

On the 22d the celebrated Proclamation of Neutrality was issued. Its necessity was proven by the uproar it created and the strifes it
April 22. enkindled. The opposing party broadly accused the administration of hostility towards their former allies. Meanwhile Edmond Charles Genet, sent on a secret mission by the unsettled republic to involve the United States in a war with England, and thus effect a diversion in behalf of France, was already in South Carolina, distributing naval and military commissions. Chief Justice Jay, holding court in Richmond, when it became known that privateers were being fitted out in American ports to prey upon British commerce under commissions furnished by Genet, gave the public to understand in his charge to the jury that the Supreme Court would fearlessly discharge its duty and punish acts forbidden by the neutral position of the nation. But Genet, regardless of the opinions of courts, the proclamation of the President, and the remonstrances of individuals, continued to direct, within the United States, naval and military operations against the enemies of France; and the British Minister at Philadelphia presented a long catalogue of complaints to Washington, demanding restitution. The news of the declaration of war by France against Great Britain and Holland, coming at the same time, increased the excitement, and disposed men everywhere to co-operate with their former friend against their old enemy. Genet's progress from Charlestown to Philadelphia was marked by the most extraordinary evidences of popular infatuation and diplomatic arrogance. Public authorities and private citizens vied with each other in glorifying the representative of European democracy. French views of universal reformation spread like a prairie fire. Foreigners were pouring into the United States, and, although never having known liberty, were most anxious to teach it. Europe following the example of America! The very notion was blinding to the national eyesight. Few Americans knew the direction events

were really taking in France, and the foresight of Washington, Jay, Hamilton, and others, in predicting a speedy dissolution of the scheme of the Convention, was condemned rather than appreciated.

Political clubs began to multiply, and the great theme was France. New York was profoundly agitated. About this time Aaron Burr was offered and declined the office of judge of the supreme court of the State, and Morgan Lewis received the appointment, Nathaniel Lawrence becoming attorney-general in his stead. General Matthew Clarkson was elected state senator. He had in 1791 been appointed by Washington marshal for the district of New York, at the recommendation of Chief Justice Jay, who wrote, "I think him one of the most pure and virtuous men I know. During the war he was a firm and active Whig, and since the peace a constant friend to national government. Few men here of his standing enjoy or deserve a greater degree of the esteem and goodwill of the citizens than he does, and in my opinion he would discharge the duties of that, or any office for which he is qualified, with propriety and honor." In the early part of 1793 Clarkson purchased the site of the Clarkson family residence, which was destroyed by fire while the city was occupied by the British as mentioned on a former page, and erected thereon the three-story brick house illustrated in the accompanying sketch. The entrance was on Pearl Street at first, but it was subsequently changed to Whitehall Street. This continued to be his home during the remainder of his life.



Residence of General Matthew Clarkson

CHAPTER X.

1793 - 1797.

PRESIDENT WASHINGTON'S SECOND TERM.

GOUVERNEUR MORRIS IN FRANCE. — EFFECTS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION IN NEW YORK. — CITIZEN GENET. — HAMILTON AND JEFFERSON. — THE TWO POLITICAL PARTIES. — GOUVERNEUR MORRIS RECALLED. — WAR IN PROSPECT. — CHIEF JUSTICE JAY IN ENGLAND. — "BEDFORD HOUSE." — FAMILY OF CHIEF JUSTICE JAY. — THE WHISKEY REBELLION. — ROBESPIERRE. — HAMILTON'S RETIREMENT FROM THE TREASURY. — LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR VAN CORTLANDT. — GENERAL PHILIP VAN CORTLANDT. — THE ELECTION OF GOVERNOR JAY. — THE JAY TREATY. — EVENTS OF THE SUMMER OF 1795. — THE YELLOW FEVER IN NEW YORK. — APPROPRIATION FOR PUBLIC SCHOOLS. — THE NEW YORK SOCIETY LIBRARY. — CITY IMPROVEMENTS. — THE SUBJECT OF SLAVERY. — THE FRESH WATER POND. — STEAM NAVIGATION. — POLITICAL AFFAIRS.

DURING the violent scenes of revolutionary change in France, Gouverneur Morris remained firmly at his post, although surrounded with innumerable difficulties, and constantly receiving advice from many quarters to follow the example of other foreign ministers and leave the country. He was at one time arrested in the street and
 1793. taken before the tribunal of arrests, at another his house was searched by a body of armed men, and again, while on a journey into the country, he was arrested and sent back to Paris under pretense that his passport from the government was out of date. These insults were in every case followed by apologies from the governing body, who claimed that it was impossible to control all the acts of subordinate agents. The swift transitions from one form of anarchy to another, and the blood and carnage with which human monsters worked their way to power, rendered the laws of nations and of honor but feeble protection to any individual within their reach.

The French government had been deserted by all the world, and really had no motive for offending and alienating the United States, their last and only friend. To escape the horrors and disorders of Paris, Morris bought a country-house with twenty acres of land about thirty miles from the city, where he resided during the rest of his stay in France; but

his secretary, Henry Walter Livingston, of Livingston Manor, remained chiefly in Paris. His official duties consisted in protests against the restrictions on the commerce of the United States, imposed by decrees of the Convention in violation of the treaty between the two countries; in remonstrances against the outrages of French privateers upon American shipping, and reclamation of vessels unlawfully seized; in urging the petitions and claims of American captains, whose ships were detained in French ports on various pretenses; and in applying for the release of American citizens, who had fallen into prison, through being taken for Englishmen, or some informality in their papers: all of which required indefatigable industry, and from their complex character the most judicious management. "The state of government here is a great plague," he said, "for it is difficult to discover the best mode of compassing an object, when the parties who are to decide are constantly changing. Our old Congress was nothing to this Convention." To Robert Morris he wrote: "You tell me, that in my place you would resign and come home; but this is not quite so easily done as said. In the first place, I must have leave to resign from the President; but further, you will consider that the very circumstances which you mention are strong reasons for abiding, because it is not permitted to abandon a post in the hour of difficulty. I think the late decrees respecting our commerce will show you that my continuance here has not been without some use to the United States."

New York was visibly disturbed by the irregularities attending the French Revolution. Three of her own citizens, at this juncture, were chief among the great actors whose conduct of national affairs was to determine the course America should take in the emergency. Jay and Hamilton, each in their high places, wielded exceptional power; and both were endowed with political foresight, and incomparable originality of thought and action. Morris, as Minister to France, was watched by friends and foes throughout the city with unspeakable interest. And, besides, New York was the natural refuge of French exiles. They came mostly from the nobility, and introduced French fashions, manners, language, furniture, cookery, and customs into the city, although many of them returned to France at the downfall of Robespierre.

It is the tendency of political parties to magnify their differences on all theoretical questions, and apparently to diverge wider and wider from each other. The Federalists accused the Republicans of encouraging the outrages which made the French people appear like a nation of lunatics, and the Republicans charged the Federalists with being unfriendly to liberty and freedom, and ungrateful to those who had come so bravely

to the aid of America in the struggle for independence. But when news reached New York that Gouverneur Morris had interposed at the risk of his life to save Madame de Lafayette from a horrible fate, arguing, in her behalf, that the family of Lafayette was beloved in America, where the whole people entertained a grateful recollection of his services, and that the death of his wife might lessen their attachment to the French republic, and further the interests of the enemies of France, the reaction of sentiment was singularly marked. The subsequent tragedies of the Reign of Terror under Robespierre stunned the reflective mind. Even the Jacobinical advocates became alarmed and listened at intervals to the logic of rule and right.

It was impossible for the masses to understand how little the French Revolution, the most gigantic and appalling illustration of the natural depravity of the human race in the annals of the world, resembled in principles our own conflict for independence. It had been decreed by the Convention that there was no God; an impious philosophy was accepted by the rabble of Paris; and all private worth and public respectability seemed destined for the guillotine. The more honorable and astute American intellect could not keep pace with such a surging tide. The grateful affections and political sympathies which had become enthusiasm, when France assumed the name and form of a republic, were knocked about like foot-balls until time mercifully revealed the whole picture; and in the height of the fever men were ready everywhere to believe that Washington, Adams, Jay, and Hamilton were all traitors and conspirators. Nothing but the immovable disregard of public clamor and private treachery which characterized the President, and the temper actuating his principal advisers which could resist a storm of aggressive action while doing justice with loftiest heroism, saved America from a fearful calamity.

Genet found sympathizers on every hand. His reception in Philadelphia was like that usually accorded to a conquering hero. People were in a frenzy. The title "citizen" became as common for a time in the Quaker City as in Paris. When Genet visited the President he was indignant at perceiving in the vestibule a bust of Louis XVI., and complained of it as an "insult to France." "At a dinner in Philadelphia," writes Griswold, "a roasted pig received the name of the murdered king, and the head, severed from the body, was carried round to each of the guests, who, after placing the liberty-cap on his own head, pronounced the word "Tyrant!" and proceeded to mangle with his knife that of the luckless creature doomed to be served for so unworthy a company."

The excitement was such when it became known that the President

had received Genet coldly, that thousands of men paraded the streets of Philadelphia, threatening to drag Washington from his house and compel the government to declare war in favor of France and against England. A riot was imminent, and Adams afterwards wrote: "I myself judged it prudent and necessary to order chests of arms from the war office to be brought through by-lanes and back-doors, determined to defend my house at the expense of my life, and the lives of the domestics and friends within it." Jefferson was believed by the Federalists to have given encouragement to the proceedings of Genet, with whom he was on terms of intimacy; and the *National Gazette*, edited by Freneau, Jefferson's confidential clerk, freely denied Washington's capacity and integrity, and denounced every measure of his administration; taking care to send three copies each day to the President himself.

When Genet found that the government would enforce its laws at all hazards, he took umbrage and threatened an appeal to the people. Washington immediately sent a full account of the matter, with all the correspondence, and a demand for Genet's recall, to Gouverneur Morris, to be laid before the French government. About the same time England threw firebrands into the powder by an order designed to distress France by cutting off her supplies, but which operated with peculiar force upon American commerce. Then, again, on the 3d of August the French frigate, *l'Ambuscade*, at anchor in New York harbor, was ^{Aug. 3.} challenged to single combat by the British ship *Boston*, Captain Courtney, which was cruising off Sandy Hook. The French vessel spread her wings and sailed forth to meet the issue; a severe action ensued, the *Boston* was much damaged, and Courtney killed. Bets had run high as to the results of the encounter, and when the frigate returned to her anchorage in triumph, the delight of the multitude gathered in the lower part of the city burst forth in cries as wild as ever resounded through Paris under the bloody ministers of misrule.

Before the ferment subsided a French fleet of fifteen sail entered the Hudson, and her crew, as well as officers, immediately landed, and were treated with the most extravagant civility. The tricolor was seemingly in every hand, and affixed to every watch-chain. And to add to the delirium Genet arrived in the city from Philadelphia. The papers ^{Aug. 7} had heralded his approach, a committee went out to meet him at Paulus Hook, and the salute of cannon, the ringing of bells, and the demonstrations of joy from the people who filled the streets, together with flattering addresses from innumerable societies, were convincing, even had he not before been assured that the cause he represented would receive the unhesitating support of the country. Anger at Great Britain

was in a full blaze, and the wonder is that the flames were extinguished without serious warfare.

Genet was fêted by many distinguished persons in New York within the next ten days, not least among whom was Governor George Clinton, with whose daughter, Cornelia, he fell in love. This celebrated Frenchman was a member of one of the first families of France; his father was connected with the ministry of foreign affairs for forty-five years; one of his sisters, Madame Campan, was well known for her intimacy with the royal family; and another sister was the beautiful Madame Anguie, mother-in-law of Marshal Ney. Such was his intellectual precocity, that at the age of twelve he received a flattering letter and a gold medal from Gustavus III. for a translation of the History of Eric XIV. into the Swedish language, with historical remarks by himself. His culture was exceptional, he was master of many languages, was a member of the most distinguished learned societies in Europe, wrote well, and was an accomplished musician. He was about thirty years of age, of fine presence, graceful bearing, and polished manners; was possessed of a kindly nature, and in conversation sparkled with anecdote. He had been from his boyhood employed in honorable public offices; at fourteen he was translating secretary for the eldest brother of Louis XVI., and subsequently attached to the embassies of Berlin, Vienna, London, and St. Petersburg, remaining in Russia five years as chargé d'affaires. It was his indignant protest against the order of the Empress of Russia to leave her dominions when Louis XVI. was dethroned which won for him a flattering reception by the revolutionary government on his return to Paris. Hence his appointment on the mission to America.

Congress assembled in December, notwithstanding the yellow fever
 Dec. 2. had visited Philadelphia during the autumn and swept away four thousand victims, and in reply to the opening speech of the President, expressed unqualified approval of his policy of preserving peace if possible, and of being prepared for war if inevitable. Almost every nation of Europe had taken up arms since the year commenced; and the arrogant endeavor of the French republic to embark America in the quarrel was beginning to assume an offensive aspect through whatever light it might be viewed.

"The French cause has no enemies here — their conduct many," wrote
 Dec. 16. Rev. Jedediah Morse, the geographer, some two weeks later, from Charlestown, Massachusetts; ¹ "there are some who undistinguishingly and undoubtedly approve both, and most bitterly denounce as aristocrats all who do not think as they do. The present is considered a most

¹ *Rev. Jedediah Morse to Oliver Wolcott, December 16, 1793.*

interesting period. The issue of General Wayne's expedition, of Genet's threatened prosecution of Chief Justice Jay and Rufus King, of the President's request to have Genet recalled, of the combined attempts of Britain, Spain, Algiers, etc., to ruin our commerce, of the powerful and increasing operation against France, are events of great expectation. The body of the people repose confidence in the wisdom of the President, of Congress, and of the heads of departments. The President's speech meets with much approbation. It is worthy of himself. We have some grumbletonians among us, who, when the French are victorious, speak loud and saucy, but when they meet with a check, sing small. They form a sort of political thermometer, by which we can pretty accurately determine what, in their opinion, is the state of French politics."

The strife in the Cabinet between Hamilton and Jefferson was at its highest ebb during this month. Jefferson's report upon "the privileges and restrictions on the commerce of the United States, in foreign countries," his last official act before retiring from the Cabinet, was so framed as to intensify the hatred of Great Britain in America, and favor the feeling of regard for France. In the remarkable Congressional debates which followed, Madison was the chief exponent of the Jeffersonian opinion, and Smith, of South Carolina, of that of Hamilton.¹ The genius of these two great men were the magazines from which opposing speakers armed themselves; and it is wonderful to observe the sensitiveness for the honor of France that was exhibited. Every imputation upon her conduct and principles was visited with an unaccountable promptness of indignation, and the action of Great Britain was made the daily topic of excited denunciation. "The great effort appears to be to enter into a system of discrimination in our foreign commercial connections, favorable to France and unfavorable to England," wrote Oliver Wolcott to his father.

News came presently that the wheel had revolved in France, and the party by whom Genet had been employed rendered powerless. His recall, in compliance with Washington's demand transmitted through the hands of Gouverneur Morris, followed. But the French government solicited the recall of Morris as an act of reciprocity, which could not be refused. Morris remained in Europe until 1798, traveling through many countries and visiting some of the principal courts. He was in constant

¹ *Abridgment of the Debates of Congress*, Vol. I. 458; *Marshall's Life of Washington*, Vol. II., 229-314; *Fisher Ames's Speech on Madison's Commercial Resolutions*; *Lord Duncaster's Speech to the Indian Deputies at Quebec*, February 20, 1794; *Jefferson's Writings*; *Tucker's Life of Jefferson*; *Parkin's Political and Civil History of the United States*; *Adams's Life of Madison*; *Spark's Writings of Washington*; *Gibbs's Admiration of Washington and Adams*; *Shaffner's History of America*, Div. IV.; *Spark's Life of Gouverneur Morris*; *Jay's Life and Correspondence of John Jay*; *Hildreth's United States: Essay*.

correspondence with Washington, and the public men of America, often communicating matters of great moment.¹ Genet did not deem it expedient to return to France, but chose a home in New York, where he married the daughter of Governor Clinton, and spent the remainder of his life.²

An interesting incident is told in connection with the appointment of a minister to succeed Morris at the French capital. The Opposition in Congress agreed to recommend Aaron Burr, and a committee waited upon the President, of whom Madison was chairman and James Monroe one of the members, to secure his nomination. Washington stood silent for some minutes after listening to the Congressional message, and then said it had been the rule of his public life never to nominate for a high and responsible office any man of whose integrity he was not assured. The committee retired and reported. The party they represented were indignant, and passed resolutions in favor of Burr, directing the committee to inform the President. When Madison the second time proposed Burr's name, Washington was irritated, and replied with some warmth that his decision was irrevocable: "But," he added apologetically, "I will nominate you, Mr. Madison, or you, Mr. Monroe." Madison said he had long since made up his mind not to go abroad. Monroe, who belonged to the republican party, and in common with many others believed the French nation would eventually establish a free government upon the ruins of ancient despotism, was finally appointed, reaching Paris in August, 1794.

¹ When Henry Walter Livingston returned to New York, he was the bearer of the following communication to President Washington from ex-Minister Gouverneur Morris: "This will be delivered to you by my late Secretary of Legation, Mr. Henry Walter Livingston; in it you will find matters of consequence, which are not to be trusted to the public mails. You will find Mr. Livingston is to be trusted for although at a tender age his discretion may always be depended upon; he is modest, polite, sensible, and brave, and will, I feel sure, should he want to continue in the diplomatic line, become an honor to it," etc., etc. Young Livingston, however, sought no further promotion in the service. He came into possession of a large estate, married the beautiful and wealthy granddaughter of Chief Justice Allen of Pennsylvania, and built the fine mansion at the Livingston manor, illustrated on page 320 of the first volume of this work, near the site of the original manor-house, which long since disappeared. (See Vol. II. 296.) He was the son of Walter Livingston, one of the first commissioners of the United States Treasury, who was the eldest son of Robert Livingston, third lord of the manor. The children of Henry Walter and Mary Allen Livingston were: Ann, married her second cousin Anson Livingston, the son of Judge Brockholst Livingston; Mary, married James Thompson, died in Paris, April 14, 1880; Cornelia, married Carroll Livingston, son of Judge Brockholst Livingston; Walter, married Mary Greenleaf; Allen, died unmarried; Elizabeth, married William D. Henderson; Henry W., married Caroline de Grasse De Pau, granddaughter of Admiral Comte de Grasse, commander of the French fleet during the Revolution.

² The second wife of Genet was the daughter of Postmaster-General Osgood. (See Vol. II. 330, 331.)

It was apparent to all that measures must be taken to check the aggressions of Great Britain and protect the rights of the nation. The posts on the frontiers, eight in number, had not yet been evacuated in conformance with the treaty. Officers commanding these posts excluded American citizens from the navigation of the Great Lakes. Compensation had never been received for the negroes carried off by the British when the war ended. And the recent seizures of vessels laden with merchandise for France, under the new order, together with the searching of vessels within the acknowledged jurisdiction of the United States under pretense of looking for and impressing English seamen, outraged the national understanding of the principles of neutrality.

With the arrival of his successor Genet's influence waned. In justification of his proceedings he published the secret instructions under which he had acted. Nothing could exceed the bitterness with which his partisans assailed Chief Justice Jay and Rufus King for having given publicity to his threat to "appeal to the people from certain decisions of the President." The darkest motives were assigned for the disclosure. "Has it become a crime," they asked, "to speak of consulting the people? Is the President a consecrated character, that an appeal from his decisions involves criminality?" The complaints of those impatient for a closer connection with France were uttered in language undignified and almost as disrespectful to the national administration as to the sovereign of England. Congress was divided as to the proper course to pursue in the emergency. The opponents of the administration urged the adoption of commercial restrictions. The Federal party, of which Washington was the soul, insisted that unless Great Britain could be induced by negotiation to abandon her unjust pretensions, an appeal should be made to arms. An honorable peace or an open war, they said. The Opposition proposed to sequester all debts due from American citizens to British subjects, thus constituting a fund for the indemnification of such as had suffered from British spoliation. This was resented by those who entertained proper respect for national faith and honor of whatever party. Its discussion was interrupted by the introduction of another project — a resolution to suspend all commercial intercourse with Great Britain, until full compensation should be received for losses sustained under her orders in council, and the posts surrendered. During the stormy discussion that followed, Spain assumed an offensive attitude; and a scheme was detected for attacking the Floridas by a force from Georgia organized under French agents, which was defeated by the vigilance of the legislature of South Carolina. About the same time an angry remonstrance reached the President from Kentucky in relation to the navigation of the

Mississippi, with obscure threats revealing the same seditious spirit which was soon to break forth in Pennsylvania.

In the midst of the turmoil Hamilton was cheerfully bestowing information upon members of Congress who were daily applying for data to aid in supporting or invalidating arguments. The principles dividing the two parties were more inseparably connected with the financial than with any other acts of the government. States were brought
 1794. into court as defendants to the claims of land companies and individuals; and British debts rankled. The erection of a fiscal system in the face of the inveterate prejudices, conflicting interests, and violent opposition of those who gave little knowledge and less study to the subject was one of the marvels of that century. "A committee of fifteen members are investigating the state of the Treasury Department," wrote Wolcott on the 2d of March. "Some of them are enemies to the
 March 2. Secretary, but he is an honest and able man, and, as everything in relation to his official conduct is capable of a solid defense, no injury can be inflicted. It will occasion some hard work, but this we are used to and do not mind." It was not, however, merely as the head of a department that Hamilton's talents were exercised. He had brought the whole of his mental resources and great vigor of intellect to bear upon every fundamental maxim of government.

The perils to which American commerce was exposed induced the government on the 26th to lay an embargo for thirty days on all
 March 26. vessels bound to foreign ports. Measures were also taken for increasing the regular military force, and for organizing eighty thousand troops. Thus were the relations between the two countries rapidly approaching a state of open hostility.

At this juncture Chief Justice Jay was called to Philadelphia by the term of the Supreme Court. He wrote to his wife on the 9th of
 April 9. April: "Yesterday I dined with the President. The question of war or peace seems to be as much in suspense here as in New York when I left you." On the 10th he wrote again: "Peace or war
 April 10. appears to me a question which cannot be solved. Unless things should take a turn in the mean time, I think it will be best on my return to push our affairs at Bedford briskly. There is much irritation and agitation in this town and in Congress. Great Britain has acted unwisely and unjustly; and there is some danger of our acting intemperately."

The President turned to the chief justice in this moment of painful anxiety, while preparations for the expected war were in progress, and before the decisions on the various commercial propositions had been reached, urging his acceptance of a mission to England for the purpose,

if possible, of averting the calamities of war. Between Washington and Jay the most confidential and uninterrupted intercourse had existed since the beginning of the Revolution; and such was the President's faith in the integrity, good judgment, and executive ability of the chief justice, that he promised him exceptional powers. Jay hesitated. He had other plans and pleasures in prospect; and yet he felt the impulse of duty strongly. He wrote to his wife on the 15th: "The object is so interesting to our country, and the combination of circumstances ^{April 15} such, that I find myself in a dilemma between personal and public considerations." The question was, however, speedily settled by the receipt of some conciliatory explanations from Lord Grenville, accompanying the news of the revocation of the offensive order of the 6th of November by the British government; and thus an opportunity seemed to offer itself for the amicable adjustment of existing difficulties. "I venture to assure you," wrote Oliver Ellsworth to Governor Oliver Wolcott, senior, "Mr. Jay will be sent to the court of London. He is now here, and has this moment informed me of his determination to accept the appointment if it shall be made. This, sir, will be a mortifying movement to those who have endeavored by every possible means to prevent reconciliation between this country and Great Britain." On the same date Chief Justice Jay was nominated envoy extraordinary to the British Court. ^{April 16} Aaron Burr sharply opposed his confirmation by the Senate, but the vote was, nevertheless, in his favor, at the ratio of eighteen to eight.

The Opposition boldly criticised the appointment as tending to teach judges to aspire to executive favors. The Jacobin or democratic societies abused the President with renewed acrimony. Their newspapers vilified the mission and his minister. The House determined if possible to render the journey of Jay void of results, and succeeded in passing a bill on the 21st, cutting off all commercial intercourse with England, which was, however, lost in the Senate by the casting vote of Vice-President Adams. The chief justice sailed on the 12th of May, accompanied by his eldest son, Peter Augustus, and by John Trumbull ^{May 12} as his secretary. About the same time John Quincy Adams was commissioned resident minister to The Hague.

"Bedford House," the home of Chief Justice Jay for twenty-eight years after he retired from public life, was in process of erection at the time he was called into the diplomatic field, together with numerous other improvements upon his Bedford estate. A large landed property had descended to him through his mother, Mary Van Cortlandt, located in the Bedford region some forty-five miles north of New York City, and about

midway between the Hudson River and Long Island Sound, where they are thirty-one miles apart. The mansion was placed upon an eminence overlooking the whole beautiful rolling region between the two great bodies of water—a landscape varied with sunny slopes, circles of hills, charming valleys, and bits of river peeping through rich foliage. It was not finished and occupied until half a dozen years later. But in 1801 wings were added, one of which, conspicuous through its garment of clambering vines, contained the library; thenceforward to the end of his life the chief justice enjoyed his family, his books, and his friends in this delightful retreat, where notable Europeans sought him as a species of homage to public virtue. It was then a two days' journey from the metropolis, and a mail coach was not seen oftener than once a week.

The mansion is now the summer residence of the grandson of the



"Bedford House."
Home of Chief Justice Jay.

chief justice, Hon. John Jay, late United States Minister to Austria. It has undergone comparatively few alterations. Although railways have cut their way through the country on either hand, it is still four miles from a car-whistle. The estate at the present time comprises at least seven hundred acres. The dwelling is a half-mile from the main road, from which it is reached by a private avenue, winding among forest trees up a gentle elevation, deftly illustrated in the accompanying sketch, and which finally cuts a circle in a wide velvet lawn, and terminates under the shadow of four superb lindens in front of the edifice.

Upon a picturesque wooded height in the rear is a pretty school or

summer-house of stone, which the chief justice¹ built for the use and amusement of his children. His library, twenty-five feet square, with windows on three sides, remains to the present time as originally fash-

¹ The children of Chief Justice John (born December 12, 1745, died May 17, 1829) and Sarah Livingston Jay were : 1. Peter Augustus, born at "Liberty Hall," Elizabethtown, January 24, 1776 ; 2. Susan, died young ; 3. Maria, born at Madrid, Spain, February 20, 1782, married Goldsboro Banyer ; 4. Anne, born at Passy, France, August 13, 1783 ; 5. William, born at New York, June 16, 1789, died 1858 ; 6. Sarah Louisa, born at New York, February 20, 1792.

Peter Augustus Jay, the eldest son, who was his father's private secretary in London, became a distinguished lawyer of New York, was Recorder of the city, in 1819, served in the Assembly, and was President of the New York Historical Society. He married, in 1807, Mary Rutherford, daughter of General Matthew Clarkson. Their children were : 1. John Clarkson Jay, M. D., married Laura, daughter of Nathaniel Prime ; 2. Mary, married Frederick Prime ; 3. Sarah, married William Dawson ; 4. Helena, married Dr. Henry Augustus Du Bois ; 5. Anna Maria, married Henry Evelyn Pierrepont ; 6. Peter Augustus, married Josephine Pierson, and their son, Augustus, married Emily, daughter of De Lancey Kane ; 7. Elizabeth Clarkson ; 8. Matilda, married Matthew Clarkson. Children of Dr. John Clarkson and Laura Prime Jay : 1. Laura, married Charles Pemberton Wurtz ; 2. Augustus ; 3. John ; 4. Mary, married Jonathan Edwards ; 5. Cornelia ; 6. Peter Augustus, married Julia, daughter of Alfred C. Post ; 7. John Clarkson Jay, Jr., M. D., married Harriet, daughter of General Vinton ; 8. Alice ; 9. Sarah ; 10. Matilda.

William Jay, the second son of the chief justice, was distinguished as a jurist, philanthropist, and author. He married Augusta, daughter of John McVickar. Their children were : 1. Augusta, married John Nelson ; 2. Maria Banyer, married John F. Butterworth ; 3. John Jay, statesman and author ; 4. Louisa, married Dr. Alexander M. Bruen ; 5. Eliza, married Henry Edward Pellew, of England ; 6. William, died young ; 7. Augusta, after the death of her sister Eliza, married, at the American Legation, Vienna, May 14, 1873, Henry Edward Pellew. John Jay, born June 23, 1817, late United States Minister to Austria and Hungary, the third child and only surviving son of Judge William Jay, succeeded to the Bedford estate ; he married Eleanor Kingsland, daughter of Hickson W. Field. Their children : 1. Eleanor, married Henry Grafton Chapman ; 2. William Jay, Colonel U. S. A., born February 12, 1841, married Lucie, daughter of Henry Oelrichs ; 3. John, died young ; 4. Augusta, married Edmund Randolph Robinson ; 5. Mary, married Major William Henry Schieffelin ; 6. Anna, married H. E. Lieutenant-General Hans Lothar Von Schweinitz, German ambassador at Vienna, and later at St. Petersburg.

Eve, the sister of Chief Justice John Jay, married Rev. Harry Munro. (See Vol. I. 602, 603.) Frances Jay, the daughter of Augustus Jay, married Frederick Van Cortlandt, whose daughter Eve married Henry White ; and their daughter Margaret married Peter Jay Munro ; whose daughter Frances was the wife of Bishop De Lancey. (See Vol. I. 552.) Edward N. Bibby married Augusta White, one of the great-granddaughters of Frances Jay. For references to the ancestry of the Jay family, see Vol. I. 696, 697 ; Vol. II. 163, 164. Through the wife of Augustus Jay, whose mother was the daughter of Govert Loockermans (Vol. I. 137, 138, 251), and through the wife of Peter Jay, one of the distinguished family of Van Cortlandts (Vol. I. 61, 90) whose mother was the daughter of Frederick Philipse (Vol. I. 226, 270, 271, 272), and through the wife of Chief Justice John Jay, who was a Livingston (Vol. I. 275, 319), the careful reader will trace the family thread which connects the past with the present, and brings into review a whole line of public characters, reaching backward to the earliest settlement upon Manhattan Island.

A graphically interesting memoir of the Jay family, with a special sketch of Chief Justice

ioned. One division contains the favorite tomes first placed upon its shelves, weighty folios of Grotius, Puffendorf, Vattel, and other masters of the science of international law, standard theological and miscellaneous works, and the classic authors of antiquity. The table used by the chief justice, and four quaint high-backed chairs which graced Federal Hall in Wall Street while New York was the capital of the nation, lend a peculiar charm to the apartment.

Mrs. Jay, during her husband's absence in Europe, assumed the charge of domestic affairs, assisted occasionally by his nephew, Peter Jay Munro,



Library of Chief Justice Jay, "Bedford House."

and her letters were filled with practical matters, such as particulars of moneys paid in and reinvested in the new national bank, and in stocks, with quotations of their rise, the sale of lands, and the progress of the

Jay, was read in December, 1878, before the "Academie des Belles Lettres, Science, et Arts de La Rochelle," in France, by "Monsieur de Richemond Archevêque de la Charente Inférieure, et Officier de l'Instruction Publique," at their public session, entitled "La Rochelle d'outre mer." The Jay family was described as one whose hospitable mansion had sheltered the first religious reunions of the Protestants of La Rochelle; and the device upon the Jay seal was quoted, "*Deo duce perseverandum*," as having guided the family in the New World. (See Vol. II. 387.) The paper, while testifying to the interest with which the Academy of Rochelle has followed the course of its former citizen beyond the seas, has added to our knowledge of the family trials in its ancient home "when the last of the five churches of La Rochelle had been demolished, when the Protestants had lost in Colbert their last defender, and when Louvois had let loose the Royal dragoons to wage a war of extermination." *Familiar Archives.*

mill and dam, and other improvements on the Bedford estate. In one instance she describes the horses brought to the city by their farmer at Bedford, and relates her experience in finding a man to break them for use before her carriage. "He has undertaken it," she adds, "but he says the coachmen of the city require as much breaking as the horses." The schools of New York, particularly those for girls, were as yet of an indifferent character, and Mrs. Jay placed her two daughters, Maria and Anne, aged twelve and eleven, at the celebrated Moravian school for girls at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, where, it has been said, "were educated a large proportion of the belles who gave the fashionable circles of New York and Philadelphia their inspiration during the last twenty years of the century."

This summer was signalized by an insurrection in the western counties of Pennsylvania; the population scattered thinly over a frontier country was composed largely of foreigners, many of whom were wild and lawless characters — and a great amount of whiskey was distilled in that region. The tax imposed upon domestic spirits in 1791 had been resisted from the first, and in many instances barbarous outrages were perpetrated upon the revenue officers — such as whipping, tarring, and branding. Congress revised the law in 1792, modifying its most obnoxious features, hoping to avoid all reasonable objections, and the general opposition abated. But with the French fever local discontent broke out afresh, and the enemies of the administration attempted to turn the excitement to political advantage, by coupling censures of other measures with declamation against the excise law. In July an armed mob attacked the house of the revenue inspector, General John Neville, one of the Executive Council of Pennsylvania, living near Pittsburg, who defended it so well that the assailants retired to increase their force. The combination swelling to five hundred men, Neville was obliged to fly for his life, and his house, barns, and granaries were burned. The marshal of the district was seized and compelled to enter into stipulations to forbear the execution of his office; and both the inspector and the marshal made their escape down the Ohio and by a circuitous route to the seat of government.

The effect was electrical. Mails were seized, liberty poles erected, seditious hand-bills circulated, armed meetings held, all occupation, even the course of law, was suspended, and the country launched into open rebellion.

An outbreak so violent had not been contemplated by the instigators, who only aimed for the political embarrassment of the government. They were themselves alarmed at the fury of the storm. Several talented men

of great personal popularity, who had hitherto stimulated opposition to the law, exerted their utmost influence to quell the excitement and preserve order. But without avail. As soon as it was discovered that the civil force and local militia were powerless, that the property and even the lives of those who were willing to obey the law were in peril, harsher measures were adopted. "Every circumstance indicates that we must have a contest with those madmen," wrote Wolcott. The President

Aug. 7. issued a proclamation on the 7th of August, commanding the insurgents to disperse before a given time. To prevent bloodshed if possible, commissioners were sent both by the President and Governor Mifflin of Pennsylvania, offering a general amnesty on condition of peaceable submission. The insurrectionary spirit still continuing at its height, the militia assembled with alacrity from the different States at Sept. 25. the call of the President, and Hamilton, whom nothing could deter from continuing to recommend measures for the support of the public credit, was given the direction of the army.

Committing the management of the Treasury to Wolcott, Hamilton marched into the disorderly country, and fulfilled his task with such prudence and moderation that not one life was sacrificed. Jefferson, from his retirement at Monticello, ridiculed the force employed as greatly disproportioned to the object; but other leading men of the same party who accompanied the army believed that a less force would have proved inadequate. The flight of the principal leader removed the great obstacle to a pacification, and a general submission followed the arrival of the militia. A few arrests were made, and a few obscure persons convicted, who were, however, subsequently pardoned. A small body of troops was left during the winter as a precautionary measure.

The turbulent societies which had adopted the absurdities and extravagances of the French to an almost incredible extent throughout the United States, and were captious about heraldic bearings, and scandalized at the sight of a spread eagle on the coin, and upon the printed acts of Congress, received a deadly blow in the mean while. The remnant of the French Convention, rendered desperate by the ferocious despotism of the Jacobins, sought safety from their wholesale butcheries by confronting danger. Robespierre himself was doomed; the form of trial was quickly enacted, and early in the evening of July 28, the guillotine terminated his existence. Thus fell the Jacobin clubs in France; and as the boldest streams must disappear when their feeders are drained, the Jacobin societies in America sunk into disgrace, as if their destinies were suspended by the same thread.

During Hamilton's absence Wolcott was unremitting in his devotion

to the business of the department, and evinced remarkable capacity for continued hard work. He wrote to his father on the 25th of October: "Europe is hastening to ruin; the Dutch will probably resign them-
 selves to their fate without any great struggle. This I hear in a way which I credit. We have reason to fear the French have reversed the plan of commercial depredation. Several of our vessels trading to the British dominions have been captured and carried into France. We must, however, persist in the idea that we will not engage in the war. Mr. Jay's mission will probably issue favorably, but it is not safe to encourage sanguine expectations." Soon after the opening of the winter session of Congress, Thomas Pinckney was sent to the Spanish Court as envoy extraordinary, to conclude a treaty with that government; thus the prospects of peace were improving, notwithstanding the temper of the Opposition. Oct. 25.

Hamilton had for some time intended retiring from the Treasury, and on the 31st of January, 1795, sent in his resignation. His last official reports comprehended his plans for supporting the public credit on the basis of the actual revenues, and for the improve-
 ment of the revenue. The first reviewed all the previous legislation upon the subject of public credit; the last entered at length into the consideration of the objects and principles of taxation generally, and the alterations required in the existing laws. This completed his fiscal system. The assumption of the debt, the creation of a bank, the imposition of a tax, each involving questions of infinite political moment, had been accomplished, and the Treasury could henceforth take its natural level in point of national importance. During the six years since the formation of the new government most of the problems likely to arise had been solved and settled, and a general adherence to the principles thus established was henceforward to be expected. On the 2d of February, Wolcott, who had fully entered into the views of Hamil-
 ton, with no favorite schemes to engraft on that which seemed perfect in itself, and well acquainted with the resources of the country, as well as versed in the business of the department, was appointed his successor. 1795
Jan. 31
Feb. 2.

The original Cabinet was thus entirely changed. Knox had already resigned, and been succeeded by Timothy Pickering. Edmund Randolph was the successor of Jefferson in the Department of State, and William Bradford was Attorney-General.

New York was shaken by all these great events. No place in America was so much affected by the changeable affairs and "hypocrisy of morals" in France. No other community watched the movements of Great Britain with deeper interest, or were more sharply divided in opinion

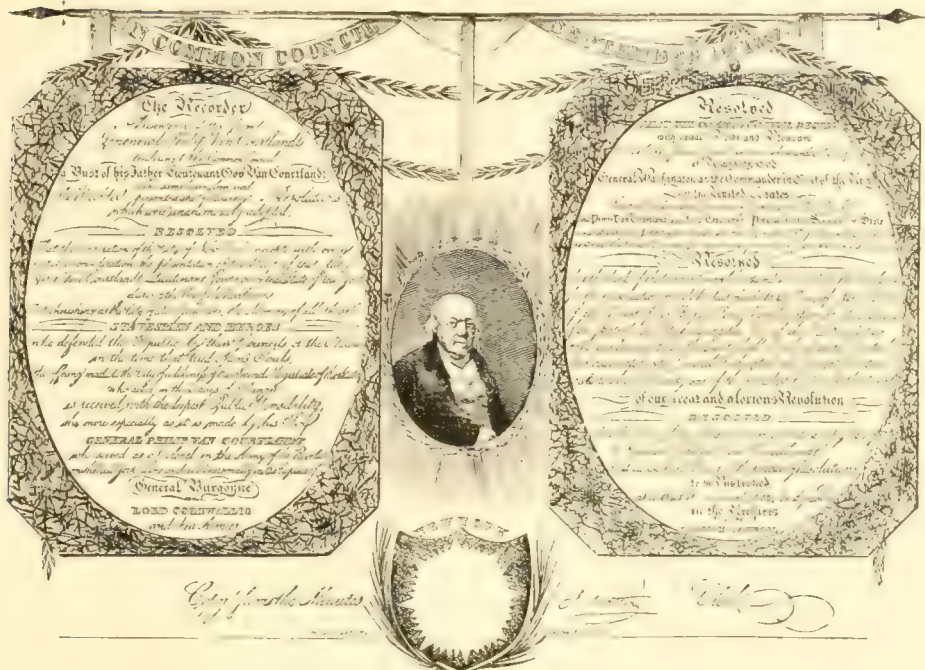
as to what constituted the dignity of a republic in the great emergency. And the merchants of no city were more vitally concerned in all that related to commerce with the different nations of Europe.

The six-year-old government stood firm, a great recognized power among the powers of the world. Internal agitations were to be expected. Jefferson said truly, "The people cannot be all and always well informed; the part which is wrong will be discontented in proportion to the importance of the facts they misconceive." But the massive framework of the structure, skillfully fitted and balanced, awaited developing processes. Ideas might clash regarding its prospective stability, and thousands of architects might rise to declare they could have fashioned it better. Wings, balconies, minarets, pinnacles, domes, and all manner of modern improvements might be added, yet the original achievement would, through it all, be shorn of none of its glory.

Hamilton returned to New York and the practice of law. His first case of importance was a libel suit, in which he submitted his famous definition of a libel, still accepted in the courts. Although an orator by natural gifts, and accustomed to public speaking, this pioneer effort at the bar, even after he had infused life and vigor into the national government with such success, was attended with singular embarrassment. He was actually so overcome with emotion when he arose to deliver his masterly argument, says James Cochrane, who was an eye-witness of the scene, "that he covered his face with his hands, and stood in that attitude before court and jury until the paroxysm passed."¹ He cultivated a warm personal friendship for Talleyrand, recently arrived from France. Dissimilar in many respects, there was much to draw them together. Each had been employed by his respective government in the regulation of national finance, each cherished confirmed opinions concerning the science of popular government, and each had devised a system of public school education.

Rufus King was re-elected in January to the Senate of the United States for the six succeeding years. About the same time Governor George Clinton published an address to the people of New York declining to be a candidate again for the office of governor, which he had filled without interruption since 1777. He said he "withdrew from a situation never solicited by him, with real pleasure"; and that having held for nearly thirty years elective offices, and been compelled to devote almost all of his time to the discharge of the duties connected with them, his health

¹ James Cochrane was the son of Dr. John Cochrane, and not only an ardent admirer and political devotee of Hamilton, but personally intimate through the relationship existing, his mother being the sister of General Schuyler, and he thus the first cousin of Mrs. Hamilton.



Facsimile of Testimonial from the Corporation of the City of New York.

With portrait of Lieutenant-Governor Pierre Van Cortlandt.
(Original in possession of the family.)

had become impaired, and his private affairs required attention. He thanked his constituents with much feeling for their continued confidence and support during the trying scenes through which he had passed.

Lieutenant-Governor Van Cortlandt at the same time declined re-election on account of advanced age. He had reached his seventy-fifth year.¹

¹ Lieutenant-Governor Pierre Van Cortlandt (born 1721, died 1814) was the grandson of the first lord of the manor, Hon. Stephanus Van Cortlandt, and the great-grandson of Oloff S. Van Cortlandt, the founder of the family in America. (See Vol. I. 90, 277, 278, 606.) Through his mother, Catharine De Peyster, he was the grandson of Treasurer Abraham De Peyster, and the great-grandson of the founder of the De Peyster family in America. (See Vol. I. 225, 226, 420, 421.) And through his grandmother, the famous Gertrude Schuyler, he was the great-grandson of the founder of the Schuyler family in America. (See Vol. I. 153, 154.) He married his second cousin, Joanna Livingston, born 1722, the daughter of Gilbert and Cornelia Beekman Livingston, and granddaughter of Robert, the first lord of Livingston manor, the founder of the Livingston family in America. Their children were : 1. Philip, the general, born 1749, never married ; 2. Catharine, born 1751, married Abraham Van Wyck ; 3. Cornelia, born 1753, married Gerard G. Beekman, Jr. ; 4. Gertrude, born 1755, died unmarried ; 5. Gilbert, born 1757 ; 6. Stephen, born 1760 ; 7. Pierre, born 1762, married first Catharine Clinton, daughter of George Clinton, second, Ann Stephenson ; 8. Ann, born 1776, married Philip Van Rensselaer, the Albany mayor, only brother of Lieutenant-Governor Stephen Van Rensselaer, the patroon. *Family Archives.*

Side by side with Governor Clinton for eighteen successive years, he had given his time and strength to the administration of the new State government. Clinton being necessarily much absorbed in military duties, Van Cortlandt had been left chief executive officer and civil magistrate a greater portion of the period of the war. Peace returning, he presided over the Senate, and with such dignity and sound judgment that he was deservedly popular. He was the fifth son of Philip and Catharine De Peyster Van Cortlandt (double cousin of the mother of Chief Justice



General Philip Van Cortlandt.

[Copy of rare miniature in possession of Pierre Cortlandt Van Wyck.]

Jay), and by the death of his elder brother heir-at-law to the manorial estates. His lofty character was illustrated by the disdain with which he rejected the offer of royal favor, and safety to his property, if he would cease opposition to the crown, made by Governor Tryon on the occasion of a personal visit to the manor-house at Croton Landing just before the outbreak of hostilities. Van Cortlandt's services in the New York Congress, Convention, and Committee of Safety, and his example of undismayed faithfulness when driven from his estates, and while adverse clouds darkened the en-

tire horizon, were of priceless value to the American cause. He was one of the thirty-eight patriots who ratified the Declaration of Independence — on horseback — at White Plains on the 9th of July, 1776; and from October of the same year, when elected vice-president of the Convention, was almost the sole presiding officer of that heroic body until it completed its labors. Few men of his time inspired a higher degree of confidence and respect among all classes in the State of New York.

The eldest son of the lieutenant-governor, General Philip Van Cortlandt,¹ was at this time a member of Congress, having been elected in

¹ General Philip Van Cortlandt (born 1749, died unmarried at the Van Cortlandt manor-house, November 21, 1831) was one of the Commissioners of Forfeitures for the counties of Westchester, Richmond, Kings, Queens, and Suffolk; he was the first Supervisor of the town of Cortlandt in 1788, a member of the New York Assembly from 1788 to 1796, and of the Senate from 1791 to 1794, at which time he took his seat in Congress, until 1809. He was a member of the New York Convention which adopted the Constitution of the United States, and in 1812 was an elector for President. He was also one of the original members of the Cincinnati, and its first treasurer. When the war broke out he burned his commission of Major in the "Tryon Guards" of the manor of Cortlandt, and was elected to the Provincial Convention which met in New York City, in defiance of the established government, to choose delegates to the Continental Congress. He was shortly after appointed Lieutenant-Colonel in the American army, and served fearlessly and nobly through the war; for his gallantry at

1793; and he continued to represent his district in that body for sixteen successive years, until he declined re-election. His personal resemblance to Lafayette, with whom he was on terms of intimacy, and whom he accompanied through the United States on his memorable tour in 1824, was remarked by all who knew him, and on one occasion was turned to decided advantage. At a large reception Lafayette, wearied with hand-

Yorktown he was made a brigadier-general. Many of the striking incidents in his career are revealed through his private correspondence, to which the author has had access. In the spring of 1776 he was on duty at Ticonderoga, and member of a court-martial for the trial of Moses Hazen, charged by Benedict Arnold with disobedience of orders. "I remained," he wrote, "long enough to discover the vile conduct of Arnold in procuring a vast quantity of goods from the merchants of Montreal, which he intended for, and which, I believe, was appropriated to his own use. For this, and also for improper conduct before the court, he would have been arrested himself, but escaped by procuring an order from General Gates, to send me, the morning after the court adjourned, to Schenesborough (Whitehall) by which means the court was dissolved and Arnold escaped." Being one of the court-martial convened in Philadelphia in 1780 (see Vol. II. 236) for the trial of Arnold, in connection with four other officers who had served on the Hazen trial, he wrote: "We voted for cashiering him, but were overruled by a sentence of reprimand. Had they all known what we knew, he would have been dismissed the service." Van Cortlandt adopted his nephew, Philip Gilbert Van Wyck (elder brother of Pierre Cortlandt Van Wyck, recorder of the city as mentioned in note, p. 86), son of Abraham and Catharine Van Cortlandt Van Wyck, to whom he left the great bulk of his property by will. Philip Gilbert Van Wyck married Mary Gardiner, descendant of the first lord of the manor of Gardiner's Island. Their children were: 1. Joanna Livingston Van Wyck; 2. Catharine, married Rev. Stephen H. Battin; 3. Philip Van Cortlandt, died unmarried; 4. Eliza, married William Van Ness Livingston; 5. Gardiner, died unmarried; 6. Fanny Van Rensselaer, married Judge Alexander Wells, whose only daughter, Gertrude, married Schuyler Hamilton, Jr., great-grandson of Alexander Hamilton; 7. Pierre Cortlandt Van Wyck.

The father of Abraham Van Wyck, who married Catharine Van Cortlandt, was Theodorus, of the fifth generation. one of the sisters of celebrated Rev. Dr. sister of Dr. Theodorus cial Convention, married and Altie, another sis-John Bailey, one of beth, married the dis-James Kent, and an-John R. Bleecker of ter of the latter, married late governor of New the Van Wyck family stituting a substantial tion, and are connected York families through-Wycks of Holland are and continue to bear the those brought by the Van Wycks to America upwards of two centuries ago.



Van Wyck Arms.

Catharine Van Wyck, Abraham, married the John Mason; Mary, Van Wyck of the Provin-Hon. Zephaniah Platt; ter, married Colonel whose daughters, Eliza-tinguished jurist, Hon. other, Esther, married Albany; Mary, daugh-Hon. Horatio Seymour, York. The branches of are very numerous, con-ement of the popula-with other notable New out the State. The Van an aristocratic family, same coat of arms as

shaking, suddenly disappeared, leaving Van Cortlandt as his substitute to receive the greetings of the multitude, who, not discovering the change, went away satisfied with having, as supposed, grasped the hand of the French nobleman and patriot. Van Cortlandt's portrait, copied from a rare little miniature painted about the close of the Revolution, reveals to the curious reader traces of that extraordinary likeness to Lafayette which misled the enthusiastic crowd. His younger brother, Pierre, succeeded to the manor-house property at Croton Landing, of whom mention will be made upon a future page.

Stephen, the elder brother of Lieutenant-Governor Van Cortlandt, was a loyalist; his son Philip, who married Catharine Ogden, was an officer in the British army. That branch of the family retired to England, where their descendants are connected with some of the best families in the kingdom. The granddaughter of Stephen Van Cortlandt married Clement Clark Moore, son of Bishop Moore.

The interesting question of selecting candidates for the two important offices of governor and lieutenant-governor at once occupied attention. The nomination of governor was tendered to Hamilton, to whom the freedom of the city was also awarded after his return from Philadelphia, but he positively declined. Jay was in England. His business, however, was approaching completion. Negotiations had prospered under the conduct of Lord Grenville, with the favor of the king, and a treaty was already signed. "Various rumors are circulated respecting Mr. Jay's return to this country," wrote Rufus King in March. "Those who wish his election as governor of the State expect him in the spring, certainly before the month of July." In the mean time he received the nomination for governor, and Stephen Van Rensselaer, the patroon, for lieutenant-governor.

Congress adjourned on the 3d of March. Four days later the famous treaty was received, and submitted to a quorum of the Senate convened for the purpose, Vice-President Adams in the chair. Such was the state of party feeling, that the mere intelligence of the arrival of the treaty, even while its provisions were undivulged, lashed the Opposition into a fury. Some of the newspapers denounced the President as no statesman, hardly a soldier, called him a "tool of England," declared boldly that he had drawn money fraudulently from the Treasury, and said, "If the influence of a treaty is added to the influence Great Britain already has in our government, we shall be colonized anew." Not this particular treaty, but any treaty with Great Britain was clearly under condemnation. "A republic should form no connection with a monarch," was the cry.

Until the question of its ratification should be duly considered, pro-

priety required that the contents of the treaty should remain a secret with the administration, especially as it had not been published in England. But the Opposition seized upon what little they could learn of it to excite public distrust. Meanwhile, at the April election in New York John Jay was elected governor of the State by a large majority over the opposing candidate, Robert Yates — chief justice of the Supreme Court of New York from 1790 to 1798 — and Stephen Van Rensselaer was elected lieutenant-governor. The Federalists also obtained a majority in both houses of the Legislature. The result of the state canvass was declared on the 26th of May. Two days afterward Chief Justice Jay arrived from the court of England. He was welcomed in the most noisy ^{May 26.} and joyful manner, all the bells in the city mingling with the roar of cannon, and conducted to his house from the wharf by an excited multitude eager to testify their gratitude for his successful mission of peace.

Alas! this popular applause was quickly succeeded by a whirlwind of the most unqualified abuse. Every effort was made to impeach the character of the great jurist; he was called an "arch-traitor," accused of perfidy and double dealing, and of kneeling in idolatry to the enemy of France. He took the oath of governor of the State of New York on the 1st of July, having previously resigned his high seat on ^{July 1} the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States. The following day a Virginia senator, regardless of official decorum, sent a copy of the treaty, still under discussion in the Senate, with closed doors, to ^{July 2.} the editor of a Philadelphia newspaper, who prematurely printed it in full. A pile of combustibles was ready for the torch, composed of French emigrants devoted to their cause, general malcontents who were persuaded that a war with England would be a relief, Western settlers who wanted the navigation of the Mississippi, Pennsylvanians who were seeking the abolition of the excise laws, refugees of every class from all nations, who through their crimes or desperate fortunes "had taken refuge in patriotism," and men and classes disappointed in ambitious projects, and who were aggrieved, or fancied themselves so, by the operation of various measures, and an explosion immediately followed. A mob collected in Philadelphia on the 4th of July, and paraded the streets bearing aloft the effigy of John Jay, with a pair of scales in his hand, labeled on one side "American Liberty and Independence," on the other "British gold," while from the mouth of the figure proceeded the words, "Come up to my price and I will sell you my country," which was publicly burned. Meetings were held in every part of the country denouncing the treaty. In New York one was convened in the open air in Wall Street, and Hamilton and Rufus King upon the balcony of Federal Hall undertook its defense. A

shower of stones was leveled at them by the exasperated multitude. "These are hard arguments to encounter," said Hamilton, smiling. The party, after adopting violent resolutions against the treaty, marched with the American and French colors flying to the Bowling Green, in front of the new government house, the residence of Governor Jay, and with demoniac shouts burned the treaty. At an adjourned meeting a committee of fifteen, with Brockholst Livingston, Mrs. Jay's brother, chairman, reported twenty-eight condemnatory resolutions. A counter-current led to a meeting of the Chamber of Commerce, of which Comfort Sands was the president, where resolutions of approval were adopted.¹

Jay entered into no defense of either himself or his treaty. "God governs the world," he said, "and we have only to do our duty wisely, and leave the issue to him." On the 11th he responded to a letter from Major-General Henry Lee, saying: "The treaty is as it is; and the time will certainly come when it will universally receive exactly that degree of condemnation or censure which, to candid and enlightened minds, it shall appear to deserve." Hammond writes, "It would be unjust to accuse the great body of reflective republicans of participating in or even approving the outrages that were perpetrated." But Fisher Ames declared that the passions of the crazy multitude were scarcely more deadly to public order than the theories of philosophers. "Our Federal ship is near foundering in a mill-pond," he wrote on the 9th.

¹ Comfort Sands (born 1748, died 1834) was descended from James Sands (born 1622), of Reading, Berkshire, England, who came to Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1658, and in 1660, in company with others, bought Block Island from the Indians, and removed there the following year. His son John married Sibyl Ray, and resided at Sand's Point, Long Island. His son John had also a son John (married Elizabeth Cornwell), the father of Comfort. The latter was a prominent merchant in New York City, and an active patriot throughout the war; he was a member of the New York Congresses, and auditor-general of public accounts from 1776 to 1781. He married, 1. Sarah, daughter of Wilkie Dodge; 2. Cornelia, daughter of Abraham Lott. His son Joseph, of the great banking-house of Prime, Ward, & Sands, married Marie Therese Kamflin, the ceremony being performed at Paris by Talleyrand, Bishop of Autun, in 1782. His daughter Cornelia married the banker, Nathaniel Prime, whose children have intermarried with the Hoffmans, Jays, Costers, Rays, and other prominent New York families. Richardson Sands, brother of Comfort Sands, born 1754, married Lucretia, daughter of John Ledyard, who after his death married General Ebenezer Stevens; his only son, Austin Ledyard Sands, was a well-known merchant of New York, who died in 1859. The sons of Austin Ledyard Sands: 1. Samuel Stevens Sands, married the daughter of Benjamin Aymar, whose son, Samuel Stevens Sands, Jr., married, April 6, 1880, Annie, second daughter of Oliver Harriman; 2. Austin L. Sands, M. D., of Newport; 3. William R. Sands, married Mary Gardiner, daughter of Hon. Samuel B. Gardiner, proprietor of Gardiner's Island; 4. Andrew H. Sands. Joshua Sands, younger brother of Comfort Sands, was a State senator from 1792 to 1799; member of Congress in 1805 and in 1825; Collector of the port of New York from 1797 to 1801; and a large real estate owner in Brooklyn. His granddaughter married Hon. Rodman Price, governor of New Jersey from 1854 to 1857. His son Joshua, rear-admiral in the U. S. N., married the daughter of John Stevens of Hoboken. — *Haldane*.

When the treaty was conditionally ratified by the Senate, a howl was raised against the Constitution, because it provided that senators should hold place six years. Threats of coercing the President into a veto were audibly uttered. Some talked of "bringing John Jay to trial and to justice," and a few violent agitators even went so far as to lament the want of a guillotine. Grave, weighty, conspicuous men, who had hitherto been well affected towards the administration, and not a few who had been leading Federalists, were among the opponents of the treaty. While Washington delayed his decision, he was showered with remonstrances and invectives. The treaty was by no means all that he desired. Its commercial adjustments were mutilated by the restrictive policy then prevailing. In 1783 the American commissioners at Paris, in their negotiation with David Hartley, endeavored in vain to induce the British Cabinet to open the ports of their West India colonies. The policy of the European powers in monopolizing the trade of their colonies seemed to be immovably established. Even France in her treaty of 1778 granted no share of her colonial trade to her new and cherished allies; and from the colonies of Spain all foreign vessels were rigidly excluded. England, moreover, was in a deadly war with France. Peace might change the possession of many islands and countries. It was hardly to be expected that she would, at such a juncture, depart from the exclusive system to which long habit and common opinion had strongly attached her. So sensible had been the President of the obstacles which Jay would encounter, that he instructed him to ask for the "privilege" of carrying on this trade in vessels of "certain defined burdens." Jay's task had not been an easy one. He had succeeded in obtaining a partial relaxation of the colonial monopoly, but it was only on certain conditions and securities; and he was obliged to decide whether, under all the circumstances, it was most advisable to reject or accept them. If he rejected them, the United States would lose what England was ready to concede, reciprocal and perfect liberty of commerce with the British dominions in Europe and the East Indies — which has since proved a source of vast wealth to the country; also the abandonment of the western posts. It was impossible to negotiate in regard to these posts without encountering the complaints of Great Britain relative to the debts — a subject excessively offensive to the debtors in the various States. The treaty provided for the rights of neutrals, and agreed that the citizens of one country should not enter into the service of a foreign power, to fight against the other; and such as accepted foreign commissions for arming vessels as privateers against either of the parties might, if taken, be treated as pirates. The article declaring that neither debts due from individuals of one nation to

individuals of the other, nor money which they might have in the public funds or in public or private banks, should ever, in any event of war or national differences, be sequestered or confiscated, created, for reasons obvious to every student of history, more wrath than all the others combined.

Jay was not himself satisfied with the treaty as a whole, but had written from London, "I have no reason to believe or conjecture that one more favorable to us is attainable." He furthermore said: "Difficulties which retarded its accomplishment frequently had the appearance of being insurmountable. They at last yielded to modifications, and to that mutual disposition to agreement which reconciled Lord Grenville and myself to an unusual degree of trouble and application. They who have leveled uneven ground know how little of the work afterward appears."

Hamilton was displeased with some of the provisions of the treaty, and thought "valuable alterations" might be made in the 13th article, and perhaps in others. At the same time he told its enemies that a trade which was increasing at a rapid rate despite annoyances should not be sacrificed to a war with Great Britain, except for the most urgent reasons.¹ In reply to Brockholst Livingston, who assailed the treaty through the press as "Decius," he wrote numerous articles under the signature of "Camillus." So much was Jefferson alarmed at the force of Hamilton's reasoning, that he begged Madison "for God's sake" to take up his pen, there being no one able to meet that Federal champion, whom he described as "really a Colossus to the anti-Republican party. He is a host within himself. His adversaries having begun the attack, he has the advantage of answering them, and remains unanswered himself."²

On the 15th of August the President, with a moral independence which posterity will never cease to admire, signed the treaty, in accordance with the advice and consent of the Senate; and notwithstanding the House threatened to nullify the act, and for two weeks was the scene of an exhibition of eloquence never probably exceeded either before or since in the American Congress, the great body of the merchants, and of the more judicious and reflecting portion of the people came to the conclusion that his course was that of consummate wisdom.

The immediate effect of the treaty was to avert a war from which the United States could have derived no possible advantage which the treaty did not secure. And, with one exception, the treaty removed every existing obstacle to the continuance of peace between the two countries. This exception was the right claimed by Great Britain to impress her

¹ The exports had risen in five years from nineteen millions annually, to forty-eight millions. — *Hildreth's History of the United States*.

² *Jefferson to Madison*, September 21, 1795.

own seamen, when found on board neutral merchant-vessels at sea; a claim which a subsequent war and treaty failed to extinguish.

Twelve days before the President ratified the treaty the troublesome and expensive contest with the Northwestern Indians was brought to a satisfactory conclusion, by terms of peace duly signed at Fort Greenville, where Anthony Wayne met the chiefs of the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanoes, Ottawas, Chippewas, Potawatomes, Miamis, Weéas, Kickapoos, Piankoshaws, Kaskaskias, and Eel River Indians. The Indians ceded sixteen detached portions of territory, which included the post of Detroit, that at the foot of the Maumee Rapids, and Chicago at the mouth of the Illinois River, with several other sites of forts or trading-houses, still in possession of the British, but which were to be surrendered under Jay's treaty. In return the Indians were promised presents to the amount of \$20,000; also an annual allowance to the value of \$9,500. But the Southern frontier, through frequent bloody outrages, was to remain nearly another year in a state of inquietude: on the 29th of June, 1796, a treaty was finally concluded between the President and the Creek Indians.

Swiftly following these events, Pinckney's special mission to Spain resulted in settling the long-disputed question of Spanish boundary and the navigation of the Mississippi. The treaty with that power was signed in October. Before the end of November a treaty had been arranged between the United States and the Dey of Algiers through the efforts of Colonel Humphreys, in addition to a recognition of the former treaty with Morocco, obtained from the new sovereign. And when Congress assembled in December the President in his opening speech presented a pleasing view of the prosperity of the country: "Every part of the Union displays indications of rapid and various improvement, and exhibits a spectacle of national happiness never surpassed, if ever before equaled."

Immediately after the President affixed his name to Jay's treaty, Randolph resigned the post of Secretary of State under circumstances of a peculiar character. Washington had gone to Mount Vernon in July for a few weeks' rest. Hammond, the British Minister, had recently married one of the beautiful daughters of Andrew Allen of Philadelphia, and was residing at his country-seat near the city; he sent an invitation to Secretary Wolcott to dine with him on Sunday, the 26th of July, which was accepted. "I found the company," wrote Wolcott, "to consist of Mr. Hammond's family, Mr. Strickland, an English gentleman, Mr. Thornton, the late secretary of the British legation, and Mr. Andrew Allen of Philadelphia." Before dinner, Hammond took Wolcott aside

and communicated the fact of having received from Lord Grenville an intercepted letter of M. Fauchet, the French Minister to his government. The package of dispatches had been thrown overboard from a French packet on the approach of an English vessel, and rescued from the water by a sailor who plunged in after them. After dining the gentlemen adjourned to a private room, and the celebrated letter was read aloud in English. The information it contained was highly interesting—and an extensive superstructure of inferences was erected thereupon by the lively fancy of the French Minister. The whole political situation of the two parties in America was indeed reviewed either at length, or by reference to former dispatches. Allusions to “precious confessions” of Randolph concerning the policy of the Opposition to overthrow the administration excited grave comment. One clause pointed towards a cabal in New York which, aided by the British Minister, was devising measures to destroy Governor Clinton, Randolph, M. Fauchet, and others. The following paragraph seemed to bristle with significance: “Two or three days before the proclamation was published, and of course before the Cabinet had resolved on its measures, Mr. Randolph came to see me with an air of great eagerness, and made me the overtures of which I have given you an account in my Number Six. Thus with some thousands of dollars the Republic could have decided on civil war or peace! Thus the consciences of the pretended patriots of America already have their prices!”

Wolcott, accompanied by Secretary Pickering, visited Attorney-General Bradford, who was ill at his country-house, on the 29th; and after an interchange of opinions, a letter was written to the President requesting his return to Philadelphia. He reached the city August 11, and the same evening the whole matter was placed in his hands. His subsequent course, and the scene when, in the presence of the other members of the Cabinet, his Secretary of State was asked to read the letter of the French Minister, are familiar to every reader of American history. Randolph hastened to Newport, where M. Fauchet was about to sail for France, having been superseded by M. Adet, and before the year ended published a pamphlet in vindication of his conduct, which was so offensive to Washington that he made no effort to conceal his intense indignation.

In the midst of the political commotions of the summer a British
1795. frigate entered New York Harbor with several cases of yellow fever on board. The disease spread rapidly through the city, and although great numbers of the citizens fled in dismay to country-places, seven hundred and thirty-two deaths occurred. The people of Philadelphia, through Mayor Matthew Clarkson, remitted seven thousand dollars

to the distressed inhabitants of the metropolis.¹ The new almshouse, completed this year in Chambers Street, was of special use in the emergency, and was shortly reported to contain six hundred and twenty-two paupers.

In his last annual message to the Legislature of New York, Governor Clinton recommended an endowment for common schools throughout the State. He had been ex-officio Regent and Chancellor of the University ever since its foundation, and was deeply impressed with the importance of utilizing every possible agency for the diffusion of knowledge. Liberal provisions had been made for the establish-^{1795.}ment of colleges and the higher seminaries of learning, but legislative aid was yet to be afforded to that portion of the community without the pale of such institutions.² An act was accordingly passed in April appropriating an annual sum of fifty thousand dollars for five years to the maintenance of common schools in the various towns of the State.

The first edifice for the accommodation of the New York Society Library — the earliest loan library in America — was completed this year in Nassau Street, corner of Cedar. The site purchased, a lot thirty feet wide and of irregular depth, was part of the garden of Joseph Winter's mansion; and the tree hovering in the shadow of the building, as shown in the sketch, was a luxuriant apricot, which, with the grapery peeping above the brick wall, belonged to his domain. Our illustration is from a faithful representation of the building by the venerable father of American wood-engraving, Dr. Alexander Anderson, who executed it in 1818, for *The Picture of New York*, a little guide-book by Goodrich. The structure was imposing, considering its purpose and the time of its erection. It was built of brown stone, with three quarter Corinthian columns, resting on a projecting basement, with ornamental iron balustrades forming a favorite balcony. The interior was fashioned with a flight of stairs in the center leading to an oblong room on the second floor lighted with three tall windows at each end, having a gallery, and

¹ During the prevalence of the yellow fever in Philadelphia in the summer of 1792, the corporation of New York City gave \$5,000 to the distressed citizens of the Quaker City, and the Bank of New York loaned them considerable sums of money at five per cent. — *Goodrich's Chronological Picture of New York*.

² The earliest application to the Regents of the University for the incorporation of an academy for classical instruction was from Rev. Dr. Samuel Buel, Nathaniel Gardiner, and David Mulford, of Easthampton, where a school had been supported by the people ever since the settlement of the town. The academy building was erected in 1784. Rev. Dr. Buel was the celebrated pastor of the Easthampton Church. (See Vol. I. 596.) David Mulford (born 1754, died 1799, married Rachel Gardiner) was the son of Colonel David and Phoebe Hunting Mulford, one of the leading men of Easthampton, and executor of the estate of David Gardiner, sixth lord of the manor of Gardiner's Island, and a direct descendant of Judge John Mulford, one of the first settlers of Easthampton. — *Mulford Genealogy*.

bookcases on every side protected by wire doors. The society numbered nearly one thousand members, comprising the leading citizens of all occupations, and the collection of books removed from a room on the upper floor of Federal Hall to their new home in June embraced about five thousand volumes.¹

When the war began the books of the Society, four thousand or more,



New York Society Library Building, 1795.
[Corner Nassau and Cedar Streets.]

disappeared, and were supposed by many persons to have been destroyed. No meeting was held for the transaction of business or the choice of trustees during the whole fourteen years from 1774 to 1788. In December of the last-mentioned year, however, a movement was instituted which resulted in the election of

twelve trustees, Chancellor Livingston, Robert Watts, Brockholst Livingston, Samuel Jones, Walter Rutherford, Matthew Clarkson, Peter Ketteltas, Samuel Bard, Hugh Gaîne, Daniel Cronnelin Verplanck, Edward Griswold, and Henry Remsen, all gentlemen of education and culture. The reader will observe that three of the original trustees of the institution, Robert R. Livingston, John Watts, and William Livingston, were represented in the organization of 1788 by their sons. Henceforward the society prospered. Rare and useful works, long since selected from the English standard literature, by the De Lanceys, Alexanders, Livingstons, and others, were exhumed from places where they had been lodged for safe-keeping, and, together with valuable newspaper files from 1726, restored to the uses for which they were intended, and handed down to

¹ At a meeting of trustees, May 7, 1754, it was voted that every member bring in a list of such books as he might judge most proper for the first purchase. At a meeting, September 11, 1754, pending the arrival of books ordered from London, resolutions were adopted concerning a library-room in the city hall, and John Watts, William Livingston, and William P. Smith were appointed to carry them into effect. The minutes show that invoices of books, larger or smaller, were added to the library in 1755, 1756, 1758, 1761, 1763, and 1765. The original subscription roll in 1754 comprised about one hundred and forty names.

this generation. The library continued to increase in size and importance, and dispensed the benefits of its literary treasures in a quiet and unobtrusive manner, until the advancing tide of commerce in 1836 forced it to seek a more suitable locality in Broadway, corner of Leonard Street.

The neighborhood of the new Library was crowded with objects of interest. Antique churches with moss-grown roofs and grassy graveyards might be seen from every window, not least among which was the quaint specimen of Holland architecture opposite, the Middle Dutch Church, open every Sunday to devout worshipers, but in course of years to be converted into a great city post-office. Dwelling-houses and gardens, stores and blacksmith-shops, trailing vines, rose-bushes, wood-sawing paraphernalia, and the carts from which drinking water was retailed for so much per gallon, were like familiar spirits. Hickory wood was the principal article of fuel. Each citizen attended to the sweeping of the street in front of his house twice a week; and in the evening the principal thoroughfares were lighted with oil-lamps. Milkmen, with yokes on their shoulders from which tin cans were suspended, traversed the city in the early morning, shouting in language unmistakable to mortal ears, "Milk, ho!" And negro boys went their rounds at day-break seeking chimneys to sweep.

Slavery still existed in New York. Every family of any pretension to affluence owned household and other servants. In all the newspapers of the period were advertisements of sales, and of runaway ^{1796.} slaves. Many high-minded persons wished to see it abolished. As early as 1785 "The Society for promoting the Manumission of Slaves, and protecting such of them as have been or may be liberated" was formed, with John Jay its president. A school was about the same time established for negro children. Writing to a similar Society formed in England in 1788, Jay said, "Manumissions daily become more common among us; and the treatment which slaves in general meet with in this State is very little different from that of other servants." Jay himself owned slaves. In 1798, in furnishing an account of his taxable property, he accompanied his list of slaves with the observation: "I purchase slaves, and manumit them at proper ages, and when their faithful services shall have afforded a reasonable retribution." When Jay as Governor of New York made his first speech to the Legislature, he recommended the establishment of a penitentiary, for the employment and reformation of criminals, ^{Jan. 6} and a plan of internal improvements for multiplying the means of travel through the State; and in accordance with his wishes a bill was early introduced for the gradual abolition of slavery. But on the ques-

tion of compensation, upon which the slaveholders insisted, the bill, after a prolonged and exciting debate, was lost in the Assembly by a vote of thirty-two to thirty.

Opposition to the Jay treaty broke out afresh upon the return, in February, of the instrument ratified by Great Britain. The President proclaimed it as the supreme law of the land, and sent a copy to the House. Both parties were roused by its appearance for a determined struggle. Congress had previously threatened to decline to concur in the legislation necessary to carry out its provisions. The first movement came from the Republicans. Edward Livingston, younger brother of Chancellor

Livingston, the recently elected member from New York, offered a
March 2. resolution that the President be requested to lay before the House a copy of his instructions to Jay, and the correspondence and other documents relating to the treaty. On the 7th he modified his proposition by adding the words: "Excepting such of the said papers as any existing negotiation may render improper to be disclosed." Livingston relied upon one clause in the Constitution which he interpreted as vesting power in Congress to carry the treaty into execution or not, as the case might demand. The other side relied upon the clause expressly vesting in the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, the power to make treaties, and thought the House had no discretion only as to the method of raising and paying the money.

The debate lasted a fortnight. After some thirty speeches on
March 24. either side, Livingston's resolution was carried by the decisive vote of sixty-two to thirty-seven.

Washington, with the unanimous approval of his Cabinet, then decided that the House had no right to demand the papers in question, and that due regard for the authority of the Presidential office seemed to require that such an assumption of power should be met at once by an explicit refusal. No pretense could be set up that the papers contained anything which the government was afraid to show, for they had already been communicated to Livingston as chairman of a committee on impressments, and to
March 30 other prominent men of the Opposition. The President therefore addressed a message to the House on the 30th, positively declining to accede to the call for executive papers.

The resentment was excessive. It was an act causing an amount of eloquent vituperation which it would be difficult to describe. Other business claimed attention, and it was the middle of April before the matter of the British treaty was formally reached. Madison assailed it in a brilliant speech on the 15th of April, and held out the prospect of obtaining another and a better treaty by further negotiations. "I should

like to see the gentleman from Virginia, wrapped up in his mantle of doubts and problems, going on a mission to London to clear up this business," exclaimed Coit of Connecticut, with biting sarcasm. Albert Gallatin, in a vigorous and effective strain of eloquence, said it was fear that had originated the treaty and was now attempting to force the House to carry it into effect. Such a sentiment, uttered by a very youthful looking man — he was then thirty-five — with a foreign accent, was too much for the patience of some of the Federal members. Uriah Tracy sprang to his feet and vehemently declared, while answering Gallatin's chief arguments, that he "never could feel thankful to any gentleman for coming all the way from Geneva in Switzerland to accuse Americans of pusillanimity." Half a dozen of the Opposition called Tracy to order in sudden excitement and confusion. But Speaker Muhlenburg pronounced him in order, and directed him to go on. Tracy begged pardon for any impropriety into which the heat of debate might have carried him, and disclaimed all intention of being personal. The great speech, however, in favor of the treaty was by Fisher Ames, after the debate had been prolonged two weeks. He had been ill, and absent through most of the session. Rising from his seat, pale, ^{April 28} feeble, and hardly able to stand, he pronounced the famous oration, which for comprehensive knowledge of human nature and of the springs of political action, for caustic ridicule, keen argument, and pathetic eloquence, has seldom been equaled on the floor of Congress. "I shall be asked," he said, "why a treaty so good in some articles and so harmless in others has met with such unrelenting opposition? Certainly a foresight of its pernicious operation could not have created all the fears that have been felt or affected. The alarm spread faster than the publication. The treaty had more critics than readers. The movements of passion are quicker than the understanding. Have we not heard it urged against our envoy that he was not ardent enough in his hatred of Great Britain? Let everything be granted we ask, and a treaty with that nation would still be obnoxious. Let us be explicit. This country thirsted not merely for reparation, but for vengeance. Such passions seek nothing, and will be content with nothing, but the destruction of their object. If a treaty left King George his island, it would not answer, not if he stipulated to pay rent for it."

While this struggle was rending Congress, and the constitutional treaty-making power of the President and the Senate was quivering in the balance, the country became thoroughly awakened, and demonstrations in favor of the execution of the treaty in many places indicated a change in the tide of public sentiment. Merchants and property-holders

could not remain blind to the danger of a collision with Great Britain. Petitions poured in from New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore, and elsewhere for a cessation of hostilities to the treaty. Public meetings were held in numberless towns and cities, and resolutions passed to sustain the administration. The question was to have been taken in the House immediately after Ames's speech; but, dreading the effect it might produce, the Opposition carried an amendment. The next day three more speeches for the treaty were delivered, but no one attempted to answer Ames. The Opposition had hitherto claimed a majority of ten. In the course of the debate this claim dwindled to six. The vote, when taken, stood forty-nine to forty-nine. The responsibility was thus thrown upon Speaker Muhlenburg, who voted with the Federalists that it "was expedient to pass the laws necessary for carrying the treaty into effect." Only four New England members voted against it; and from the States south of the Potomac only four votes were cast in its favor. Thus the tempest subsided, and a peaceful and profitable intercourse with Great Britain for ten years longer was secured.

Edward Livingston was the mover of an ameliorating system of penal law during this session, but no action was taken. "He teems with holy indignation against fraud," wrote Chauncey Goodrich. An act was passed for the discharge, on taking the poor debtor's oath, of prisoners held for debt on civil process from the United States courts, in which Livingston was chiefly instrumental; and he was unceasing in his efforts for the relief and protection of impressed seamen.

An attempt in Pennsylvania to imitate the appropriation made by New York for the support of public schools was opposed and defeated by the Quakers and members of some other religious sects, on the ground that while supporting schools of their own they should not be taxed for the benefit of other people. They argued that the religious uniformity made a system of public schools possible in New England, whereas, the same plan undertaken in the mixed condition of the population of Pennsylvania would be equivalent to no religious instruction, or heathenism.

About the same time the twelfth annual report of the Regents of the University of New York was presented to the Speaker of the Assembly, William North, by the youthful secretary of the board, De Witt Clinton. Since the creation of the University fourteen academies had been incorporated in the different counties, all of which were pronounced in a flourishing condition. The Clinton Academy in the Easthampton numbered eighty pupils; the academy at Salem, in Westchester County, numbered fifty-two pupils. The report from Union College at Schenectady, which had just passed its first birthday, having been incorporated

by the Regents February 25, 1795, was cheering. It received its name from the union of several religious denominations in its organization. The endowment was originally contributed by ninety-nine Albany and two hundred and thirty-one Schenectady gentlemen; and the sum was subsequently greatly increased by the generous influence of General Philip Schuyler, who was himself a liberal contributor. Rev. Dr. John Blair Smith, from Philadelphia, was its first president.

The population of New York City had nearly doubled in the ten years since 1786. Streets had been laid out, and habitations erected above the



Map of the Collect, and Adjoining Streets, in 1796.

swampy fields in the region of Canal Street. But although surveys had been made of the several streets about the Collect, or Fresh Water Pond, they were not graded, nor had building-lots been found, for obvious reasons, marketable in that locality.¹ The water of the pond was sixty feet

¹ From the records of the Common Council the following is abstracted : 1790 — “*Ordered*, A committee to cause a survey to be made of the ancient bounds of the Fresh Water Pond, and report the same to the Board. . . . The committee appointed delivered in a survey for the several streets in the vicinity of Fresh Water, which was ordered to be filed.” 1793 — “*Ordered*, That a survey be made of the land and meadows at and about the Fresh Water Pond, with the streets which may be necessary marked thereon.” 1795 — “A petition for digging out the Broadway, north of Barclay Street, agreeable to its regulation was referred.” 1796 — “A committee appointed to confer with the proprietors of the ground through which the contemplated canal is to pass, from the Fresh Water Pond into Hudson River.” 1798 — “A letter from the Health Commissioners read, representing that the swamp or meadow between the Fresh Water Pond and Hudson River is overflowed with standing water, and requires immediate measures for draining it. *Ordered* that it be attended to.”

deep, and the marshy ground to the northwest as well as towards the East River gave little signs of promise as to future value. In the winter-time the pond was a fine natural skating-park, and the hill towards Broadway was a comfortable gathering-place for lookers-on. A canal from the pond to the Hudson had been some time in contemplation, and early in 1796 the committee chosen negotiated with the proprietors of the swamp for such parts as were necessary "to make the said canal of the breadth of forty feet, and a street on each side of the breadth of thirty feet." The actual work did not begin for two or three years. The arched bridge "across the drain," now Canal Street, was ten feet seven inches above the surface of the meadow. Hence, when the digging commenced for leveling the hill on the line of Broadway, the dirt was carried forward towards the north, as the street needed raising several inches through the meadow from Leonard Street to the bridge. About the same time complaints were made that the water-carts obstructed Chatham Street when drawn up in a row to receive water from the old Tea Water Pump for the supply of the city, and an order went forth causing the spout of said pump to be raised some two feet, and lengthened, so as to deliver the water at the outer part of the walk, and allow persons to walk under it without inconvenience. Neither the pond nor the canal received further special notice from the corporation until 1805. It was then resolved that an open canal should run through a street of one hundred feet in breadth; and also that the condition of the Collect was dangerous to the public health, that sewers should be passed through it, and that the head of it should be filled with good wholesome earth.

This beautiful pond, occupying the site of the present great gloomy pile of prison buildings known as The Tombs, was the scene in the summer of 1796 of the first trial of a steamboat with a screw propeller. It was the invention of John Fitch. The boat was eighteen feet in length and six feet beam, with square stern, round bows, and seats. The boiler was a ten or twelve gallon iron pot.

The little craft passed round the pond several times, and was believed capable of making six miles an hour. The spectacle was watched with critical interest by Chancellor Livingston, Nicholas Roosevelt, John Stevens, and others, who had in common with philosophers and inventors in England and Europe been for some time engaged in the speculative study of the steam-engine and its prospective uses.¹ Fitch belonged to

¹ The statement that Robert Fulton was present at this trial of Fitch's steamboat on the Collect in 1796 is an error, he being in England at that date, thoroughly absorbed in the study of Watt's steam engine, and canals; he that year published in London a treatise on the improvement of canal navigation, with numerous well-executed plates from designs



Bonhill, Oct.

J. Macdonald

the prominent Connecticut family of that name, was born in the famous old town of Windsor, adjoining Hartford, and had been inventing and experimenting for a dozen or more years, hoping to succeed in the application of steam-power to navigation. His genius, idiosyncrasies, and impecuniosity were in perpetual conflict; otherwise he might have achieved the triumph to which he aspired. He was a man of striking figure, six feet two inches in height, erect and full, his head slightly bald, but not gray although fifty-three years of age, and dignified and distant in his general behavior.

The belief that steam was destined to submit to the control of the human intellect for practical purposes was rapidly gaining strength, although the facile adaptations of its power were yet but visionary possibilities to the intelligence and observation of mankind; and it was by no means confined to any one nation. The ingenuity of almost every civilized country was in exercise over contrivances for the propulsion of boats by steam. A perfect system of communication existed between the countries of the world, notwithstanding that distances, measured in time, were vastly greater than now, and the learning of every center was promptly radiated to every other. James Watt was unquestionably the greatest of all the inventors of the steam-engine, but only one of the many men who aided in perfecting it. Slight knowledge of the properties of steam is of unknown antiquity. A "steam-gun" is described by Leonardo da Vinci. In Spain, as early as 1543, Blasco da Garay, a Spanish naval officer under Charles V., is said to have moved a ship at the rate of two or three miles an hour with an apparatus of which a "vessel of boiling water" formed a part; but the king shook his head and frowningly forbade its repetition, saying "he could not have his liege subjects scalded to death with hot water on his ships!" At Naples, in 1601, Porta describes a machine for raising water with steam pressure, in a work called *Spirituali*. England in 1648 was convulsed with laughter over a witty discourse from the learned Bishop of Chester, in which he recommended the application of the power of confined steam to the construction of a "flying castle in the air," to the chiming of bells, to the reeling of yarn, and to the rocking of the cradle. About the same period Edward Somerset, the second Marquis of Worcester, introduced an invention into Raglan Castle for elevating water by steam, but failed to excite sympathy or appreciation. His life is one of the most romantic chap-

of his own. He also about the same time in England patented a mill for sawing marble, for which he received the thanks of the British Society for the Promotion of Arts and Commerce, and an honorary medal. In 1797 he passed over to Paris with the intention of bringing to the notice of the French government a submarine torpedo and torpedo boats.

ters of English history. In 1720, some years before Watt was born, Joseph Hornblower was conspicuous in the superintendence and construction of steam-engines, then called fire-engines, after the model of Newcomen, being simply atmospheric engines with a single cylinder. He had several sons: Jonathan, born in 1717, and Josiah, born in 1729, became eminent engineers. The Hornblowers, father and sons, subsequently removed to Cornwall to pursue their business, where they were engaged in putting up engines from their first introduction into the mines in 1740. The success of these engines in the mines of Cornwall induced Colonel John Schuyler to import one for pumping water from his copper-mine on the Passaic River, near Newark, New Jersey — a mine rich in ore, but which had been worked as deep as hand and horse power could clear it of water. His correspondents in London purchased one of Hornblower's engines, and persuaded Josiah Hornblower, then only twenty-four years of age, to proceed to America and superintend its erection. He arrived in New York in September, 1753, and occupied the best part of a year in building an engine-house and getting it into successful operation. This was the first steam-engine ever erected on the continent of America; and it was when Watt was but seventeen, and his inventions simply marvels of the future.¹

Young Hornblower expected to return to England as soon as his work was accomplished. But in the neighborhood of the Schuylers lived Colonel William Kingsland, grandson of Isaac Kingsland, the founder of the Kingsland family in America — whose wife was Mary, daughter of Judge William Pinborne, of the reader's acquaintance in the early pages of this work. Hornblower became a frequent visitor at the Kingslands'. It is the old, old story of romantic love. In two years his destiny was sealed. He married the beautiful Elizabeth Kingsland, then twenty-one, and became an American.² He afterwards not only superintended the engine whenever his skilled services were needed, but after 1760 for

¹ Letter of Hon. Joseph P. Bradley, Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

² Josiah Hornblower soon rose to eminence, was a judge of the county courts, Speaker of the New Jersey Assembly, and member of the Continental Congress. He lived until 1809, and among his large family of children were Joseph, born 1756, died 1777; Margaret, born 1758, married James Kip, a wealthy New York merchant — of whose daughters Eliza married John Schuyler, and Helen married Abel Anderson; James, born 1760, whose only daughter married William Stevens; Dr. Josiah, born 1767, who left a son, Dr. William Hornblower, of Bergen, and two daughters, one of whom became Mrs. Dr. DeWitt, the other, Mrs. Dr. Gautier and the mother of Dr. Josiah Hornblower Gautier of New York City; and Joseph C. Hornblower, late Chief Justice of New Jersey, born 1777, died 1864.

Chief-Justice Hornblower married Mary Burnet, daughter of Dr. William Burnet of Belleville, and granddaughter of Dr. William Burnet of Newark, a famous patriot of the Revolution. Mrs. Hornblower's sister Caroline married Governor William Pennington of New

several years worked the mines, and people came from all the country round to see the wonderful machine.

Meanwhile his brother Jonathan remained at Cornwall, where he died in 1780, several of whose sons were educated as engineers, and produced many useful and notable inventions. Jabez and Jonathan were the most conspicuous among them. Jabez was employed to superintend the erection of steam-engines in Holland and in Sweden. Jonathan, inventor of a double-cylinder high-pressure engine, was one of the most active and formidable of the rivals of James Watt; and his engine is the one now principally used by ocean steamers, as, requiring only about half the coal of the Watt engine, it is better suited for long voyages. A litigation ensued, Hornblower's invention being pronounced an infringement of Watt's patent, which also had two cylinders, though one of them was only used as a condenser; and while nothing was ever alleged to the dishonor of the Hornblowers in this controversy, public favor clamored in behalf of Watt, and they were defeated.

At the same time in localities far remote from each other on this side of the water enterprising mechanics were trying at intervals to construct steam-engines. William Henry returned from England in 1760, imbued with the idea of utilizing the power of steam for propelling boats, and within three years constructed a machine which he placed in a little craft and tried on a river near Lancaster, Pennsylvania. It went to the bottom, and he made a second model, adding improvements. Benjamin West was a friend and protégé of Henry, and John Fitch was a frequent visitor at Henry's house. Thither went Robert Fulton, when a boy of twelve years, to study the paintings of West; and while visiting an aunt in the neighborhood he experimented with miniature paddle-wheels on the Conestoga. John Fitch is thought to have invented the first double-acting condensing engine, transmitting power by means of cranks, ever produced in any country. His experiments on the Delaware, as early as 1785 and 1786, brought him into a bitter controversy, respecting the priority of their inventions, with James Rumsey, who died in 1793 while explaining some of his schemes before a London Society. Fitch, like Rumsey, tried to introduce his methods into Great Britain, and confidently asserted his belief that the ocean would be crossed by

Jersey, and her sister Abigail married Caleb S. Riggs, whose daughter Helen married Judge William Kent. The children of Chief-Justice and Mary Burnet Hornblower. 1. Joanna, married Thomas Bell, of Philadelphia; 2. Eliza, married Rev. Mortimer R. Talbot; 3. Emily, married Colonel Alexander M. Cummings, of Princeton; 4. Harriet, married Hon. Lewis B. Woodruff, late U. S. Circuit Judge of New York; 5. Charles; 6. Caroline; 7. Mary, married Hon. Joseph P. Bradley, one of the justices of the Supreme Court of the United States; 8. Rev. Dr. William H. Hornblower, professor in the Presbyterian Theological Seminary.

steam vessels. He went to France, hoping to obtain the privilege of building steamboats there, but was disappointed in all his efforts. Oliver Evans, during the same year, said: "The time will come when people will travel in stages moved by steam-engines from one city to another almost as fast as birds can fly — fifteen or twenty miles an hour," and his associates smiled incredulously. The boat with which Fitch experimented on the Collect in New York, and of which a model exists in the New York Historical Society, together with a portion of its machinery was abandoned and left to decay on the shore of the pond, and was carried away piece by piece by the poor children of the neighborhood for fuel. He had made his last effort in steam navigation, and the same autumn removed to Kentucky, where he died in 1798.

Two years after Fitch experimented with his screw-propeller on the Collect in New York, Nicholas Roosevelt launched a little steamboat on the Passaic River, and made a trial trip with a party of invited guests, among whom was the Spanish Minister. Roosevelt was of the old New York family of that name, and a gentleman of education and inventive talent. He had become interested with others in the Schuyler copper-mines, and from the model of Hornblower's atmospheric engine constructed one of a similar character; and also built similar engines for various purposes. Colonel John Stevens, who exhibited far better knowledge of the science and art of engineering, besides urging more advanced opinions and statesman-like views in relation to the economical importance of the practical development of the new invention, than any man of his time, was frequently in conference with Roosevelt. In December, 1797, Chancellor Livingston wrote to Roosevelt, saying: "Mr. Stevens has mentioned to me your desire to apply the steam machine to a boat; every attempt of this kind having failed, I have constructed a boat on perfectly new principles, which, both in the model and on a large scale, has exceeded my expectations. I was about writing to England for a steam machine; but hearing of your wish, I was willing to treat with you, on terms which I believe you will find advantageous, for the use of my invention." The result was an agreement between Livingston, Stevens, and Roosevelt to build a boat on joint account, for which the engines were to be constructed by Roosevelt at his shop on the Passaic; and the propelling agency was to be planned by the Chancellor. So promising were the signs, that in March, 1798, the Legislature of New York passed a bill giving Livingston the exclusive right to steam navigation in the waters of the State for a period of twenty years, provided that he should within a year from date produce a boat that could steam four miles an hour. During the progress of the enterprise the correspond-

ence teemed with speculative suggestions. The trial trip to which reference has been made occurred on the 21st of October, 1798. It was recognized as a failure. Roosevelt had invented a vertical wheel which he earnestly recommended to the Chancellor, without success.¹ Stevens, a few months later, persuaded the Chancellor to try a set of paddles in the stern, which unfortunately shook the boat to pieces and rendered it unfit for further use. The inventive instinct of America appears to have been abreast with that of any other country. But no individual as yet had succeeded in taking the final step in the progression which was to make steam navigation an every-day commercial success.

New York in the spring of 1796 again furnished a Minister to Great Britain. Thomas Pinckney had returned from Spain to the court of London, but wishing to sail for South Carolina, Rufus King, who had previously declined the office of Secretary of the State Department, received the nomination, May 20, as his successor, and was immediately confirmed by the Senate. Hamilton in a letter to Washington specially recommended King for the post as a gentleman of ability, integrity, fortune, agreeable address, good judgment, and sound morals, and "one whose situation as well as character afforded just ground of confidence." King shortly embarked for London, where he remained through the remainder of the administration of Washington, through the whole of that of Adams, and a part of that of Jefferson — until 1804. He placed his sons, John Alsop King and Charles King, at Harrow School, and in 1805 at a preparatory school in Paris.² His successor

¹ *Roosevelt to Livingston*, September 6, 1798; *Livingston to Roosevelt*, October 28, 1798; *A Lost Chapter in the History of the Steamboat*, by J. H. B. Latrobe, President of the Md. Hist. Soc.; *History of the Growth of the Steam-Engine*, by Robert H. Thurston, A. M.; *Renwick on Steam-Engines*; *Whittlesey's Life of John Fitch*; *Columbian Magazine*, December, 1786; *Encyclopædia Americana*, *Doc. Hist. New York*, Vol. II. Roosevelt, when asked why he did not anticipate Fulton in the first successful application of the steam-engine to naval purposes, replied, "At the time Chancellor Livingston's horizontal-wheel experiment failed, I was under a contract with the corporation for supplying the city of Philadelphia with water by means of two steam-engines; and, besides, I was under a contract with the United States to erect rolling works and supply government with copper rolled and drawn, for six seventy-four-gun ships that were then to be built. But by a change of men in the administration, after I had been led into heavy expense, the seventy-fours were abandoned without appropriations, and embarrassment to me was the natural consequence."

² John Alsop King, eldest son of Rufus King, was born in New York City, January 3, 1788; Charles King, second son, was born March 16, 1789; James Gore King, third son, was born May 8, 1791. They were all remarkable and accomplished men. John Alsop King was governor of New York from 1857 to 1859. Charles King was a journalist and scholar, the President of Columbia College from 1849 to 1864, and author of many valuable works. James Gore King, also educated in the best schools in England and France, was of the great banking-house of James G. King and Sons, member of Congress from 1849 to 1851, and President of the Chamber of Commerce.

from New York, in the United States Senate, was Judge John Lawrence, who served until 1800, and was at one time president *pro tem* of that body. The year following King's departure on his mission, General Philip Schuyler was again elected to the Senate, in place of Aaron Burr.

Several changes occurred in 1796 among the ambassadors to foreign courts. Colonel Humphreys was transferred to the Court of Madrid, John Quincy Adams succeeded Humphreys at Lisbon, and William V. Murray took the place of Adams at The Hague. Disagreeable complications ensued with France immediately upon the ratification of the Jay treaty. The profligate Directory, turning to account the dissensions in America, pretended to consider the alliance between France and the United States at an end. The seizure of American vessels and the evasive conduct of the French Minister at Philadelphia, M. Adet, led to the recall of Monroe in August, who, it was thought, had been too much opposed to the Jay treaty himself to represent the friendly disposition of Washington and his Cabinet towards France. Monroe's successor was Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, who had successively declined three important offices, that of chief justice, and of the two secretaryships of war and state. "He will very shortly be in Philadelphia to embark, and this circumstance will furnish new subject for unvenomed pens," wrote the President from Mount Vernon to the Secretary of the Treasury, on the 10th of August. Before Pinckney arrived in France, the Directory, as an act of resentment against our Government, suspended the functions of M. Adet in the United States; the American Minister was treated with marked disrespect when he reached Paris, and was finally ordered to leave the country. In the chapter of complaints sent to Pickering, the United States was accused of deceiving France. Secretary Wolcott wrote: "The Executive and Mr. Jay are both treated with personal indignity. On the whole, this is by far the boldest attempt to govern this country which has been made."

The new Spanish Minister, Don Carlos Martinez, Marquis of Yrujo, arrived in June and paid a short visit to the President at Mount
1796. Vernon. He was a young and fascinating man, who, like the British Minister Hammond, soon after married a Philadelphia belle, Sally McKean, daughter of the chief justice of Pennsylvania. His son, the Duke of Sotomayer, born in Philadelphia, became in due course of events Prime Minister of Spain.¹

¹ America furnished wives for the Ministers of England, France, and Spain during the administration of Washington. Many other foreign gentlemen of distinction married American ladies. Of the two daughters of Mrs. Bingham, Anne married Alexander Baring, Lord Ashburton, and was the mother of the present peer, and Maria married (1) Comte de Tilly, (2) Henry Baring, (3) Marquis de Blaisel.

Hamilton regarded the situation as exceptionally critical. Although attending to his own affairs in New York, he was consulted on almost every question of importance that came before the Cabinet. He was not well pleased with the Secretary of State's reply to M. Adet's letter — "there was something of hardness and epigrammatic sharpness in it" to his mind — and said that, since the minister had declared his functions suspended, it should have been addressed to the Directory and communicated through Pinckney. He thought the position true that France had a right to inquire respecting the affairs of seamen, and that the complaints of the minister should be met with candid explanations, and his misstatement of facts corrected. "My opinion is," he continued, "that our communications should be calm, reasoning, and serious, showing steady resolution more than feeling, having force in the idea rather than the expression."

As the time approached to elect a President for the coming four years, Washington published an address of farewell to the people of the United States, which has been pronounced "the most dignified exhibition of political wisdom that ever emanated from the mind of a statesman." To Jefferson he wrote expressing his astonishment at the possibility, that, as he remarked, "While I was using my utmost exertions to establish a national character of our own, independent, as far as our obligations and justice and truth would permit, of every nation of the earth, and wished by steering a steady course to preserve this country from the horrors of a desolating war, I should be accused of being the enemy of one nation and subject to the influence of another."

The two parties were quickly provided with candidates, and the political newspapers went rabid, foaming personalities and falsehoods. The real leader of the Federalists was Hamilton. But Jay and Adams were older, and had served the country longer. No personal aspirations seem for a moment to have clouded Hamilton's vision. He greatly preferred Jay to Adams, because he believed him to possess more coolness, judgment, and consistency, and less tendency to prejudice. But Adams, through his office of vice-president, stood in the line of promotion; and, what was of still greater weight, he was the representative of New England, which had furnished all along a steady support to the Federal government. It was also politic to select a vice-president from the South; hence Thomas Pinckney received the nomination.

The Republicans chose Jefferson unanimously for the highest office, and Aaron Burr for Vice-President, although the support of the latter was far from being uniform. One of the public characters of Virginia wrote about that time: "The two most efficient actors on the political theater

of our country are Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Burr; and, as a friend to the interests of the Southern States, I sincerely wish that they had both appeared on the Federal side, that they might essentially have acted in concert, as but little more time and labor would have been necessary to subvert the popularity of both than we have found necessary to employ against Hamilton alone. I have watched the movements of Mr. Burr with attention, and have discovered traits of character which sooner or

later will give us much trouble. He has unequaled talent of attaching men to his views, and forming combinations of which he is always the center. He is determined to play a first part; he acts strenuously with us in public, but it is remarkable that in all private consultations he more frequently agrees with us in principles than in the mode of giving them effect."

There were other indications that Burr had already become an object of suspicion at the South, as likely to be a dangerous competitor for the leadership of the Republican party. He had eclipsed George Clinton to a certain degree, was un-



Aaron Burr.

rivaled in the arts of personal influence and intrigue, and was never idle. No means were too trivial for him to employ if he thought they would help him to gain a point. He used to say that he once saved a man from being hanged by a certain arrangement of the candles in a courtroom.

The result of the election was not known when Congress assembled in 1797. December. The votes were announced on the 8th of February; Feb. 8. John Adams had received seventy-one, Thomas Jefferson sixty-eight, Thomas Pinckney fifty-nine, and Aaron Burr thirty. The two former would thus fill the first two offices in the government, as at that time the second highest candidate for President became Vice-President. "The die is cast," wrote John Adams to his wife the next morning, "and you must prepare yourself for honorable trials."

CHAPTER XI.

1797-1801.

NEW YORK CITY AT THE CLOSE OF THE CENTURY.

CONTEMPORANEOUS DESCRIPTION OF THE CITY. — THE STREETS AND BUILDINGS. — THE BROADWAY. — THE GOVERNMENT HOUSE. — THE PARK THEATRE. — THE DRAMA. — COMMERCE OF NEW YORK. — THE CITY OF HUDSON AND ITS FOUNDERS. — SOCIETY. — INTELLECTUAL PURSUITS. — MARRIAGES IN HIGH LIFE. — THE BARCLAY FAMILY. — A LOVE ROMANCE. — GENERAL JACOB MORTON. — THE WIDOWS. — PRINCES AND NOBLES IN NEW YORK. — REFLECTION OF GOVERNOR JAY. — LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR VAN RENSSELAIRE. — THE FRENCH DIRECTORY. — MONEY OR WAR. — THE ALIEN AND SEDITION LAWS. — WAR MEASURES. — DUELS. — AARON BURR'S BANK. — THE COMMERCIAL ADVERTISER. — BURR AND HAMILTON. — DEATH OF WASHINGTON. — PERSONAL SKETCHES. — RICHARD VARDOL. — EDWARD LIVINGSTON.

“NEW YORK is the gayest place in America; the ladies, in the richness and brilliancy of their dress, are not equaled in any city of the United States, not even in Charleston, South Carolina, which has hitherto been called the center of the *beau monde*. The ladies, however, are not solely employed in attention to dress; there are many who are studious to add to brilliant external accomplishments the more brilliant and lasting accomplishments of the mind. Nor have they been unsuccessful, for New York can boast of great numbers of refined taste, whose minds are highly improved, and whose conversation is as inviting as their personal charms: tinged with a Dutch education, they manage their families with good economy and singular neatness. In point of sociability and hospitality New York is hardly exceeded by any town in the United States.”

The above paragraph was penned by an English divine, who wrote a History of America in four volumes, which was published in 1797. The antiquity of the work, together with its contemporaneous descriptions, renders many of its pages exceptionally interesting. The writer appears to have been a keen and critical observer of men and manners as well as of general affairs, and a scholar of varied accomplishments.

He described the city thus: "Its plan is not perfectly regular, but is laid out with reference to the situation of the ground. The principal streets run nearly parallel with the rivers; these are intersected, though not at right angles, by streets running from river to river. In the width of the streets there is great diversity, Broad Street, extending from the exchange to the City Hall, is sufficiently wide, having been originally built on each side of the creek. This street is low, but pleasant."—Another writer of about the same date speaks of Broad Street as a fine, wide, well-built, and handsomely planted avenue, the leading quarter of the early aristocracy of the town. — "Wall Street is generally fifty feet wide and elevated, and the buildings elegant. Hanover Square and Dock Street are conveniently situated for business, and the houses well-built. William Street is also elevated and convenient, and is the principal market for retailing dry goods. Some of the other streets are pleasant, but most of them are irregular and narrow. The houses are generally built of brick and the roofs tiled; there remain a few houses after the old Dutch manner, but the English taste has prevailed almost a century. The principal part of the city lies on the east side of the island, although the buildings extend from one river to the other. The length of the city on the east side is about two miles, but falls much short of that distance on the bank of the Hudson. Its breadth, on an average, is nearly three-fourths of a mile, and its circumference may be four miles. The most convenient and agreeable part of the city is the Broadway. It begins at a point formed by the junction of the Hudson and East Rivers, occupies the height of land between them upon a true meridional line, rises gently to the northward, is near seventy feet wide, and is adorned, where the fort formerly stood, with an elegant brick edifice for the accommodation of the governor of the State. The Broadway has also two Episcopal churches, and a number of elegant private buildings. It terminates to the northward, in a triangular area, fronting the Bridewell, and almshouse, and commands from any point a view of the bay and Narrows."¹

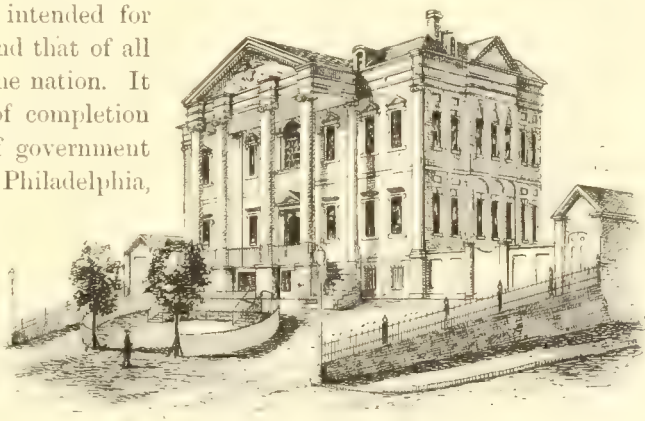
The portion of the city laid in ashes during the first years of the Revolution had been rapidly rebuilding since 1788, some of the streets widened, nearly all of them straightened, and raised in the middle under an angle sufficient to carry off the water to the side gutters; footwalks of brick had also been made on each side. Our early historian adds to the picture by saying: "The part that was destroyed by fire is almost wholly covered with elegant brick houses. The most magnificent edifice in the city is Federal Hall, situated at the head of Broad Street, where

¹ *An Historical, Geographical, Commercial, and Philosophical View of the United States of America*, by Rev. William Winterbotham. 1797.

its front appears to great advantage. The marble used in chimneys is American, and for beauty of shades and polish equal to any of its kind in Europe."

John Lambert wrote: "The Broadway and Bowery Road are the two finest avenues in the city, and nearly of the same width as Oxford Street in London. The first is upwards of two miles in length, though the pavement does not extend above a mile and a quarter; the remainder of the road consists of straggling houses, which are the commencements of new streets planned out. The houses in the Broadway are lofty and well-built. They are constructed in the English style, and differ but little from those of London at the west end of the town, except that they are universally built of red brick. In the vicinity of the Battery, and for some distance up the Broadway, they are nearly all private houses, and occupied by the principal merchants and gentry of New York."

The most elegant mansion in New York at the close of the century was the one erected on the site of the old fort opposite the Bowling Green, while Washington was a resident of the city as President of the United States, and which was intended for his occupancy, and that of all future heads of the nation. It was in process of completion when the seat of government was removed to Philadelphia, and was henceforward appropriated for a number of years to the uses of the governors of the State. It was the residence of Gov-



The Government House.

[Opposite the Bowling Green, 1792-1800.]

ernor Clinton for three or four years, and Governor Jay took up his abode in it in 1795, making it his city home until he retired from public life. It was a stately edifice, constructed of red brick, with Ionic columns, a striking example of the tendency of the period toward the severely classical in domestic architecture. Soon after the beginning of the present century it was converted into offices for the customs, and in 1815 removed. The Bowling Green Block now stands upon its site.

After enumerating the various churches of the city, numbering at this date twenty-three, and making brief reference to Columbia College, the

jail, house of correction, almshouse, exchange and several other buildings of less note, one writer says: "The city is accommodated with five markets in different parts, which are furnished with a great plenty and variety of provisions." The principal of these, the Fly-Market, was located near the East River, in what was originally a salt meadow with a creek running through it from Maiden Lane. When first established it was called the "Valley Market;" but the Dutch for valley being "V'lei," the term in common use was "V'lei-Market," hence the corruption into "Fly-Market." Every day, except Sunday, was a market day. Butchers were licensed by the mayor, who was the clerk of the market, receiving fees for all meats sold — as, for instance, six cents for every quarter of beef, and four cents for a calf, sheep, or lamb. Butter must be sold by the pound, and not by the roll or tub. The laws regulating the markets were rigidly enforced.

The Park Theater was built in 1797, and first opened in January, 1798. The ambitious proprietors petitioned for the privilege of erecting a portico over the sidewalk, which was not granted. It was a large, commodious building that would accommodate about twelve hundred persons. "The interior is handsomely decorated, and fitted up in as good style as the London theaters, upon a scale suitable to the population of New York," wrote Lambert. The performances consisted of all the new pieces that came out on the London boards, and several of Shakespeare's best plays. One of the newspaper critics of the time declared these plays too much curtailed, and said they often lost their effect through being over at half-past ten, while not commencing at an earlier hour than in London.

The drama was introduced into New York, and indeed into the American colonies, a quarter of a century before the Revolution. On the 26th of February, 1750, Lewis Hallam, a favorite actor at Goodman's Fields Theater in England, made his début in the historical tragedy of Richard III., in a room of one of the buildings which belonged to the estate of Rip Van Dam, in Nassau Street.¹ He had obtained permission from the British governor of New York, and commanded a most select and fashionable audience. Two years later he appeared at Williamsburg in Virginia. His wife, known as Mrs. Douglass, was a favorite actress; and his two sons, Lewis and Adam, figured upon the American stage during the remainder of the century. During the time the city was in the possession of the British, theatrical entertainments were very fashionable; and the characters were mostly supported by officers of the army and navy.

¹ *Parker's Post-Boy*; *Drake's American Biography*; *Old New York*, by Dr. John W. Francis.

The English plays of Garrick, Foote, Cumberland, Colman, O'Keefe, Sheridan, and others were from time to time enacted. Aid was often furnished from private or social circles; and a remarkable peculiarity of the times seems to have been that it was quite a common circumstance to appropriate or designate some leading or prominent individual among the inhabitants of the city as the character drawn by the dramatist abroad. Thus, when "Laugh and Grow Fat" appeared, the public said it well fitted the case of Abraham Mortier, the paymaster of the British army, and the projector of the Richmond Hill House. He was a cheerful old gentleman, but the leanest of all human beings — almost diaphanous.

Lewis Hallam, the younger, appeared in Lord Ogleby in 1767, and played the part for forty years, the last time being in the Park Theater in 1807. He was one of the best actors of his time. After the war terminated he organized the firm of Hallam and Henry, which after Mr. Henry's death became Hallam and Hodgkinson. William Dunlap, the painter and historian, subsequently became associated with the firm in the management of the John-Street Theater, and brought forward many pieces of his own composition. At the opening of the Park Theater he was its sole manager, and in March, 1798, his tragedy of "André" in blank verse was brought out with success.

"New York City appears to be the Tyre of the New World," said a London editor while describing its shipping. Winterbotham wrote: "This city is esteemed the most eligible situation for commerce in the United States, and in time of peace will do more business than any other town. It almost necessarily commands the trade of one half of New Jersey, most of that of Connecticut and of Vermont, and a part of that of Massachusetts, besides the whole fertile interior country, which is penetrated by one of the largest rivers in America. Its conveniences for internal commerce are singularly great; the produce of the remotest farms is easily and speedily conveyed to a certain and profitable market. The produce of Pennsylvania must be carried to market in wagons, over a great extent of country, some of which is very rough; hence Philadelphia is crowded with wagons, carts, horses, and their drivers, to do the same business that is done in New York, where all the produce of the country is brought to market by water, with much less show and parade. This city imports most of the goods consumed in the best-peopled area of the whole country, which contains at least eight hundred thousand persons, or one fifth of the inhabitants of the Union. In time of war New York will be insecure without a marine force; but a small number of ships will be able to defend it from the most formidable attacks by sea. The situation is both healthy and pleasant; surrounded on all sides

by water, it is refreshed with cool breezes in summer, and the air in winter is more temperate than in other places under the same parallel. The want of good water is at present a great inconvenience to the citizens, there being few wells in the city; most of the people are supplied every day with fresh water, conveyed to their doors in casks, from a pump near the head of Pearl Street, which receives it from a spring almost a mile from the center of the city. The average quantity drawn daily from this remarkable well, about twenty feet deep and four feet in diameter, is one hundred and ten hogsheads of one hundred and thirty gallons each. In some hot summer days two hundred and sixteen hogsheads have been drawn from it, and, what is very singular, there are never more or less than three feet of water in the well. Several proposals have been made by individuals to supply the citizens by pipes, but none have yet been accepted."

A graphic description of the Hudson River and the physical peculiarities of the country between it and the lakes, by the same writer, is replete with comprehensive intelligence. Saratoga Springs are mentioned as eight or nine in number, the water, in the writer's opinion, derived from one common source. Roads and bridges throughout the State were attracting legislative notice. A post rode regularly from Albany to the Genesee River once a fortnight. An enterprise by which a "grand road was opened in 1790 through Clinton County," on the borders of Canada, is commended in strong terms. Albany is pronounced unrivaled in its situation, and said to contain about four thousand inhabitants, speaking every variety of language. "It stands on the bank of one of the finest rivers in the world, at the head of sloop navigation; and adventurers in pursuit of wealth are led here by the advantages for trade which the place affords." The city of Hudson was a marvel because of its rapid growth. The writer says: "No longer ago than the autumn of 1783, Seth and Thomas Jenkins, from Providence, in the State of Rhode Island, having first reconnoitered all the way up the river, fixed on the unsettled spot where Hudson now stands, for a town. They purchased a tract about a mile square, bordering on the river, with a large bay to the southward, and divided it into thirty parcels or shares. Other parties were admitted to proportions, and the town was laid out in squares, formed by spacious streets, crossing each other at right angles; each square containing thirty lots, two deep divided by a twenty-feet alley, each lot fifty feet front and one hundred and twenty deep. The original proprietors of Hudson offered to purchase a tract of land adjoining the south part of the city of Albany, and were constrained, by a refusal of the proposition, to become competitors for the commerce of the northern

country, when otherwise they would have added great wealth and consequence to Albany."¹

Such was the wonderful growth of Hudson that, although the first dwellings were not erected until 1784, the city was incorporated in 1785, and one hundred and fifty homes had been securely planted prior to the spring of 1786, besides barns, shops, stores, ware-houses, and other buildings, with several wharves for commercial convenience. During February of the last named year upwards of twelve hundred sleighs entered the city daily for several weeks in succession, laden with produce and articles of merchandise. Thus an idea may be formed of the advantage of the situation with respect to the rich and fertile adjacent country; and, built upon an eminence, the city presented a highly picturesque appearance as seen from the river. It was made a port of entry in 1795, and is said at one time to have possessed a larger amount of shipping than even New York City, its commerce being chiefly with the West Indies and Europe. Seth Jenkins was mayor of the new city for many years, and was succeeded by his brother Robert, who occupied that position until his sudden death in 1819.

"In New York there appears to be a great thirst after knowledge," writes Lambert. "The riches that have flowed into that city have brought with them a taste for reading and the refinements of polished society; and though the inhabitants cannot yet boast of having reached the standard of European perfection, they are not wanting in the solid and rational parts of education, nor in many of those accomplishments which ornament and embellish private life. It has become the fashion in New York to attend lectures on moral philosophy, chemistry, mineralogy, botany, mechanics, etc., and the ladies in particular have made considerable progress in those studies; several young ladies have displayed their abilities in writing, and some of their novels and fugitive pieces of poetry and prose evince much taste and judgment, and two or three have distinguished themselves. The desire for instruction and information, however, is not confined to the youthful part of the community; many married ladies and their families may be seen at philosophical and

¹ The Jenkins brothers came from Nantucket or Martha's Vineyard instead of Providence, Rhode Island, as stated by Winterbotham. They were shipping merchants of great wealth, but the islands had become too circumscribed for them, and thus they came to New York, bringing their commerce with them to the city they founded upon the Hudson. When they first arrived in New York City on their way up the river, they visited Colonel Rutgers, an old and valued friend, to whom they unfolded their plans; and he was so much pleased with the enterprising spirit manifested, that he offered to sell them his own broad acres on the East River between Catharine Street and Colear's Hook. (See Ratzer's Map, Vol. I. p. 760-761.) They differed, however, in price to the amount of \$500, and the trade in the end fell through. — *Family Archives*.

chemical lectures, and the spirit of inquiry is becoming general among the gentlemen. The immense property which has been introduced into the city by commerce has hardly had time to circulate and diffuse itself through the community. It is yet too much in the hands of a few individuals to enable men to devote the whole of their lives to the study of the arts and science. Farmers, merchants, physicians, lawyers, and divines are all that America can produce for many years to come; and if authors, artists, or philosophers make their appearance at any time, they must, as they have hitherto done, spring from one of the above professions."

Foreign travelers were numerous and observant. Their note-books furnish many vivid glimpses of the city at that epoch. Characteristics were not infrequently overdrawn and general conclusions reached without opportunity of exercising correct judgment. But it is always well and useful to see ourselves as others see us. We quote the following :

"The society of New York consists of three distinct classes. The first is composed of the constituted authorities, government officers, divines, lawyers, and physicians of eminence, with the principal merchants and people of independent property. The second comprises the small merchants, retail dealers, clerks, subordinate officers of the government, and members of the three professions. The third consists of the inferior orders of the people. The first of these associate together in a style of elegance and splendor little inferior to Europeans. Their houses are furnished with everything that is useful, agreeable, or ornamental; and many of them are fitted up in the tasteful magnificence of modern luxury. Many have elegant equipages, and those who have none of their own may be accommodated with handsome carriages at the livery stables; for there are no coach stands. The dress of the gentlemen is plain, elegant, and fashionable, and corresponds in every respect with the English costume. The ladies in general seem more partial to the light, various, and dashing drapery of the Parisian belles than to the elegant and becoming attire of our London beauties, who improve upon the French fashions. But there are many who prefer the English costume, or at least a medium between that and the French.

"The winter is passed in a round of entertainments and amusements; at the theater, public dancing assemblies, lectures, concerts, balls, tea and card-parties, cariole excursions out of town, etc. The American cariole, or sleigh, is much larger than that of Canada, and will hold several people. It is fixed on high runners, and drawn by two horses. Parties to dinner and dances are frequently made in the winter season when the snow is upon the ground. They proceed in carioles a few miles

into the country to some hotel or tavern, where they remain to a late hour and return home by torchlight. The inhabitants of New York are not remarkable for early rising, and little business seems to be done before nine or ten o'clock. Most of the merchants and people in business dine about two o'clock; others who are less engaged, about three; but four o'clock is usually the fashionable hour for dining. The gentlemen are partial to the bottle, but not to excess; and at private dinner-parties they seldom sit more than two hours drinking wine. They leave the table one after the other, and walk away to some tea-party without bidding their host good-afternoon. The servants are mostly negroes or mulattoes; some free, and others slaves. Marriages are conducted in the most splendid style, and form an important part of the winter's entertainments. For some years it was the fashion to keep them only among a select circle of friends; but of late the opulent parents of the newly-married lady have thrown open their doors and invited the town to partake of their felicity. The young couple, attended by their nearest connections and friends, are married at home in a magnificent style; and if the parties are Episcopalians, the Bishop of New York is always procured, if possible, as his presence gives a greater zest to the nuptials. For three days after the marriage ceremony the newly-married couple see company in great state, and every genteel person who can procure an introduction may pay his respects to the bride and bridegroom. It is a sort of levee; and the visitors, after their introduction, partake of a cup of coffee or other refreshment, and walk away. Sometimes the night concludes with a concert and ball, or cards among those friends who are invited to remain."

The newspapers of the period chronicle a reception of this character at the gubernatorial mansion opposite the Bowling Green in November, 1796: "Married on the 3d, at his Excellency's John Jay, Governor, Government House, John Livingston, of the manor of Livingston, to Mrs. Catharine Ridley, daughter of the late Governor William Livingston."¹

¹ Robert Livingston, third lord of the manor, had five sons — Walter, John, Henry, Philip, who died unmarried before his father, and Peter R.; also three daughters — Mary, married Hon. James Duane, Alida, married Valentine Gardiner, and Catharine, married John Patterson. Schuyler, one of the sons of Walter and Cornelia Schuyler Livingston, married Eliza, daughter of Colonel Thomas and Susan De Lancey Barclay; and their children were Thomas Barclay Livingston, American Consul at Halifax, married Mary Kearny, Anne, married James Reyburn of New York, and Schuyler Livingston of New York, married Margaret Livingston of Clermont. The Barclays, often mentioned in preceding pages, and for whom Barclay Street was named, were of the eminent Scotch race known in the annals of Great Britain as Berkeley. The orthography of the name was first changed by the English scholar and poet Alexander Barclay. Colonel David Barclay, of Urie, born 1610, married Catharine, daughter of Sir Robert Gordon, of Gordonstown. His children were: 1. Robert, one of the original lords proprietors of East New Jersey, and their elected governor, to whom the govern-

The reader will quickly recognize the piquant and accomplished sister of Mrs. Jay, who figured in former pages as Miss Kitty Livingston, and who became the wife of Matthew Ridley of Baltimore in 1787, and, after brief wedded happiness, a widow. In May, 1798, a round of festivities are recorded in connection with the marriage of Margaret, only daughter of Morgan Lewis, to Maturin Livingston, although the ceremony was performed at the country-seat of the family. And not far from the same date we read from the quaint old files that "David L. Haight was married by the Rev. Dr. Livingston to the amiable Miss Ann Kip."

One of the great social events of 1797 was the marriage of the celebrated Josiah Quincy to Miss Eliza Susan Morton of New York. The ceremony was performed on the 6th of June by Rev. Dr. Samuel Stanhope Smith, President of Princeton College, who made the journey to New York for the purpose, the lady having always been a favorite with him, and partially educated in his family where she was greatly beloved. She was also specially intimate with Secretary and Mrs. Oliver Wolcott, and with the family of Theodore Sedgwick usually spending some months every summer at their home in Stockbridge. The next day the bridal pair set forth in a coach-and-four, and were five days in traveling to the vicinity of the capital of Massachusetts. Quincy had made the journey to New York in 1795, leaving the following graphic picture: "The stage coaches were old and shackling, and much of the harness made of ropes. One pair of horses carried the stage eighteen miles. We generally reached our resting-place for the night, if no accident intervened, at ten o'clock, and after a frugal supper went to bed with a notice that we should be called

ment was confirmed during life by Charles II., although he ruled through a deputy and never came to America; 2. David, who died on his passage to America; 3. Lucy, who died unmarried; 4. John, who removed to America, married Cornelia Van Schaick, and was the ancestor of the New York family of Barclay; 5. Jane, who married the son of Sir Ewan Dhu, of Lochiel, chieftain of the clan Cameron, whose large family of daughters were all married to chiefs or heads of houses — Cameron of Dungallan, Barclay of Urie, Grant of Glenmoriston, Macpherson of Clunie, Campbell of Barcaldine, Campbell of Auchalader, Campbell of Auchlyne, Maclean of Lochbury, Macgregor of Bohawslie, Wright of Loss, Maclean of Ardgour, and Cameron of Glendinning. "Thus the political importance of Lochiel was greatly enhanced, and a confederacy of noted families was bound together by opinion and kindred, forming a strong opposition to the reigning Government." All these daughters of Jane Barclay became mothers of families, and "their numerous descendants," writes Mrs. Grant, "cherish the bonds of affinity now so widely diffused." An alliance with the family was esteemed of such consequence that the youngest and fairest actually was married to Cameron of Glendinning in her twelfth year; becoming a widow, she married Maclean of Kingasleet, another chief of equal importance. John Barclay (the first in America) was the father of Rev. Thomas Barclay, and grandfather of Rev. Dr. Henry Barclay of Trinity Church, the father of Colonel Thomas who married Susan De Lancey. (See Vol. I. 585, 632, 756.) Harriet, one of the daughters of Walter Livingston, married Robert Fulton. (For biographical notice of Henry Walter, youngest son of Walter Livingston, see Vol. II. 396).

at three the next morning, which generally proved to be half-past two. Then, whether it snowed or rained, the traveler must rise and make ready by the help of a horn lantern and a farthing candle, and proceed on his way over hard roads—sometimes with a driver showing no doubtful symptoms of drunkenness, and often obliged to get out and help him lift the coach out of a quagmire or rut—and arrived at New York after a week's hard traveling, wondering at the ease as well as expedition with which our journey was effected." With such experience fresh in his memory, it is by no means remarkable that he should determine upon a matrimonial tour with an equipage of his own.

A more romantic, but far less imposing wedding-journey was that of Washington Morton, the youngest brother of the bride, in October of the same year. He was a brilliant young man of great personal beauty, bodily strength, and athletic skill. He was indeed endowed with Nature's best mental and physical gifts. He was graduated from Princeton in 1792, at the age of seventeen, and such were the signs of promise that unusual success at the bar was predicted by his contemporaries—where he readily won an honorable place in that remarkable period of its history when it bore upon its calendar such names as Alexander Hamilton, Aaron Burr, Rufus King, Thomas Addis Emmett, David B. Ogden, Peter Augustus Jay, and others of a national reputation. As a youth, more of his time was given to the pleasures of the world than to its affairs. His fondness for athletic exercises led him on one occasion to test his powers of endurance by walking to Philadelphia for a wager. It was at that time an unprecedented feat, and made a great noise. "His walk finished, and his wager won, he spent the night with the gentlemen friends who accompanied him on horseback, together with a party of Philadelphia's choice spirits, over a supper table spread in his honor."¹

Upon returning to New York he was lionized. He had long been a favorite guest in the attractive home of Alexander Hamilton, and thus met and fell madly in love with the beautiful Cornelia Schuyler, Mrs. Hamilton's youngest sister. She was by no means a belle, for her beauty was of that soft and touching kind which wins gradually upon the heart rather than the senses. She had dark brown hair, which she wore parted in waves over a low, white forehead, gray eyes so shaded and shadowed by lashes that they seemed black in the imperfect light, complexion of that clear paleness which better interprets the varying phases of feeling than a more brilliant color, and a small rosy mouth with slight compression of the lips betokening strength of will. Her nature, too pliant and clinging for the rôle of leadership in society, which so well

¹ *Life of Josiah Quincy*, by his son Edmund Quincy.

became her sister, Mrs. Hamilton, had yet a firmness that promised full development through her affections. She had spent the winter in New York, and was present at the nuptials of Josiah Quincy and Miss Morton in June, then returned to her home in Albany, attended by her lover, who sought an immediate interview with General Schuyler, asking his daughter's hand in marriage.

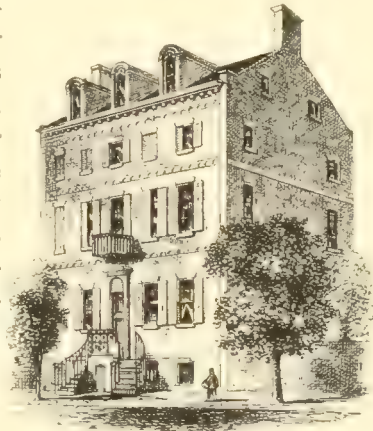
It is not strange that a man of Schuyler's sagacity should have hesitated about consigning his lovely daughter to the care of a volatile, headstrong youth of twenty-two, whatever his prospects and possibilities, and he refused to consider the question until the aspirant should slacken his pace to the sober rate befitting a steady-going married man. Morton pressed his suit, and finally Schuyler forbade him the house, ordering him to attempt no communication with his daughter.

"Come into the library," said the austere father to the blushing Cornelia a few minutes after his abrupt dismissal of her suitor, and led the way, the maiden following demurely. When she had dropped upon a stool at his feet, Schuyler related what had transpired between himself and young Morton, adding, "Promise me that henceforward you will have nothing to do with Washington Morton, either by word or letter." "I cannot, sir," was her quick response. "What! do you mean to disobey me?" "I mean that I cannot bind myself by any such pledge as you name — and — and — I will not."

We will pass from this scene to one a few weeks later. The hour was midnight. The lights had long since been extinguished in the Schuyler mansion, and silence reigned throughout the city of Albany, unbroken by voice or footstep. Presently two figures, wrapped in cloaks, were moving swiftly along the deserted streets. One was of fine princely bearing, the other lithe and graceful. In front of the Schuyler mansion they paused; a signal was given, and a window was gently and slowly raised; one of the gentlemen threw up a rope which was caught; a rope ladder was drawn up, and after the lapse of a few minutes was again lowered; the gentleman pulled forcibly to ascertain that it was securely fastened, and Cornelia Schuyler accomplished her descent in safety. In a few moments they had reached the shore of the Hudson, where a little boat was in waiting, and as they landed upon the opposite bank a pair of fine horses were pawing the earth impatiently. The lady was lifted upon one of them, her gallant cavalier mounted the other, and, bidding adieu to the friends who had assisted in the escapade, they rode towards the rising sun. Between thirty and forty miles distant was the ancient town of Stockbridge, and straightway to the home of Judge Theodore Sedgwick they hastened, who was the common and intimate friend of both parties.

Presenting themselves before that excellent magistrate, who is said to have doubted at first the evidence of his own eyes, the runaways told the story of their romance and flight. Of course there was but one thing to do. The clergyman of the town was summoned to the judicial mansion, and the handsome twain made one flesh with all convenient dispatch. This wedding occurred on the 8th of October, 1797. It was some time before General Schuyler could bring himself into a forgiving temper, but he loved his daughter, and in the end submitted with as good grace as he could muster to what he could not help.¹

The elder brother of Mrs. Quincy and Washington Morton was Jacob Morton, a prominent public character in New York City for nearly half a century. He was a graduate of Princeton, and a lawyer by profession. Other employments, however, diverted his attention from practice at the bar. He held municipal offices of trust for so long a series of years that he became almost as familiar to the eyes of New York as the City Hall itself; and so strong was his hold upon the popular regard, that no change in politics ever disturbed his position. He was a gentleman in breeding as well as politics of the school of Washington, a Federalist of the deepest dye — of fine presence, erect carriage, alert air, and cordial manners, with powdered hair and always in faultlessly elegant costume. For thirty years or more he was major-general of the first division of the State militia of New York. He married a great beauty in 1791, Catharine, the daughter of Carey Ludlow; and the Ludlow mansion on State Street subsequently became his residence, and for a full quarter of a



The Ludlow Mansion, No. 9 State Street.
(Residence of General Jacob Morton.)

¹ John Morton, an eminent merchant of New York City, was one of the Committee of One Hundred, and a delegate to second New York Congress. he was styled the "Rebel Banker" on account of the large sums of money he loaned to the Continental Congress, all of which was lost. He retired to Morristown during the war. (See Vol. II. 156.) He had eight children: 1. Jacob, married Catharine Ludlow, and left a large family of children, who are allied with some of the principal families of the city; 2. John; 3. Andrew; 4. May Margaret, died young; 5. Margaret; 6. Elizabeth, married Hon. Josiah Quincy; 7. Washington, married Cornelia Schuyler; 8. George Clarke. Cornelia Schuyler Morton died in 1807, and her husband, to dissipate the passionate affliction into which he was plunged by her death, went to Paris, where he also died in 1810. The Schuyler mansion, see p. 146 (Vol. II.), the scene of this romantic episode, was visited in 1879 by a lady from England, a near relative of Burgoyne, who as a prisoner of war received distinguished hospitality within its walls in 1777.

century was the center of fashion, intellect, and refinement. It was immensely large, containing twenty-six apartments besides servants' rooms. It had a double stairway in front of the door, with the elaborate iron railing so fashionable at that time; also carved oak chimney-pieces and wainscoting imported from England. Large bushes of sweet-brier were trained over the porch. When Lafayette was in this country in 1824 it was the scene of a grand ball given in his honor.¹

¹ Carey Ludlow bought the property in 1768 -- a lot fifty-two feet front extending through to Pearl Street -- for which he paid £1,080. When the war began, in 1776, he left with his family for England, remaining until 1784. On his return he lived in Front Street, erecting the house of the sketch, and removing to it in 1792. It was sheltered by a fine growth of trees, three hundred in all, planted by his order on State Street and the Battery. The view of the bay was superb from the little balcony over the front door. After the death of Mr. Ludlow in 1807 the house became the property of his widow, and afterwards that of her daughter, Mrs. Morton. Carey Ludlow was the grandson of Gabriel Ludlow, who married Sarah, daughter of Rev. Joseph Haumer, D. D., and came to New York City in 1694, and who was the eighth in descent from William Ludlow of Hill Deverell, Wiltshire, England, in the latter half of the fourteenth century.

The Ludlows, who for nearly two centuries have formed a substantial element of the wealthy and influential population of New York, descended from the oldest gentry in the kingdom of Great Britain, and their pedigree is remarkably clear and distinct. It may be traced on one side without a break to Edward I. of England (in 1272) and his second wife, Margaret, daughter of Philip III. of France, through their son Thomas, Earl of Norfolk, and his daughter Margaret Plantagenet, who married John, third Lord Segrave. Elizabeth, daughter of Lord and Lady Segrave, married the fourth Lord Mowbray, whose eldest daughter married the third Lord Delawarr. The eldest daughter of the latter married the third Lord West, whose son was the seventh Lord Delawarr; his great-granddaughter married Lord Windsor, whose daughter of Hill Deverell, Wiltshire, the William Ludlow, before mentioned. Sir Edmund Ludlow, Kt., was of Edmund Ludlow, the regicidal great-grandfather of Gabriel, in 1694. — *Burke; Haldane's Ms.*

Gabriel Ludlow, the first in the line: 1. Haumer, 2. Martha, 6. Gabriel, 7. Frances S., 8. Wil-Mary, 12. Elizabeth, 13. Thomas. Mary Corbett, and their children Sarah married Richard Morris; Gabriel married Miss Williams, J. G. Bogart, and daughter Ann married Judge Brockholst Livingston; William married Mary Gouverneur, whose son William married the daughter of Robert Morris and left ten children, the eighth of whom, Thomas W., married Mary Bettner, and their son, Thomas W., married his cousin, Miss Carnochan; and Thomas married Mary, daughter of William Ludlow, leaving a daughter and two sons.

(6) Gabriel, sixth child of Gabriel Ludlow (the first in New York), married, (1) Frances, daughter of George Duncan, (2) Elizabeth Crommelin; among his numerous children, Gabriel married Ann, daughter of Gulian Verplanck, whose son Gabriel V. married Elizabeth Hunter, and their son, Edward H., a well-known citizen of the present time, married Elizabeth, daugh-



Ludlow Arms.

Edith married George Ludlow fourth in the direct descent from the line. George Ludlow's son, by his first wife the grandfather's daughter, and by his second wife, the daughter of the fourth Lord Delawarr, who settled in New York City. — *Gen. Coll.; Family Archives.*

New York, had thirteen children: 3. Elizabeth, 4. Henry, 5. Sarah, 6. William, 9. Mary, 10. Haumer, 11. (4) Henry Ludlow married numbered thirteen, of whom Mary married Peter Goelet; whose daughter Mary married

Meanwhile the gentle, unassuming, and melancholy Louis Philippe d'Orleans, after wandering through Germany, teaching geometry among the mountains of Switzerland, and suffering all manner of hardships, had, through the generous pecuniary aid of Gouverneur Morris — who placed fifteen hundred pounds to his credit in London — reached New York; and his two brothers, the Duke de Montpensier and the Count de Beaujolais soon joined him. Morris immediately wrote to his banker in New York, giving the young prince unlimited credit while he should remain in the United States. This was accepted in modest sums only, but the whole amount of indebtedness afterwards paid to Morris and his heirs amounted to somewhat over thirteen thousand dollars. The three brothers traveled on horseback in 1798, attended by a single servant, to see the interior of the United States, but were in New York during the winter following, and frequent guests of Hamilton and others, as well as of Morris at his home in Morrisania — after his return from Europe in December.

The Duke of Kent, son of George III., and father of Queen Victoria, was in New York at the same time, and the recipient of many distinguished civilities from the leading families. John Singleton Copley, afterwards Lord Lyndhurst, son of the celebrated portrait-painter of that name, was also in the city. He was a native of Boston, but had been carried an infant to England about two years before the war. He was now twenty-four, a somewhat tall, thin, pale, blue-eyed young man, of quiet habits, and tranquil and decidedly elegant manners. On one occasion he attended a dinner given by Louis Philippe at his modest lodgings, where one half the guests were seated upon the side of the bed for want of room to place chairs elsewhere.

Among all the Europeans of distinction, however, who were fêted by ter of Hon. Edward P. Livingston, Lieutenant-Governor of New York; George D. married Frances, daughter of Thomas Duncan, and became Chief Justice of the Superior Court of New Brunswick after the Revolution, and one of his daughters married Richard Harrison; and Daniel, a wealthy banker who owned a country-seat at Baretto's Point on the East River, whence he drove to Wall Street four-in-hand every day, whose wife was Arabella, daughter of Thomas Duncan, and whose children were, 1. Harriet, married George Wright, 2. Daniel, 3. Robert, married Mary Peters, 4. Dr. Edward G., married Mary Lewis — grand-daughter of Francis and Elizabeth Ludlow Lewis, and great-granddaughter of Governor Morgan Lewis — and their daughter Susan M. married J. Kearny Warner.

(8) William, fourth son of Gabriel Ludlow (the first in New York), married Mary, daughter of George Duncan; his children numbered twelve, of whom was Carey Ludlow, projector of the mansion on State Street as illustrated in our text.

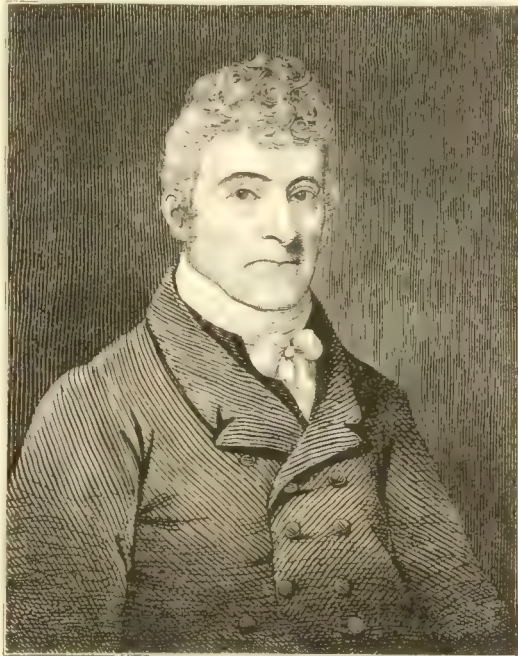
(13) Thomas, the youngest of the thirteen children of Gabriel Ludlow (the first in New York), married Catharine L. Roux, and their daughter Sarah married Abraham Ogden, of whose eleven children, Catharine married Abijah Hammond, Gertrude married Joshua Waddington, and Margareta married David B. Ogden.

the citizens of New York in the closing years of the century, none received greater honor than Kosciuszko, the accomplished Pole, who in the exercise of dictatorial power recently conferred upon him by his countrymen rivaled his great American contemporary in the vigor and integrity of his conduct. He came fresh from the rigors of a St. Petersburg prison in the autumn of 1797, having proudly declined all testimonials of Russian favor from the new emperor, who gave him his freedom immediately upon the death of Catharine. "He seems astonished at the homage he receives, and sees a brother in every man who is the friend of liberty," wrote the Duke de la Rochefoucauld Liancourt, who had been in America already some three years, and who was in New York at the time of Kosciuszko's arrival, meeting the Pole first at the house of General Gates. The Polish author, poet, and statesman, Count Niemcewicz, who had fought with Kosciuszko, and afterwards shared his imprisonment in Russia, was his companion on the journey to this country.

The learning and culture of the handsome Count Niemcewicz, not less than the grandeur of his sentiments and captivating manners, rendered him a peculiarly interesting personage. Like Kosciuszko, he was descended from a noble Lithuanian family, and had been educated in the military academy of Warsaw; but he strove rather to make the leading ideas of the liberal reform party popular by his writings in prose and verse than by the sword. He was forty years of age, two years younger than Kosciuszko. It was not long before he had seen the beauty, intellect, and refinement of the New York social world, for the dinners and entertainments of Governor Jay, of Hamilton, and of many others were of as frequent occurrence as in the time of Washington's residence in the city. And his appreciation may be measured by the fact that he chose a wife therefrom. The lady was Susan, daughter of Peter Van Brugh and Mary Alexander Livingston, and widow of John Kean — a member of Congress who died in 1795 — the first cousin of Mrs. Jay and of Lady Kitty Duer. Mrs. Kean had purchased "Liberty Hall," the beautiful country-seat of her uncle, Governor Livingston, and taken up her residence there; which after her marriage to Count Niemcewicz became once more the center of attraction for scholars, statesmen, and celebrities.¹

¹ See (Vol. II.) p. 81, for sketch of "Liberty Hall." The "mantle of proprietorship rests at present upon the shoulders of Colonel John Kean, the grandson of the Countess Niemcewicz, great-grand-nephew of Governor Livingston, and brother-in-law of Hon. Hamilton Fish, late Secretary of State." — *The Homes of America*, by Mrs. Martha J. Lamb, p. 97. After Napoleon's invasion of Poland in 1807, Count Niemcewicz returned to Warsaw, and was appointed secretary of the senate; with the annexation of his native country to Russia he became president of the committee on the new constitution, in the authorship of which he took a prominent part. During the Revolution of 1830 he wielded great influence, and in his capacity of secre-

The yellow fever appeared in the city very suddenly in the summer of 1798, and many were seized with it before they had heard of its presence. Nearly one half of the cases reported in the month of ^{1798.} August proved fatal. The horror of the situation was greatly increased by the alarm of the country people, who ceased bringing their produce to market. The relief committee appealed through the newspapers for supplies of poultry and small meats, so necessary to both sick and well, an appeal which met with a bounteous response. The number of deaths registered in a very brief time was two thousand and eighty-six. There had been a few cases in 1796 and in 1797, but hitherto no such dreadful visitation as this of 1798. Business was suspended, and schools and churches closed. Washington Square, purchased for a burial-place by the corporation in 1796, became a potter's field indeed, and not only strangers and common people but many persons of note were buried within its limits.



Stephen Van Rensselaer.
(From a portrait by J. M. W. Turner.)

A large body of physicians and citizens was delegated to inquire into the causes of the pestilence after the danger was over, and various propositions for supplying the city with wholesome water were discussed. The Bronx River, in Westchester, was surveyed by an engineer, but the corporation shrunk from the enormous expense—estimated at one million of dollars—of obtaining water from that source.

The electioneering campaign had been opened with great vigor in the tary drew up the resolution which expelled the Romanoff family from the throne of Poland. Among his principal works his *Historical Songs of the Poles*, with historical sketches (Warsaw, 1816) set to music, attained immense popularity; in *Leb and Sarah, or Letters of Polish Jews*, he pictured the peculiar moral and intellectual condition of the Jews of Poland; his history of the *Reign of Sigismund III.*, his brilliant historical novel, *John of Tenczyn*, and his fables and tales in the style of La Fontaine are all admirable; but his eulogy on Kosciuszko has generally been esteemed his masterpiece.

spring of this year, and John Jay was in the end re-elected governor of the State by a triumphant majority over Chancellor Livingston. The

1798. Republicans made no nomination for lieutenant-governor, generally concurring in the support of Stephen Van Rensselaer, who was personally popular in all parts of the State. His career was but just unfolding, as it were, and we shall find him in subsequent years engaged in all manner of enterprises and labors for the promotion of education and science, and the general welfare and prosperity of the State.¹

The State officers, in addition to the governor and lieutenant-governor, were Lewis A. Scott, secretary, Josiah Ogden Hoffman, attorney-general. Gerard Bancker, treasurer, Samuel Jones, comptroller, Simeon De Witt, surveyor-general, David S. Jones, private secretary to the governor, Jasper Hopper, deputy-secretary of the State, and Robert Hunter, commissioner of military stores. The council of appointment in 1798 consisted of Governor Jay, ex-officio, Thomas Morris, Leonard Gansevoort, Ambrose Spencer, and Andrew Onderdonk.

The year which succeeded the election was one of unsurpassed political excitement in the United States; but in no State was party heat more intense than in New York. All the old animosities generated in 1788 burst from their smothered confinement into a flame. Dispatches coming from the American envoys in France, Pinckney, Marshall, and Gerry, announcing the total failure of their mission of peace, startled the whole country; they had been informed both privately and officially that negotiations must remain in abeyance until money was paid into the French treasury by the Americans. Talleyrand wanted some \$250,000 for his

¹ Stephen Van Rensselaer, the patroon and lieutenant-governor, born 1764, died 1839, was a soldier, a patriot, a philanthropist and a Christian, a man greatly respected and beloved by his contemporaries. He was the fifth in lineal descent from the original patroon, and founder of Rensselaerswick. (See Vol. I. 49, 61, 62, 205.) His father was Stephen Van Rensselaer, who died in 1769, and his mother was Catharine, daughter of Philip Livingston, signer of the Declaration of Independence (see Vol. I. 598, 758), who married for her second husband the Rev. Eilardus Westerlo of Albany. Thus Lieutenant-Governor Van Rensselaer was the cousin of Mrs. Jay, as well as the brother-in-law of Mrs. Hamilton. He married (1) Margaret, daughter of General Philip Schuyler, who had one son, Stephen, proprietor of the manorial estate, married Harriet E. Bayard; (2) Cornelia Patterson, whose children were, William P., married (1) Eliza P. Rogers, (2) Sarah Rogers; Philip, married Mary Tallmadge; Catharine, married Gouverneur Morris Wilkins; Rev. Cortlandt, married Catharine Ledyard Cogswell; Henry, married Mary Ray King; Alexander; Westerlo; Cornelia P., married Mr. Turnbull; Euphemia White, married John Church Cruger.

Philip Van Rensselaer, only brother of the patroon, born 1766, for many years mayor of Albany, married Ann, daughter of Lieutenant-Governor Pierre Van Cortlandt. Elizabeth, only sister of the patroon, born 1768, married, John Bradstreet Schuyler, the grandfather of Mr. John Schuyler of New York City; (2) John Bleecker, whose only daughter married Cornelius Van Rensselaer.

private disposal; and the Directory would listen to propositions only after \$13,000,000, or thereabouts, had been loaned or donated. Talleyrand intimated that the penalty of refusal would be war. "War be it, then!" exclaimed Pinckney. "Millions for defense, sir, but not a cent for tribute!"

Vigorous measures were at once adopted by Congress for the raising of an army. President Adams appointed Washington commander-in-chief who accepted and made Hamilton his second in command.

To check an abuse of the liberty of speech and of the press, and also to put a stop to interference from foreign powers in the internal regulations and policy of America, Congress during this session passed several acts which caused the administration of Adams to be stigmatized in the severest terms. The country swarmed with French spies and alien fugitives from justice, who aided by ambitious politicians, were employed in reviling the authorities and stirring up strife. In the event of a war the mischief would be appalling. The Alien and Sedition Laws were projected as a system of defense, and even before their passage revealed their worth through the flight of some of the most notorious disturbers of the peace. But they soon became excessively unpopular.

The joy was great in America at hearing of the release of Lafayette from the Austrian dungeon in which he had been so long confined. Congress had already appropriated to the pecuniary relief of his family the full amount of his pay as a major-general in the American service. But pleasurable emotions of any character were of short duration while war, with all its complications and horrors, seemed approaching with such appalling certainty. Governor Jay convened a special session of the legislature in the month of August, at Albany, to take measures for fortifying the harbor of New York; \$1,200,000 was appropriated, the sum to go towards liquidating the Revolutionary balance due from the State to the general government — according to the offer of Congress — and a further sum was voted for the purchase of arms.

The sentiment of the country concerning war was variable. It might bring about an intimate alliance with Great Britain which was exceedingly distasteful to even the great mass of the Federalists. Some believed that the British government would be overthrown within two years. Others ridiculed such an idea. *The Aurora* and other organs of the Republicans boldly declared it better to pay the money demanded by France than to run the risk of war. Why not purchase peace of the French nation as well as that of the Indians and Algerines? But the impulse to sustain the dignity of America was overwhelming. Petitions against any hostile preparations were followed by addresses to the Presi-

dent from all parts of the country in support of his policy. Vice-President Jefferson as president of the Senate became seriously alarmed, and wrote to Madison that several of the prominent Republican senators had "gone over to the war-hawks."

A subscription was opened in the principal towns of the Union to raise means for building and equipping additional ships of war. Even in the then infant city of Cincinnati a sum was subscribed towards a galley for the defense of the Mississippi River.

Unable to make any effectual combined resistance to these measures for defense, the baffled and astounded leaders of the Opposition each did what he could after his own fashion. Albert Gallatin's strong point was the dependence of the revenue on commerce. A war would dry up that resource. Edward Livingston adopted the policy of voting for the highest sums proposed for whatever military objects, hoping to frighten the people by the expense. Such was the warmth of party feeling that violent personal assaults were of frequent occurrence. Edward Livingston had been re-elected to Congress in the spring by a majority nearly as large as that which placed John Jay for the second time in the governor's chair. Shortly afterward the young men of New York met to concert an address of approbation to President Adams. In *The Argus*, edited by Greenleaf, appeared the next day a paragraph ridiculing the meeting. The assemblage was styled the "Youth of the City," and the writer went on to say: "Colonel Nicholas Fish, a stripling of about forty-eight years, was made chairman, and, notwithstanding his green years, is said to have acquitted himself with all the judgment which might have been expected from a man full grown. We also hear that master Jemmy Jones, another boy not quite sixty, graced the assembly with his presence; what pleasure it must afford to the sincere friends of America to observe the rising generation thus early zealous in its country's cause!!!"

Mr. James Jones, the object of this satire, was not present at the meeting, and in great indignation called upon the printer and exacted from him a disclosure of the name of the author. It proved to be Judge Brockholst Livingston, the brother of Mrs. Jay. During the same afternoon Mr. Jones, while walking on the Battery with Mr. Henderson, met Judge Livingston promenading with his wife and others, and asked to speak with him aside. Livingston immediately complied with the request, and Jones inquired if he wrote the offensive paragraph. Livingston said that he did write the paragraph, but meant no harm, nor should he be offended if any one took the like liberty with him. A few more words passed, when Jones attempted to seize Mr. Livingston by the nose,

and gave him several strokes with his cane. Mr. Henderson interfered, and prevented further violence. But a challenge followed, and a duel, in which Mr. Jones was killed. It was an event which produced great excitement at the time, and one which left on Judge Livingston's mind a gloom from which he never recovered, although afterward rewarded for his party services by high political preferment.

Edward Livingston achieved national fame by the conspicuous eloquence and vigor of his opposition to the Alien and Sedition Laws. His speech on the 21st of June was printed upon satin, and reached all classes, producing a thrilling effect. Hamilton himself no sooner saw the Sedition Bill in print than he wrote a letter of admonition and criticism. He thought it exceedingly exceptionable, and feared it might produce civil war. "Let us not establish tyranny," he said. "Energy is a very different thing from violence."

The precautions deemed necessary against French invasion and a slave insurrection excited angry opposition. Appropriations were made, but the minority denied any danger whatever from invasion, and ridiculed as visionary the idea of an insurrection, complaining loudly at the same time of the vast discretion given the President. The newspapers attacked the government, statesmen, citizens, and each other in a style of vulgar ferocity. The epithets of rogue, liar, scoundrel, and villain were bandied about between the editors without the least ceremony. Although the power and influence of the press as a whole, and its importance as a political agent, has materially increased since that period, yet the effect which any individual journal can produce has very greatly diminished. A newspaper then penetrated to localities where no other printed sheet, in a multitude of instances, ever appeared. Thus its falsehoods and its calumnies were uncontradicted, and produced the effect of sober truth. At present the mischief that can be done by misrepresentation is comparatively limited, since detection and exposure are always hovering in its wake. New York sustained the ablest daily Federal paper in the country, first issued on the 9th of December, 1793, and called *The Minerva*, its editor being the distinguished lexicographer, Noah Webster. With it was connected *The Herald*, a semi-weekly paper, made up without recomposition for country circulation, the first of that character, of which now nearly every daily has its weekly or semi-weekly edition prepared in the same way. The name of the paper was shortly changed from *Minerva* to *Commercial Advertiser*, which it still bears, and the semi-weekly edition was called *The New York Spectator* instead of *Herald*.

Noah Webster was forty years of age in 1798, tall, slender, graceful,

with keen gray eyes and sharply cut features, and was remarkable for his erect walk and perfection of neatness in dress. He was never seen on the street without a broad hat and a long cue. The first publishers of *The Commercial Advertiser* were George Bunce and Co.

The news of the capture of Bonaparte's fleet in the battle of the Nile was received in New York with open joy on the part of the Federalists, and with ill-concealed vexation by the Opposition. It was the first English victory for a quarter of a century which had been thus welcomed. Some one remarked, in the presence of Greenleaf, with surprise upon the quick voyage of an English vessel just arrived in the harbor. "It is not at all surprising, sir," was the sharp retort. "This country has been drawing nearer to Great Britain ever since the treaty was ratified, and of course vessels will have shorter passages."

Meanwhile Aaron Burr had been maturing plans to extricate New York from the hands of Hamilton and the Federalists. His first step was to secure his own election to the Assembly. He took great care in all his movements to shape trifling matters in such a way as to produce certain results upon the minds of men whose partisan feelings were weak and easily influenced. He would go to some country member who was panting with desire perhaps to hear his own voice in the Chamber, or to show his constituents his name in the newspaper, and ask him to introduce a resolution, or do some other formal business that would flatter his sense of personal consequence. He knew the political importance of every man from the recently organized western counties, and was assiduous in his polite attentions to them. For a while he was extremely anxious that the presidential electors should be chosen directly by the people, as he supposed the State could be more easily revolutionized in that way.

In the city there were only two banks, and these were under the management and control of the Federalists. One was a branch of the United States Bank, the other the Bank of New York. Both were to a considerable degree the creation of Hamilton, and both were charged with being influenced in their discounts by political considerations. Burr determined to found a bank which should equally accommodate the Opposition. But a chronic prejudice in the public mind against banks made the enterprise difficult to accomplish. Taking advantage of the investigations regarding the cause of the terrible ravages of yellow fever in the city, and of the impression that the brackish wells contributed largely to the spread of the pestilence, Burr adroitly organized a company for the ostensible purpose of supplying the city with pure and wholesome water, but which was to use and exercise all the privileges of a bank. In applying to the legislature for a charter, authority was asked to raise two millions of

dollars, although it was uncertain how much money was needed. And as the amount named might possibly be too much, the projectors proposed to insert in the charter a provision that "the surplus capital might be employed in any way not inconsistent with the laws and Constitution of the United States, or of the State of New York." While under discussion it was proposed in the Senate to strike out of the bill this clause. Burr promptly explained that it was intended the directors should have liberty to found an East India Company, a bank, or anything else they deemed profitable, since merely supplying a city of fifty thousand inhabitants with water would not of itself remunerate the stockholders. But the reference to an East India Company or a bank being generally regarded as chimerical or visionary, little notice was taken of it. None except those in the secret suspected that the name "Manhattan Company" meant Manhattan Bank, and a large portion of the members who voted for the bill never even so much as read it. When referred to the chief justice of the State, its rejection was recommended because of the unlimited powers conferred by the surplus clause. These objections were, however, overruled, and Governor Jay signed the bill. The Republicans lauded Burr for his consummate address and success; but the effects injured the party, for a great clamor arose, the dexterous manceuver by which one object had been secured under cover of another was denounced in pamphlets and by the newspapers far and wide, and Burr lost his election to the Assembly in 1799 by an ominous majority; the ticket headed by his name was totally defeated. The bank, however, was immediately established, and became an institution of the first importance. It does not appear that even a show was ever made of bringing the water into the city.

The amount of personal insult and abuse which members of opposing parties heaped upon each other during the two last years of the administration of John Adams is not easily conveyed to the readers' comprehension by language. Jefferson wrote, "Men who have been intimate all their lives cross the street to avoid meeting." Again, he said, "All the passions are boiling over, and one who keeps himself cool and clear of the contagion is so far below the point of ordinary conversation that he finds himself insulated in every society." It was the era of bad feeling, and no one came out of the storm quite unscathed. "I do declare it was a pleasure to live in those good old days, when a Federalist could knock a Republican down in the streets and not be questioned about it," said a New York gentleman, then in Congress, to one of the prominent politicians of the present day while in his boyhood.

The following ludicrous incident, related by an eye-witness, forcibly

illustrates the prevailing spirit of the times. At one of the public meetings of politicians a respectable Republican, who was a tailor by trade, came before the audience, announcing his intention to make "a bit of a speech." Thereupon a famous Federal orator sprang to his feet, exclaiming, "The speaker is a tailor, and a tailor, as we know, is the ninth part of a man. Now, if the ninth part of a man makes 'a bit of a speech,' I put it to you all, gentlemen, to say how much of a speech will that be which is but a bit of the ninth part of a man!"

During the summer of 1799 Burr was scandalized by a rumor, that for
1799. Legislative services rendered the Holland Land Company had cancelled a bond against him for twenty thousand dollars. John B. Church had spoken with so much freedom about the matter that Burr challenged him to mortal combat. They met at Hoboken. Abijah Hammond attended Church, and Judge Burke, of South Carolina, attended Burr. A laughable incident varied the routine of the proceedings, and furnished New York with a joke and a byword for a long time to come. When Burr, before leaving home, handed the judge his pistol-case, he explained that the balls were cast intentionally too small, and that chamois leather cut, to the proper size, must be greased and put round them to make them fit. Leather and grease were within the case. After the principals had taken their stand, the judge tried to hammer in the ramrod with a stone, which Burr, observing, drew the ramrod as soon as the pistol was placed in his hand and told the judge the ball was not home. "I know it," was the quick reply of the judge, "I forgot to grease the leather; but don't keep your man waiting — just take a crack at him as it is, and I'll grease the next." Burr bowed graciously, and shots were exchanged without effect. Church made the requisite apology, and the parties returned to the city in the highest good-humor.

The scenes of a man's life are as requisite to an adequate view of his character as the frame of a picture and the proper distance and light whereby to examine it. Thus the reader who seeks correct intellectual and moral portraiture must become familiar with the place where and the people among whom a life drama has been enacted. It was a peculiar age. A new power was on trial. Political society was in the crude process of formation. And the career of the architect and organizer of this new power looms above the details of feud and controversy with all the charms of romance. Hamilton's acts had already gone deeply into the life of the nation, and as the leader of the dominant party, and confidential adviser of the Cabinet, he was playing a great part in national affairs. President Adams declared that while he was the nominal head of the nation, "Hamilton was commander-in-chief of the Senate, of the House of

Representatives, of the heads of departments, of General Washington, and last, and least, if you will, of the President of the United States."

But Hamilton had a rival in political consequence, of matchless audacity and unconquerable persistence, who was to teach the Opposition how to conquer. The rise of Aaron Burr to eminence in the political arena was more rapid than that of any other man who has played a conspicuous part in the affairs of the United States. Over the heads of influential men and able politicians in the State of New York, where leading families had for nearly a century and a half monopolized the offices of honor and emolument, Burr was advanced from a private station to the highest place at the bar, to a seat in the national councils, and, even, within four years, to a competition with Washington, Adams, Jefferson, and George Clinton for the presidency itself. The world wondered, for all this happened without his having originated any political idea or measure. President Adams attributed it to the prestige of Burr's father's and grandfather's name, Hamilton to his wire-pulling, others to his military reputation, and some to good luck. Burr's own circle of friends regarded his elevation as the legitimate result of superiority in knowledge, culture, and talents. In his law-practice, he is said never to have lost a case which he personally conducted. His tact was marvelous. In speaking, he was never diffuse. His language was that of a well-bred and thoroughly informed man of the world, clear, concise, and precise, and his style that of conversation rather than oratory. Thus it was extremely difficult to report his speeches. When arrayed against each other, Hamilton would exhaust a case, giving ample statement to every point, anticipating every objection, saying everything that could be fairly said in the fullest manner, often speaking for two or three hours with court and jury fascinated by his lofty eloquence. In replying, Burr would choose two or three vulnerable yet vital points, and quietly demolish them, leaving every other part of his antagonist's argument untouched; thus he sometimes neutralized the effect of one of Hamilton's brilliant orations in a twenty minutes' speech, always observing strictly the proper courtesies of the bar, with complaisant air, and singular composure and courtliness of bearing.

Both Hamilton and Burr were more or less the subjects of local influences, and their habits and peculiarities were colored by their surroundings. It is well known that the law of the pistol was then in full force, and that duels were of frequent occurrence. Hamilton had been bred, if not born, in New York, and connected as he was by marriage with families thoroughly identified with her foundation and development, he had naturally imbibed all the feudal proclivities and prejudices which had been

handed along from generation to generation. In private interest and public spirit he was essentially a New-Yorker. And the elements of which New York was composed, acting upon his peculiar temperament and powers, helped to make him what he was to the national government. Nor should New York forget how largely his breadth of vision and creative talent contributed to the growth, multiplication, and prosperity of her educational institutions. His success at the New York bar at a time when all legal problems were more difficult of solution than ever before or since won universal and deserved renown. On the retirement of Jay, the office of Chief Justice of the United States was offered him, which he declined on the ground that his "ambition and duty lay elsewhere in the public service." He was a conscientious believer in the system of government he had helped to found, was indifferent to the accumulation of wealth, and his thoughts and acts were constantly directed to intricate questions and interests of vast magnitude. Talleyrand said that he had known nearly all the marked men of his time, but had never known one, on the whole, equal to Hamilton.

The death of Washington on the 14th of December, 1799, threw the whole nation into the deepest mourning. Public testimonials of ^{1799.} grief and reverence were displayed on every hand. The vestry of Trinity Church assembled at the house of the Right Reverend Bishop Provost, to give expression to sorrow, and the record, entered alone on the broad page of a large folio and surrounded by a black border, reads as follows: "Ordered, that in consideration of the death of the late Lieutenant George Washington, the several churches belonging to this corporation be put in mourning."

These sentiments of sorrow were by no means confined to the United States. When the news reached England, Lord Bridport, commanding a fleet of sixty ships of the line, lying at Torbay, lowered his flag half mast, every vessel following his example. Bonaparte announced Washington's death to the French army, ordering black crape suspended from all the standards and flags throughout the public service for ten days.

The mourning in America was universal. It was manifested by every token which could indicate public sentiment and feeling. Eulogy exhausted the resources of language. The "Grand Council" of the nation, orators, divines, journalists, and writers of every class employed their talents in honoring his memory. "Silence would best become our grief," spoke an eloquent senator to a tearful audience, "but it would not become our love. As our love is even greater than our grief, we must speak. We must express our gratitude, we must show our admiration. It is the consolation left us to proclaim to a listening world his deeds of matchless

merit. . . . When there was danger, he was the first to meet it, when labor, the first to share it, when distress, the first to feel it, when merit, the first to praise it, and when service, the first to perform it. . . . Had he been a Cæsar, his army would have made him an emperor. But being Washington, he brought that army to respect the civil authority, and to obey the laws of its country."

And not only the land of his birth but the whole civilized world paid respectful tribute to the greatness of the man, who, more than any other in ancient or modern history, is entitled to the affectionate appellation of THE FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY.

The present century opened inauspiciously. At no period of Washington's long and useful life could his loss have been a greater public affliction. His death hushed for a moment even the violence 1800. of the political whirlwind, but the Federalists felt that in that pause the sheet-anchor of the ship of State had parted its fastenings. Clear-sighted politicians knew too well how much depended upon the influence of a single name and on the popularity of a single individual. President Adams was not in harmony with his cabinet or his party. His feeling towards Hamilton was revealed by his neglect to appoint him to the command of the army in place of the deceased chief; and Hamilton was resolved to prevent the re-election of Adams to the Presidential chair. The period long hoped for by the Opposition had arrived. The disagreements between the President and a large division of the Federalists widened into an irreparable breach.

Adams had appointed envoys a few months before to discuss and settle all controversies between the French government and this country, the Directory having made a fresh proposal of negotiation. Oliver Ellsworth, the foremost man in Connecticut, who had succeeded Jay as chief justice of the United States in 1796, Patrick Henry, late governor of Virginia, and William V. Murray, minister to the Hague, were the chosen diplomatists. Three of the cabinet ministers objected to the mission on the ground that the French were insincere, and that the honor of America would not allow any further advances on our part, at least while the piratical French decrees against American commerce remained unrepealed — objections in which Hamilton and a large number of the Federalists concurred. The President acted in this connection without consulting his cabinet ministers, knowing their sentiments. The three gentlemen were deeply offended. Presently Adams had reason to believe, or imagined, that they were disposed to clog all his measures which did not meet their approval, and removed two of them, Secretary McHenry and Secretary Pickering, from their offices.

The envoys to France found the government in new hands.¹ Napoleon Bonaparte, as first consul of the republic, was energetically engaged in trying to establish order. He was disposed to negotiate, and before the end of September differences had been adjusted between the two nations and a treaty signed.² It seemed at this juncture as if a universal cessation of hostilities was about to mark the history of Europe.

The wisdom of the mission was thereby justified; for had negotiation been unprovided for, the speedy European peace that followed would have left America to fight alone; or, that being out of the question, as it would have been, to accept such terms as France might choose to dictate.

Whatever may be thought of the policy of Adams, his determination to exercise his own judgment and boldly risk his personal popularity to secure to his country an honorable peace, made one thing evident. He could not be depended upon as the instrument of a party. Long before the results of the mission to France were known, the bitter feud between the Federal leaders rendered it certain that Adams could not be re-elected to the Presidential chair.

Hamilton was acutely indignant upon learning that the President had freely mentioned him by name as acting under British influence. He subsequently wrote and privately circulated a pamphlet to portray the unfitness of Adams for the administration of the government. Wolcott and the two ex-secretaries, confident in their own wisdom and integrity, matured a plan in connection with Hamilton for quietly displacing Adams without seeming to make an open attack upon him. In this they were aided by the method in vogue of voting for two candidates without distinction as to the office for which they were intended. They resolved to bring forward the two names of Charles Cotesworth Pinckney and John Adams, and then find means to secure Pinckney the larger vote.

The Republicans took immediate advantage of the situation. By a current calculation the result of the Presidential election was made to rest upon the vote of New York alone, and even upon the members of Assembly to be chosen in the city of New York at the spring election, as the Presidential electors were chosen by the legislature in joint ballot. Aaron Burr was not himself a city candidate, which circumstance prevented the Manhattan Bank question from prejudicing the election, but was shrewdly nominated and elected from the county of Orange. With matchless foresight he drafted an imposing catalogue of names for the

¹ Napoleon Bonaparte was chosen first consul of the republic December 13, 1799, from which time his line of policy distinctly unfolded itself.

² The treaty between France and the United States was signed September 30, 1800. It was ratified by President Adams, February 18, 1801, and by Bonaparte, July 31, 1801.

city ticket, and then applied himself resolutely to the task of inducing the gentlemen to permit their names to be used. As jealousies existed between the Clintons and Livingstons, he adroitly placed ex-Governor George Clinton at the head of the list, Judge Brockholst Livingston second, and General Horatio Gates, whose enmity to Schuyler and Hamilton still rankled, immediately following. Each of these men represented a faction of the Republican party, and were by no means disposed to act together. For a long time each was deaf to arguments and entreaties. Burr was persistent in trying to overcome their objections. Clinton had himself pretensions to the Presidency. Seven years before he had received fifty electoral votes out of one hundred and thirty-two, while Jefferson had but four. He did not like Jefferson, and he liked Burr less than Jefferson. To be asked to stand for the Assembly for the sole purpose of helping Jefferson into the Presidential chair, brought heavy lines into his stern face. And the solicitation coming from an aspiring individual who was only a stripling aide-de-camp when he was the foremost man in the State, and who had actually received thirty electoral votes to his four in 1797, did not brighten the prospect. Burr was mildly persuasive, and talked eloquently of sacrificing personal or ambitious considerations for the good of the party. For many days Clinton was firm in his refusal. The final interview occurred at Burr's residence, at Richmond Hill. Burr was never more fluent or captivating. When all the old and new arguments had been exhausted in vain, and the committee was in despair, Burr said that it was a right inherent in the community to command the services of an able man at a great crisis, and announced the intention of the party to nominate and elect Clinton without regard to his inclination. Clinton at last promised that he would not publicly repudiate the nomination; and that during the canvass he would refrain in his ordinary conversation from denouncing Jefferson, as had become habitual with him. He kept his word, but rendered no personal assistance in the campaign.

The next movement was to secure the consent of Gates, and it is said that the art with which Burr worked upon his foibles and judgment was marvelous. Gates yielded, as did also, after repeated interviews, Judge Livingston. The consent of the nine less conspicuous persons was obtained only after much trouble. Burr then commenced operations directly upon the public mind. He provided for a succession of ward and general meetings, nearly all of which he attended and addressed. He was continually declaring that the Republicans had really a majority in the city; and he superintended the making out of lists of the voters with the political history of each appended in parallel columns, to which was added all new information obtained. The finance committee had prepared a list

of the wealthy Republicans, with the sum of money it was proposed to solicit from each, attached to his name. Burr glanced over it, and observing that a certain politician, equally remarkable for zeal and parsimony, was assessed one hundred dollars, said, quietly, "Strike out his name, for you will not get the money, and from the moment the demand is made upon him his exertions will cease, and you will not see him at the polls during the election." The name was erased. Lower down in the catalogue he noticed the same sum placed opposite the name of another man who was liberal with his money, but incorrigibly lazy. "Double it," he said, "and tell him no labor will be expected from him, except an occasional attendance in the committee-room to help fold the tickets." The result was as predicted. The lazy man paid the money cheerfully, and the stingy man worked day and night. In all Burr's lists a man's opinions and temperament were not only noted, but his habits, and the amount of excitement or inducement necessary to overcome any fatal disposition to neglect visiting the polls. Whenever Burr came in contact with the humblest of his adherents he treated them so sweetly and blandly that his manners were remembered when the whole conversation had passed from the mind.

The polls opened on the morning of the 29th of April, and closed at sunset on the 2d of May. During these few days the exertions of both parties were beyond parallel. Hamilton was personally in the field, animating the Federalists with his powerful orations. Burr was perpetually addressing large assemblages of Republicans. Sometimes the two appeared on the same platform, and addressed the multitude in turn. On these occasions their bearing toward each other was so deferentially courteous and graceful as never to be forgotten by those present.

Several causes served to weaken the Federalists other than the significant division of party. The enforcement of the odious Alien and Sedition Laws had exasperated a large community of good citizens. The arrest of Judge Peck, for instance, at Otsego, for circulating a sharply worded petition that the odious laws might be repealed, roused the whole State. "A hundred missionaries stationed between New York and Cooperstown could not have done so much for the Republican cause as this journey of Judge Peck, a prisoner, torn from his family, to the capital of the State," writes Hammond. "It was nothing less than the public exhibition of a suffering martyr for the freedom of speech and the press, and the right of petitioning." A special point was also made by the Opposition of the fact that nearly all the Tories of the Revolution, then living, had allied themselves with the Federalists.

Before the two great rivals slept, after the contest ended, they learned

that the Republicans had carried the city by a majority of four hundred and ninety votes. The news took the whole country by surprise. It was a great national victory for the Republicans, after twelve years of defeat. Vice-President Jefferson called upon President Adams the evening after the startling intelligence was received in Philadelphia, and found him in great dejection. "Well, I understand that you are to beat me in this contest, and I will only say that I will be as faithful a subject as any you will have," said the President. "Mr. Adams," replied Jefferson, "this is no personal contest between you and me. Two systems of principles on the subject of government divide our fellow-citizens into two parties; with one of these you concur, and I with the other. As we have been longer on the stage than most of those now living, our names happen to be more generally known. One of these parties, therefore, has put your name at its head, the other mine. Were we both to die to-day, to-morrow two other names would be in the place of ours, without any change in the motion of the machinery. Its motion is from its principle, not from you or myself."

Congress was in session, and the possibility being settled that a Republican President and Vice-President could be elected, it became necessary to decide upon candidates. For the first office all eyes turned towards Jefferson. It was agreed to nominate a Vice-President from New York, and Chancellor Livingston, ex-Governor Clinton, and Burr were all mentioned. The deafness of Chancellor Livingston presented an insurmountable barrier to his nomination, and as the sudden rise of the Republican party was due to the exertions of Burr, he became the nominee, with the distinct understanding, however, that Jefferson was the choice of the party for President.

Hamilton was greatly disappointed. Yet he did not despair. One of his first acts, with the approval, it is said, of a caucus of his political friends in New York, was to address a letter to Governor Jay requesting and urging him to convene the Legislature before its year expired — on the 1st of July — with a view of changing the manner of choosing Presidential electors in the State. Jay refused to yield to the pressing solicitation, and on the back of the letter indorsed with his own hand these words, "Proposing a measure for party purposes, which I think it would not become me to adopt."

On the first Tuesday of November Governor Jay appeared before the newly chosen Legislature of the State, and in his speech alluded to the cause of the early session, which was to appoint Presidential electors, and recommended the suppression of all inflammatory feeling. The two houses immediately proceeded to the business before

them. The Senate nominated Federalists, the Assembly Republicans. Upon a joint ballot the Republican ticket received a majority of twenty-two votes. The men chosen were, Pierre Van Cortlandt, Jr., Anthony Lispenard, Isaac Ledyard, James Burt, Gilbert Livingston, Thomas Jenkins, Peter Van Ness, Robert Ellis, John Woodworth, Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, Jacob Acker, and William Floyd. On the 6th John Armstrong was elected to the Senate of the United States in place of John Lawrence, who had resigned. He was eminent for talents and a political writer of great force and originality; and the brother-in-law of Chancellor Livingston. He had been a Federalist until a recent period, even as late as 1797, since when he had joined the Republicans. Before the session adjourned on the 8th to the last Tuesday in January, 1801, the Republicans nominated George Clinton for governor, and Jeremiah Van Rensselaer for lieutenant-governor, to be supported at the next election. On the same day the Federalists held a meeting and addressed Governor Jay, with a request that he should be a candidate for reelection, which he positively declined, having determined to retire from all public employment. Stephen Van Rensselaer accordingly received the nomination for governor.

Meanwhile the seat of government had been, during the early summer months, removed from Philadelphia to its new home on the Potomac. Secretary Wolcott wrote on the 4th of July, from the building at Washington erected for the use of the Treasury Department: 1800. "Immense sums have been squandered in buildings which are but partly finished, in situations which are not, and never will be, the scenes of business, while the parts near the public buildings are almost wholly unimproved. You may look in almost any direction, over an extent of ground nearly as large as the city of New York, without seeing a fence or any object except brick-kilns and temporary huts for laborers. There is one good tavern about forty rods from the Capitol, and several other houses are built and erecting; but I do not perceive how the members of Congress can possibly secure lodgings, unless they will consent to live like scholars in a college, or monks in a monastery, crowded ten or twenty in one house, and utterly secluded from society. There appears to be a confident expectation that this place will soon exceed any city in the world. No stranger can be here a day, and converse with the proprietors, without conceiving himself in the company of crazy people. On the whole, I must say that the situation is a good one, and I perceive no reason for suspecting it to be unhealthy; but I had no conception, till I came here, of the folly and infatuation of the people who have directed the settlements. Though five times as much money has been expended

as was necessary, and though the private buildings are in number sufficient for all who will have occasion to reside here, yet there is nothing convenient and nothing plenty but provisions; there is no industry, society, or business."

In regard to the Executive Mansion, Wolcott spoke of it as "The Palace," a term in common use for many years; he wrote: "It is about as large as the wing of the Capitol, except that it is not so high. It is highly decorated, and makes a good appearance, but it is in a very unfinished state. I cannot but consider the Presidents as very unfortunate men if they must live in this dwelling. It is cold and damp in winter, and cannot be kept in tolerable order without a regiment of servants. It was built to be looked at by visitors and strangers, and will render its occupant an object of ridicule with some, and of pity with others."

Mrs. Adams wrote in a similar strain on the 21st of November. She thought it would require about thirty servants to keep the house and stables in proper order. "An establishment very well proportioned to the President's salary," she added ironically. She had made up her mind to content herself anywhere for three months, until the expiration of her husband's term of office, but the want of comforts was a great trial. "If they will put me up some bells — there is not one hung through the whole house and promises are all you can obtain — and let me have wood enough to keep fires, I design to be pleased," she said. "But surrounded by forests, can you believe that wood is not to be had, because people cannot be found to cut and cart it! The principal stairs are not up, and will not be this winter. There is not a single apartment finished, and all withinside, except the plastering, has been done since Briesler came. We have not the least fence, yard, or other convenience without, and the great unfinished audience-room (East Room) I make a drying room of, to hang up the clothes in. Woods are all you can see from Baltimore until you reach the city, which is only so in name. Here and there is a small cot, without a glass window, interspersed along the forests, through which you travel miles without seeing a human being."

The public offices had hardly been established at Washington when the War Office took fire and was burned, occasioning the destruction of many valuable papers. In the course of the winter a like accident happened to the Treasury Department, although the destruction of papers was comparatively trifling. In the rabid party fury these fires were by the Opposition newspapers attributed to design on the part of certain public officers, who, it was said, hoped thus to destroy the evidence of pecuniary defalcations.

Secretary Wolcott had felt his position in the President's cabinet ex-

ceedingly uncomfortable ever since the dismissal of his colleagues, and had fixed on the end of the year as a period for retiring. In notifying the President and Congress of his determination, he asked an investigation into his official conduct. He had not been less decisive in his political opinions than the secretaries who were removed, but he had always preserved towards President Adams great courtesy of manner; and he was, moreover, an excellent Secretary of the Treasury, whose place it was not easy to fill. It was found that he was leaving the Treasury in a flourishing condition after twelve years of laborious and important public service, and with very little money in his pocket. Adams, with a magnanimity which quite took Wolcott by surprise, appointed him judge of the second district.

Samuel Dexter of Boston, who had been appointed Secretary of War in the early part of the year, succeeded Wolcott in the Treasury. Oliver Ellsworth, being detained in Europe by ill health after his mission to France was successfully concluded, sent in his resignation of chief justice, which office was immediately tendered for the second time to John Jay, who declined, having resolved that nothing should interfere with his purpose of retiring from public life. Adams then conferred the important post upon John Marshall, the successor of Pickering as Secretary of State.

New York City, although the focus of Hamilton's influence, and the field where Burr was distancing all his competitors in the arts of intrigue, the center indeed of the obstinate struggle for the supremacy of a national party, was not entirely given over to politics. Its inhabitants and its institutions multiplied in rapid ratio. The population already numbered sixty thousand. The third Presbyterian Church edifice had been erected upon a lot donated by Henry Rutgers, corner of Rutger and Henry Streets, and was first opened for public worship in May, 1798. The location was barren of habitable surroundings until after the beginning of the century. The bridge at Canal Street presented a rural picture which it is interesting to perpetuate. During the same year (1798) the first monthly concert of prayer was held in the Scotch Presbyterian Church in Cedar Street, the second in the Wall Street Presbyterian Church, the third in the Middle Dutch Church, in Nassau Street. It was a union of the three denominations and grew out of private prayer-meetings instituted by Mrs. Isabella Graham, a remarkable Scotch lady who had been persuaded in 1789, by Rev. Dr. Witherspoon, to break up a flourishing school in Edinburgh and establish a similar school for young ladies in New York City. She was gifted with exceptional religious as well as intellectual activity, and was considered a great acquisition to the cause of education in this country. She was sustained in her enterprise by the clergy of all denominations,

and the most influential families were among the patrons of her school. She originated the Society for the Relief of Poor Widows with Small Children, organized at her own residence in 1797; her name appears as first directress of its board of managers, Mrs. Sarah Hoffman second directress, and Mrs. Joanna Bethune third directress. At the first annual meeting of this society, in 1798, ninety-eight widows, with two hundred and twenty-three children, were reported as having been brought through the severity of the winter with comfort, who would otherwise have been condemned to the almshouse. Ere long the ladies discovered the necessity of some systematic provision for the orphan children of the deceased widows, hence the foundation of the New York Orphan Asylum at a later date.

The Methodists had by this time become numerous in the city. Their first house of worship in John Street was built in 1768, but the regular establishment of the Methodist Episcopal Church did not occur until 1784. The second church edifice of this denomination was erected in Forsyth, near Division Street, about 1790, a wood structure, costing two thousand dollars. Another organization built a house of worship in Duane Street, near Hudson, in 1797, upon which was expended about ten thousand dollars. The fourth Methodist Church was instituted in 1800; an old building was hired on a long lease and occupied as a place of worship, standing near the present St. Mark's Place. It was called the Two-mile-stone Church, having originated in a weekly prayer-meeting established by two members of the John Street Church many years before, among the scattered residents on the road leading to Harlem, and styled the Two-mile-stone Prayer-meeting, from being two miles from what was then the center of the city. The fifth Methodist Church was not organized until 1810. The Methodist clergymen of the period were Rev. Daniel Smith, Rev. William Pheobus, Rev. John McCloskey, Rev. Michael Coats, and Rev. Thomas Sergeant.

The first missionary society was founded in 1796, its purpose being to propagate the gospel among the Indians and the destitute settlers on the frontier. Rev. Dr. Rodgers was president, Rev. Dr. Livingston vice-president, Alexander Robertson treasurer, Rev. Dr. John M. Mason secretary, and Rev. John N. Abeel clerk. The directors were Rev. Dr. William Linn, Rev. Dr. John McKnight, Rev. Benjamin Foster, Rev.



Bridge at Canal Street in 1800

Gerardus A. H. Kuypers, Rev. Samuel Miller, Leonard Bleecker, John Broome, J. Machaness, Thomas Storm, Ezekiel Robbins, George Lindsay, and John Murray. The earliest annual sermon preached before this society was by Rev. Dr. Livingston, a sermon which was published and found its way to Williamstown, where it was read by the students who prayed under the haystack in the field back of Williams College.

Several religious societies were in existence at the beginning of the century. Also a charity for the relief of distressed persons, of which Rev. Dr. Rodgers was president, Rev. Dr. Abram Beach vice-president, John Murray treasurer, and James Bleecker secretary. Dr. Rodgers was also president of the City Dispensary, Moses Rodgers treasurer, Anthony Bleecker secretary, and Rev. Dr. Linn, Rev. Dr. Beach, Dr. John Charlton, John Watts, Matthew Clarkson, General Jacob Morton, James Watson, John Broome, John Cozine, Samuel Osgood, and John Murray, trustees.

Anthony Bleecker was at this time about thirty years of age, a graduate of Columbia, a lawyer and a gentleman of classical education and belles-lettres tastes. He was a member of the Drone Club, a social and literary circle instituted about the year 1792 as an aid to intellectual advancement. Its members were recognized by proofs of authorship, and included such men as Kent, Dunlap, Johnson, Dr. Edward and Rev. Samuel Miller, Dr. Mitchell, Josiah Ogden Hoffman, and Charles Brockden Brown. Bleecker wrote for the Drone in prose and verse, and was for many years a prolific contributor to the periodicals of the day. Charles Brockden Brown came to New York in 1796, at the age of twenty-five, ambitious to devote himself to letters, and in 1798 issued his first novel, entitled *Wieland*, a powerful and original romance; and in 1799 *Osmond, or the Secret Witness*. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Rev. Dr. Linn. He is said to have been the first American who ventured to pursue literature as a profession. In 1800 he published the second part of *Arthur Mervyn*, and had at the same time several other works in progress.

Near the river shore, the grounds ornamented with majestic sycamores, stood the venerated seat of classical lore, Columbia College. "Those venerable trees," said the Hon. John Jay in his centennial address in 1876, "had an historic interest from the fact which, when a boy, I heard from the lips of Judge Egbert Benson during one of his visits to my grandfather at Bedford, that those trees were carried to the green by himself, Jay, Robert R. Livingston, and I think Richard Harrison, and planted by their own hands." President William Samuel Johnson resigned his office at the close of the college year in 1800, and Rev. Dr. Charles Henry

Wharton, an Episcopal clergyman and author, became president of the institution for one year. He resigned in 1801, and the accomplished scholar and divine, Benjamin Moore, Episcopal Bishop of New York, was elected to the chair, which position he filled until 1811. The professors were all men of exceptional scholarship, and the influence of the institution upon the literary character of the State was marked, many of the graduates attaining great distinction in professional and public life. Among the students when the century opened were John Anthon, Henry H. Schieffelin, and Gulian Crommelin Verplanck, representing respectively our lawyers, merchants, and men of letters.¹ Others upon the roll included Philip Hamilton, Robert Benson, John J. De Peyster, Lewis M. Ogden, John Delafield, Edward P. Livingston, afterwards lieutenant-governor of the State (grandson of Philip, signer of the Declaration of Independence), John McComb, who married Livingston's sister, Clement C. Moore, afterwards professor of Hebrew and Greek literature, and Nathaniel F. Moore, long identified with the college as professor, president, and trustee, blending rare learning with a loving appreciation of the Greek dramatists. He said "the college was much more to educate than to instruct; to open the door for all knowledge, to strengthen the judgment, to purify the affection, to refine the taste, and to secure for the moral and intellectual powers the proper culture." David S. Jones and Gouverneur Ogden were in the class of 1796. John Ferguson, John Brodhead Romeyn, a distinguished clergyman, Pierre C. Van Wyck, recorder of the city, and Daniel D. Tompkins, judge, governor of the State, and vice-president of the United States, who entitled himself to eternal honor by recommending, while governor, the establishment of a day when slavery in New York should forever cease, were in the class of 1795; and in that of 1792, 1793, and 1798, were, respectively, Cornelius Brower, John Brower, and Jacob Hamersley, substantial Dutch families about 1635. And the familiar names of Gouverneur Kemble, John L. Lawrence, and his brother Stephen, with the criminal law and theatricals of New York, and John McVickar, professor of moral and intellectual philosophy, belles-lettres, and political economy, are found upon the lists of 1803 and 1804.



Hamersley Arms.

With the permission of the Hon. John Jay, December 21, 1876.

The professor of the Institutes of Medicine from 1792 to 1808 was Dr. William Hamersley, who had received his medical degree at Edinburgh,

¹ *Columbia College Centennial Address*, by the Hon. John Jay, December 21, 1876.

and who was a gentleman of varied learning and great elegance of manners. He was also professor of the Theory and Practice of Medicine from 1795 to 1813. The professor of Botany from 1795 to 1811 was the celebrated Dr. David Hosack. The professor of Anatomy from 1793 to 1813 was Dr. Wright Post. The professor of Surgery from 1793 to 1811 was Dr. Richard Bailey. Other members of the Medical Faculty were Dr. John R. B. Rodgers and Dr. Samuel Latham Mitchell. The dean, from 1792 to 1804, was Dr. Samuel Bard. The New York Hospital at this period afforded one of the best practical medical schools in the United States, and its governors embraced some of the leading men of the period.

When the returns of the electoral votes came in it was soon known that the Republican ticket had triumphed, as had been generally expected. But, what was anything but agreeable to the Republican party at large, Jefferson and Burr had both received the same number of votes. The decision therefore rested, according to the Constitution, upon the House of Representatives voting by States.

In December, before the equality of votes was precisely ascertained, the Federalists conceived the idea of disappointing Jefferson and the body of the Opposition, by giving the first office to Burr. Hamilton vigorously disapproved of such a course. He wrote to Wolcott on the 16th: "I trust New England will not so far lose its head as to fall into the snare. There is no doubt that, upon every prudent and virtuous calculation, Jefferson is to be preferred. He is by far not so dangerous a man, and he has pretensions to character. As to Burr, there is nothing in his favor. His private character is not defended by his most partial friends. He is bankrupt beyond redemption, except by the plunder of his country. His public principles have no other spring or aim than his own aggrandizement. If he can, he will certainly disturb our institutions to secure to himself permanent power and with it wealth." Hamilton wrote a similar letter to Morris on the 26th: "I trust the Federalists will not be so mad as to vote for Burr. If there be a man in the world I ought to hate, it is Jefferson. With Burr I have always been personally well. But the public good must be paramount to every private consideration."

Hamilton was confident Burr never could be won to Federal views, as some of the party fondly imagined. "He may break with the Republicans, but it will certainly not be to join the Federalists. He will never choose to lean on good men, because he knows they will never support his bad projects; but instead of this, he will endeavor to disorganize both parties, and to form from them a third, composed of men best fitted for

CHAPTER XII.

1801 - 1804.

THE NEW POLITICAL ERA.

THE PRESIDENTIAL TIE. — JEFFERSON AND BURR. — THE NEW CABINET. — THE NEW YORK CONTEST FOR GOVERNOR. — DEFEAT OF THE FEDERALISTS. — THE LIVINGSTONS IN POWER. — THE MAYORALTY OF THE CITY. — DUEL OF PHILIP HAMILTON. — THE EVENING POST. — THE NEWSPAPER WAR. — DUELING. — COLEMAN AND CHEETHAM. — PRESIDENT JEFFERSON. — THE GRANGE. — THEODOSIA BURR. — DINNER TO THE INDIAN CHIEF. — BURR'S INDEPENDENT PARTY. — DUEL OF DE WITT CLINTON AND SWARTWOUT. — CHANCELLOR LIVINGSTON SECURES LOUISIANA. — DE WITT CLINTON APPOINTED MAYOR. — BURR'S STRUGGLE FOR THE GOVERNORSHIP. — RESULTS OF THE STORMY ELECTION. — HAMILTON'S LIBEL SUIT. — BURR CHALLENGES HAMILTON. — DUEL OF BURR AND HAMILTON. — SORROWFUL SCENES. — DEATH OF HAMILTON. — BURR'S MOVEMENTS. — PUBLIC SENTIMENT. — TOMB OF HAMILTON.

HEAVY clouds hung over the new city of Washington on the morning of the 11th of February, 1801, and before nine o'clock snow began to fall. The great day had at last arrived. The House of Representatives proceeded in a body to the Senate-Chamber, where Vice-President Jefferson, in view of both houses of Congress, opened the
 1801. certificates of the electors of the different States. As the votes were read the tellers on the part of each house counted and took lists of them, which being compared and delivered to Jefferson, he announced the result as follows: for Thomas Jefferson seventy-three, for Aaron Burr seventy-three, for John Adams sixty-five, for Charles C. Pinckney sixty-four, for John Jay one. Jefferson then declared that the choice devolved upon the House.

There were sixteen States in the Union, and a majority of these States was necessary to an election. If results had depended upon a majority of the members, Burr would undoubtedly have been chosen on the first vote. As it was, thirty-five balloting ended alike, showing eight States in favor of Jefferson, six for Burr, and two States, Vermont and Maryland, equally divided. New York voted steadily for Jefferson.

Before proceeding to the great business of the day, the House resolved

not to adjourn till a President had been chosen. One member, too ill to leave his bed, was borne on a litter to the Capitol; his wife attended him, and remaining at his side administered his medicines. The ballot-boxes were carried to his couch, so that he did not miss a single ballot. All that day, all through the night, and until noon of the day following, the balloting went on. Then the exhausted members evaded their resolution not to adjourn, by agreeing to take a recess. "Our opponents have begged for a dispensation from their own regulation," wrote John Randolph.

For seven days the country was kept in a ferment by the wild reports from the capital. The governor of Virginia established a line of express riders between Washington and Richmond during the whole of this eventful week, that he might learn as speedily as possible the result of each ballot. On the 15th Jefferson wrote to his daughter: "After four days of balloting, they are exactly where they were on the first. There is strong expectation in some that they will coalesce to-morrow; but I have no foundation for it. I feel no impulse from personal ambition to the office now proposed to me, but on account of yourself and your sister and those dear to you."

On the thirty-sixth balloting Jefferson was found to have received the votes of ten States, while four adhered to Burr and two cast blank ballots. Jefferson was thereupon declared President, and Burr, by law, became Vice-President.

Late at night on the 3d of March the Sixth Congress terminated. Ex-President Adams had no heart to witness the inauguration of his successor, but left the city of Washington early the next morning for his home in Massachusetts. A domestic affliction in the loss of his ^{March 4} second son, Charles, came also at this moment to darken the shades of his retirement. The Republicans were jubilant, particularly in New York. Meetings were held in every city and village in the State, and processions and orations were the order of the day. In Albany the Republican members of the Legislature and citizens met at a grand dinner, where one of the toasts was, "Aaron Burr, Vice-President of the United States. His uniform and patriotic exertions in favor of republicanism eclipsed only by his late disinterested conduct."

When Jefferson reached the Presidential chair the pecuniary prosperity of the country was greater than at any previous date. Pacific relations with France, and the prospect of peace throughout Europe, promised effectual and permanent relief from the embarrassments to which American commerce was exposed. The treasury was fuller, and the revenue more abundant than ever before. The obnoxious Sedition Act had expired by its own limitation with the close of the Sixth Congress. Insti-

tutions had been framed, taxes levied, and provision made for debts. Indeed, the whole machinery of the Federal government, as it now operates, had been the work of the Federalists in their twelve years of supremacy. Thus the path of the chief executive of the nation seemed very smooth and easy to travel.

James Madison was appointed Secretary of State, Albert Gallatin Secretary of the Treasury, Henry Dearborn Secretary of War, and Levi Lincoln Attorney-General. The Navy Department was offered to Chancellor Livingston, who declined the appointment, and it was given to Robert Smith. Livingston, having reached the age of sixty, and being obliged, under a constitutional provision, to vacate the Chancellorship of New York, consented to accept the embassy to France to which he was nominated; he was confirmed prior to the adjournment of the Senate. Not long after M. Pinchon, remembered as Secretary of the French legation at The Hague, arrived at Washington as French chargé d'affaires.

In April the New York election for governor was spirited and rancorous. Some one had said that the tenantry of Van Rensselaer, ^{1801.} in arrears for rent (numbering thousands), were to be prosecuted for payment if they refused to vote for him. As soon as this report reached the ears of the high-minded patroon, he immediately denied it in all the papers printed in Albany and Van Rensselaer counties, assuring his tenants that he wished them to vote as in their judgment duty required, and that no man should be harmed who voted against him. He received two thousand and thirty-eight votes in the county of Albany, while Clinton received but seven hundred and fifty-five. The general result of the election, however, was in favor of the Republican party. George Clinton was chosen by more than four thousand majority.

In October a convention chosen to amend the constitution met at Albany and organized by unanimously electing Vice-President Burr its presiding officer. This convention was authorized to fix a limit to the number of members of the two houses of the Legislature, which was quickly accomplished, the number being reduced from forty-three to thirty-six, and to decide upon "the true construction of the twenty-third article of the constitution," in other words, to determine the power of the Council of Appointment. The convention was given no authority to alter the terms of that article, or to abolish it and create a new one in its place; but its maxim was to strip the governor of as much power as possible. It decided, against the letter of the constitution and the opinion of Governors Clinton and Jay, to reduce the governor to a mere fifth member of the council, with no greater power than that of any other member, except the right to preside. De Witt Clinton was a member of the

Council of Appointment at the time of his uncle's accession, and before the decision of the convention, and in spite of the protests of the governor, he, in connection with Ambrose Spencer and a third Republican member, commenced a system of removals and appointments similar to those introduced into the politics of Pennsylvania by McKean.

This proscription was not confined to Federalists. A furious struggle had already commenced between the Clintons and Livingstons on the one hand, and Burr and his partisans on the other, which was carried on with the utmost bitterness. The known friends of Burr were excluded from office as rigidly as the Federalists. Appointments in every instance were made from the Clinton and Livingston factions. Of the great State offices the Livingstons received the larger share. The Chancellorship was conferred upon John Lansing; Morgan Lewis, brother-in-law of Chancellor Livingston, succeeded Lansing as chief justice; Judge Egbert Benson having been appointed, under what was styled the midnight act of John Adams, a circuit judge of the United States (on the 3d of March, 1801), his place was filled by Brockholst Livingston; and Smith Thompson, whose wife was a Livingston, was also created an associate judge. Thus the bench of the Supreme Court of New York was mainly in the hands of the Livingstons. Dr. Thomas Tillotson, another brother-in-law of Chancellor Livingston, was made secretary of the State. And it will be remembered that General John Armstrong, still another brother-in-law of Chancellor Livingston, had been recently appointed United States Senator by the New York Legislature.

The appointment of Edward Livingston United States Attorney for the District of New York, in place of Richard Harrison, was one of the acts of President Jefferson immediately following the appointment of his brother, Chancellor Livingston, minister to France. In August of the same year Edward Livingston was also appointed mayor of the city of New York. The holding of two such offices, one under the national, the other from the State government, which would now be esteemed improper, excited no cavil then, and both appointments, which were for short terms at first, were renewed the following winter.

The mayoralty of New York was at this time a post of great dignity and importance. The mayor not only presided over the deliberations of the common council, but was the presiding judge of a high court of record with both civil and criminal jurisdiction. The emoluments were in the form of liberal fees and perquisites; and a few years' incumbency was equivalent to a handsome fortune. Richard Varick had been the mayor for twelve years, and his removal by the new party in power created indignant dissatisfaction. A public dinner was tendered him by

the Federalist lawyers, and twenty-five appreciative toasts, surcharged with political satire, contributed to the life of the occasion. His qualifications for the office had been universally conceded, and his gentlemanly



Richard Varick.

culture and personal habits had made him a favorite among all classes—except, indeed, in the heat of political strife, when, like all other candidates for office in that decade, he was abused and caricatured to an extraordinary degree.

Mayor Livingston found himself in a situation where all his energies were brought into active service. His duties were legion. Important capital trials occupied his attention at once, and his charges to juries are described by the newspapers of the time as exception-

ally impressive. He undertook a reformation of the rules and practice of the court in civil actions, and soon commenced the preparation of a volume of reports of such of his own and the recorder's decisions as he thought should be generally known at the bar. This was before any regular reporting of the judgments of either the city or State courts had been undertaken, and when but a single volume of reports—that of Coleman's Cases—had appeared.¹ The office of attorney-general was honorable and profitable, and its functions were in the line of his profession, but it required him, in addition to presiding over a court of justice and of a deliberative body, to appear as an advocate in all causes of importance in which the national government was interested in his district; then in turn he must superintend the administration of municipal affairs of every character, from the regulation of finance to the assize of bread. In connection with all this he was required by the custom of the period to devote to the public and private entertainment of distinguished strangers a degree of attention which the growth of the city and of the world's travel subsequently rendered impossible.

¹ *Hunt's Life of Edward Livingston: Judicial Opinions, delivered in the mayor's court of the city of New York in the year 1802.*

This last requisition was a pleasure rather than a duty to a man of his temperament. He was fond of society, genial, witty, charming in conversation, and attractive in manners. He is said never to have allowed an opportunity to pass for producing a pun, and if a good one did not come to his mind he made a poor one answer, laughing at it all the same. On the same month in which he retired from Congress he experienced a severe affliction in the loss of his accomplished wife, which partly accounts for his devotion to philanthropic projects while in the midst of his manifold occupations as mayor of the city. He resided at No. 1 Broadway. Many of the beautiful trees upon the common between his windows and the bay were planted during his administration and under his particular direction.

On the 4th of July George L. Eacker, a promising young member of the New York Bar, aged twenty-seven, delivered an oration in the city on the subject of American Independence. He was a partisan of Vice-President Burr, and while his talented effort was generally praised, there were those among the Federalists who denounced the whole performance. At the Park Theater one autumn evening Eacker occupied a box, accompanied by Miss Livingston and others. In an adjoining box was seated Philip Hamilton, eldest son of the financier, a youth of nineteen, in company with a young gentleman by the name of Price; and the two indulged in ironical remarks about Eacker's Fourth of July oration, which seemed to be intended for the ear of the young lady. Eacker looked round and saw them laughing, and believing himself the subject of ridicule stepped out in great agitation and asked if they meant to insult him, at the same time stigmatizing them as "rascals." They in turn insisted upon his particularizing the person he meant to distinguish as a "rascal." After some high words Eacker exclaimed, "Well, then, you are both rascals." The result was a laconic message from Price, before the play was finished, to name a time and place of meeting. Philip Hamilton hastened to find David S. Jones, who consulted John B. Church, the uncle of young Hamilton, and hero of the recent duel with Burr, and together they framed a message requiring an explanation, which was presented to Eacker about half past eleven o'clock on the same evening. Eacker made no reply except to remark that when the affair with Price was over he would receive any communication from Hamilton. At noon on the 22d, which was Sunday, Eacker and Price, attended by their seconds, met at Weehawken and exchanged four shots, without effect, after which they shook hands and separated. Before two o'clock on the same afternoon young Hamilton had learned the facts respecting the duel, and renewed his challenge to Eacker. The

Nov. 20.

Nov. 22

Nov. 23.

two met on Monday about three in the afternoon. Eacker's second was Thomas Apthorpe Cooper, the actor, and David S. Jones appeared in behalf of young Hamilton. Charles H. Winfield, the able historian of Hudson County, New Jersey, writes: "After the word had been given, a pause of a minute, perhaps more, ensued, before Mr. Eacker discharged his pistol. He had determined to wait for Hamilton's fire, and Hamilton, it is said, reserved his fire in obedience to the commands of his father. Eacker then leveled his pistol with more accuracy, and at the same instant Hamilton did the same. Eacker fired first, but almost simultaneously with Hamilton. The latter's fire, it is said, was unintentional, and in the air. The ball from Eacker's pistol entered Hamilton's right side, just above the hip, passed through his body, and lodged in his left arm. He was immediately taken over to the city, where he died the next morning at five o'clock."¹

Symptoms not at all in harmony with Jefferson's promise of political tranquillity and a united people began to be perceptible before he
 1802. had been many months in office. Burr's irregular ambition was not satisfied with his imposing but hollow position as Vice-President. He foresaw obstacles to his becoming the next Republican President, in the dislike of Jefferson and the growing popularity of Madison, the Secretary of State, who was a man of immense family interest in Virginia. In New York the Republican party was already divided into factions each jealous of the other. Thus he began a kind of political flirtation with the Federalists.

About this time *The Evening Post* first made its bow to the public, edited by William Coleman, a lawyer and a versatile writer; it was the organ of Hamilton. *The American Citizen* was the organ of the Republican party in New York, and was under the immediate management of a cousin of De Witt Clinton. Its editor was James Cheetham, a wit and a great tactician, who acquired no little distinction for his editorial ability. He was a tall, athletic man, and was soon personally concerned in many violent political quarrels. Burr and his friends, not to be outdone, established *The Morning Chronicle*, which supported the administration, but was particularly friendly to the Vice-President. It was edited by Dr. Peter Irving, and in its columns Washington Irving, a youth of nineteen, the editor's younger brother, first appeared as a writer under the name of *Jonathan Oldstyle*. Burr often clipped these essays from the journal and inclosed them in his letters to Theodosia. The three newspapers entered upon a paper war in which they were ably sus-

¹ Eacker died of consumption in 1804, and was buried in St. Paul's Churchyard, near Vesey Street.

tained by the leading men of their respective parties. Their columns teemed with personal invective and low satire. Several duels were the result. On one occasion Matthew L. Davis sallied forth in Wall Street, pistol in hand, expecting to shoot Cheetham at sight, who, however, kept out of the way, and the affair ended without bloodshed. When Philip Hamilton was killed, Coleman, shocked by the occurrence, denounced in the *Evening Post* the practice of dueling as a "horrid custom," and strongly urged "legislative interference." Yet Coleman and Cheetham were both duelists. And it was a period when dueling was a fashionable recreation. Cheetham was some years younger than Coleman, and gloried in encountering difficulties. He appeared in public with bold face and majestic bearing. Coleman was smaller, of delicate structure, and looked grave and pensive. Cheetham had cultivated his mind by historical reading, and was familiar with the poets; his writings were curt and concise, Coleman's often verbose. Cheetham could fell at one blow; Coleman delighted in protracted torture. Neither was deficient in pointed epithets and lacerating remarks. Cheetham was ardent, passionate, and forgiving. Coleman was self-poised, cold, and long harbored an imaginary injury. Each delighted in the prostration of a victim, but Coleman was the more politic and prudent of the two. The idols of Cheetham were Jefferson and George Clinton; the idol of Coleman was Hamilton. Burr had no chance with either, and was offensive to both. Dr. Francis writes of these two editors: "With all their faults, they diffused much truth as well as error; they advanced the power of the press in talents and in improved knowledge; and they aided the progress of literary culture."¹

On one occasion a duel between Coleman and Cheetham was arranged, but after considerable negotiation between the friends of the parties Judge Brockholst Livingston, in order to prevent the meeting, had the principals arrested. Thus hostilities ended. But out of the affair grew another quarrel which led to one of the most diabolical duels in the annals of dueling. Thompson, one of Cheetham's friends, the brother of Jeremiah Thompson, once collector of the port, threw some doubt on Coleman's courage, and said he "had shown the white feather." Whereupon Coleman challenged Thompson. Washington Morton carried the fatal missive. Cheetham acted as Thompson's second. The duel took place in Love Lane, now Twenty-first Street.² It was in the year 1803.

¹ *Old New York*, by Dr. Francis, p. 335; *History of Journalism*, by Hudson, p. 146, 217; Hildreth, II. 453. *The New York Evening Post* was first issued November 16, 1801.

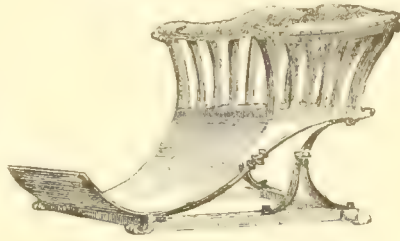
² The place of this duel has been variously located. Some writers say it was at or near Washington Square, then the Potters' Field, but Love Lane is undoubtedly correct.

An anonymous letter was received in the morning by a well-known physician and surgeon, stating that at nine o'clock of the evening of that day he would find on the south side of the Bowling Green, at the foot of Broadway, a horse and gig, which he was desired to appropriate and drive to a spot designated, where his services might be required. It was a moonlight night, and finding the gig as stated, he obeyed the request, reaching the point in time to hear pistol-shots, and see one man holding up another. A voice called to him: "Are you Dr. —?" He replied in the affirmative. "This gentleman requires your assistance," continued the speaker, who was no other than Cheetham, "be good enough to take charge of him and place him with his friends"; then gently laid the figure he held upon the ground, and disappeared in the same direction as Coleman and his second. The surgeon raised the bleeding man, stanching his wound as well as he was able, but saw that it was mortal. He bore him dying to the house of his sister in the city, laid him upon the doorstep, rang the bell, and departed. When the family found him, he was alone, and with a heroism worthy of a better cause refused to disclose the name of his antagonist, or give any account of the affair. He simply said he had been honorably treated, and requested that no effort should be made to find or molest the parties concerned. He died, and Coleman attended to his business as usual.

Jefferson regarded the religion of the country as no better than a mischievous delusion. John Jay, Hamilton, and other leading men of the Federal party believed that religion furnished the only solid support for morality. Jefferson detested the clergy, who were constantly twitting him about his infidel opinions. The Federalists respected the clergy as men of superior education, intelligence, and character, who in conjunction with the lawyers were as much the natural leaders of New England opinion as the slaveholding planters were the natural political leaders in Virginia. Jefferson commiserated the unfortunate priest-ridden communities, led by the nose by a body of men at enmity against science and truth and popular rights; while the Federalists requested to be informed in what respect the religious bigotry of the clergy was at all worse than Jefferson's political bigotry?

Jefferson abolished levees, lest the custom introduced by Washington lead to the ceremonials of a court. The Federalists said it was because the new city of Washington was nothing but a little village in the woods, where there was no occasion for levees. Mrs. Madison revived the usage eight years later, and it has continued to the present time. Jefferson abolished the kingly custom of speeches and answers at the opening of Congress, substituting a written message to be read by the clerk. The

Federalists maliciously suggested it was on account of Jefferson's tall ungainly figure, and total destitution of gifts as a public speaker. It was told in France that Jefferson on the day of his inauguration "rode on horseback to the capital without a single guard or even a servant in his train, dismounted without assistance, and hitched the bridle of his horse to the palisades." However that may have been, he was scarcely less fond of fine horses than Washington himself. Within two months after becoming President he purchased four fiery full-blooded bays for the use of his carriage in Washington. His coachman, Joseph Dougherty, writes Miss Randolph, Jefferson's great granddaughter, "was never so happy as when seated on the box behind this spirited and showy team." On his journeys to Monticello Jefferson usually traveled in his phaeton, or in a one-horse chair — a favorite vehicle at that time in New York City. Hamilton possessed a similar horse chair in which he drove daily from his place of business in the city to his country-seat on Washington Heights during the last two years of his life.



One-Horse Chair, 1802.

It seems that Jefferson, while giving up many of the forms, clung with instinctive tenacity to the substance of power. His theories were not absolutely practical. He found it wise and well in the constructive part of politics to copy the models he had so vigorously criticised. And as regards the machinery of government prepared by the Federalists, it was adopted by the Republicans without essential change.

Hamilton had purchased an estate and built a country mansion on the upper part of Manhattan Island, then eight or more miles from the city, which he called "The Grange," from the ancestral seat of his grandfather in Scotland. The timber for the house is said to have been a present from Mrs. Hamilton's father, General Schuyler. Its situation was commanding, about half-way between the Hudson and Harlem Rivers. It was a square wooden structure of two stories, with large roomy basement, ornamental balustrades, and immense chimney-stacks. Its rooms were spacious and numerous, its drawing-room doors were mirrors, and its workmanship generally solid and substantial. To this pleasant home Hamilton removed his family in the spring of 1802. He attended personally to the embellishment of his grounds, the planting of flowers, of shrubbery, and of trees. He wrote to Pinckney for some Carolina melon-seeds for his new garden, and some paroquets for his daughter,

remarking, "A garden, you know, is a very usual refuge for a disappointed politician." He planted a grove of thirteen gum-trees a few rods from the

house, to symbolize the thirteen original States of the Union — which, having reached majestic proportions, still survive, and are deftly shown in the sketch.



The Grange.

[Hudson's Country Seat.]

On the 23d of June Vice-President Burr's

beloved daughter Theodosia arrived from South Carolina to spend the remainder of the summer in New York. She wrote to her husband the next day: "I have just returned from a ride in the country and a visit to Richmond Hill. Never did I behold this island so beautiful. The variety of vivid greens, the finely cultivated fields and gardens, the neat, cool air of the cit's boxes, peeping through straight rows of tall poplars, and the elegance of some gentlemen's seats, commanding a view of the majestic Hudson and the high dark shores of New Jersey, altogether form a scene so lively, so touching, and to me so

new, that I was in constant rapture." Two days later she wrote: "I dined the other day with Mrs. Montgomery. The Chancellor (Livingston) has sent her out a list of statues, which are to be so exactly imitated in plaster as to leave the difference of materials only. The statues are the Apollo Belvedere, Venus de' Medicis, Laocoön and his children, Antinous, and some others. The patriotic citizens of New York are now subscribing to the importation of a set here for the good of the public. If they are really perfect imitations, they will be a great acquisition to the city."

Vice-President Burr had for some years lived in a style of ostentatious elegance. He had a handsomely furnished city home in addition to his country residence at Richmond Hill, a numerous retinue of servants, a French cook, half a dozen fine horses, one of the largest and best chosen libraries in the city, and the walls of both his houses were hung with paintings that ministered to a refined and cultivated taste. Richmond

Hill was without exception the most delightful country-seat on the island. It was a frame building of massive architecture, with a lofty portico supported by Ionic columns, the front walls decorated with pilasters of the same order, and distinguished on every side by rich though sober ornament. It was historically attractive, having been the headquarters of Washington in 1776, as the reader will remember; Lord Dorchester, Sir Guy Carleton, and other English noblemen were dwellers under its roof during the war; it was the home of Vice-President Adams while New York was the capital of the United States; and it had been the scene of many a notable festival. Vice-President Burr, not less than his predecessors, had thrown open its doors to distinguished guests. Jerome Bonaparte was entertained at dinner, and at breakfast, by Burr just before his marriage to Miss Patterson, large companies being invited to meet him on both occasions. Talleyrand and Volney were frequent visitors while they were in this country; and almost every European personage of note was from time to time welcomed by its courtly proprietor.

Theodosia Burr, whose beauty, wit, and melancholy history constitute one of the most romantic chapters of American private life, was the idol of her father, and, after the death of Mrs. Burr, his pupil, confidant, and friend. She became one of the best educated women of her time and country. During her father's public life she translated for his use the Constitution of the United States into the French language. While Burr was a senator in Philadelphia Brant visited the Quaker City, creating a sensation. Burr entertained him at dinner in company with Talleyrand, Volney, and other notable characters. When Brant left for New York he bore a letter from Burr to his daughter Theodosia, who was then fourteen years of age. The graceful girl received the forest chief with courtesy, and tendered the hospitalities of her father's house by giving him a dinner-party, choosing for her guests some of the most eminent gentlemen of the city, among whom were Bishop Moore, Dr. Bard, and Dr. Hosack. She wrote to her father that in marketing for the occasion she was puzzled to know what dishes would suit the palate of a savage warrior! In view of the many tales she had heard of

“ The cannibals that each other eat,
The anthropophagi, and men whose heads
Do grow beneath their shoulders,”

“ she had a mind,” she said, “ to lay the hospital under contribution for a human head to be served up like a boar's head in ancient hall barbaric. But after all he was a most Christian and civilized guest in his manners.” The marriage of Theodosia in 1801 to Joseph Alston, of South Carolina,

afterwards governor of his native State, by no means terminated the playful, tender, confiding relations between the father and daughter. Their letters were constantly flying backward and forward to each other. Burr



Theodosia Burr.

still guided her intellectual tastes. "Better lose your head than your habits of study," he wrote. And Theodosia amused her father with her sprightly humor and cheered him with her affection. She visited him frequently, and declared on all occasions that the society of New York was so superior to that of the South that a woman must be a fool who denied it.

The lovely Theodosia was often a guest of Mrs. Ham-

ilton. Indeed, there had always been friendly visiting between the families, and Hamilton himself dined at Burr's table occasionally, and Burr at Hamilton's. They met also at the houses of common friends, and consulted together on points of law. Theodosia was much petted and caressed by the Livingstons. She was invited with others a few weeks prior to her wedding by Mayor Edward Livingston to visit a frigate then lying in the harbor. One of the mayor's characteristic puns on the occasion is related by his biographer. On the way Livingston, in the liveliest manner, exclaimed, "Now, Theodosia, you must bring none of your sparks on board. They have a magazine there, and we should all be blown up."

Meanwhile Vice-President Burr was using every means to create a party of his own. He aimed to be an independent power in politics. He never quarreled openly with the President, although it was well un-

derstood that the two chiefs were at cross purposes as far as party management was concerned. Burr dined with Jefferson occasionally. He was also on formal terms of friendship with Secretary Madison. Theodosia and the beautiful Mrs. Madison were apparently intimate. But Jefferson's distrust was on the increase. Burr was deeply angered when he lost his seat in 1802 through Clintonian influence, after a hotly contested election, as director of the Manhattan Bank in New York. Henceforward the influence and power of that institution were used against the man to whom it owed its existence. John Swartwout, who also lost his seat in the directorship, was one of Burr's most devoted friends, and loudly accused De Witt Clinton of opposing Burr on personal and selfish grounds. Clinton, hearing of it, called him "a liar, a scoundrel, and a villain." The result was a challenge from Swartwout, which ended in a duel at Hoboken, one of the most remarkable conflicts of the kind that ever occurred in this country. Clinton's second was Richard Riker, afterward City Recorder, and Swartwout's was Colonel W. S. Smith. The surgeons were John H. Douglass and Isaac Ledyard. The arrangements were elaborate and positive, being drawn up formally in ten articles and duly signed. The newspapers of the day described the scene July 30 on the ground. The first fire was ineffectual. Clinton through his second asked Swartwout if he was satisfied, who replied in the negative. They fired again without effect, and Clinton made the same inquiries and received the same answers. A third shot was exchanged without injury, although the ball passed through Clinton's coat. Again Clinton disclaimed having any enmity towards Swartwout and asked if he was satisfied. Swartwout responded promptly and positively in the negative until a written apology was signed. Clinton read the paper, and handed it back, saying he would sooner fire all night than ask Swartwout's pardon. The parties again took their stations and fired a fourth shot; Clinton's ball struck Swartwout's leg a little below the knee. Clinton offered to shake hands and bury the circumstances in oblivion; but Swartwout, standing erect, positively declined anything short of an ample apology, and they fired the fifth shot, Swartwout receiving another ball in the left leg about five inches above the ankle. Swartwout coolly insisted upon taking another shot, but Clinton left his place and refused to fire again. The surgeons dressed Swartwout's wounds, and all returned to the city. It is said that after the last shot Clinton approached Swartwout, and offering his hand said, "I am sorry I have hurt you so much." Then turning to Colonel Smith, added, "I wish I had the *principal* here," referring to Vice-President Burr. The next year De Witt Clinton was challenged by Senator Dayton of New Jersey, another of Burr's adherents, but the matter was

peacefully arranged. A few months later Richard Riker fought with Robert Swartwout and was severely wounded.

The erection of a new City Hall, only fourteen years from the time of the liberal expenditures upon Federal Hall in Wall Street prior to Washington's inauguration, indicates the extraordinary growth of the city during that short period. Mayor Edward Livingston laid the cornerstone of the new structure in 1803. The barren and uninviting

1803. common assumed a new character, and the church-goers paused every summer morning, before entering the sanctuary on the corner of Beekman Street, to note the progress of the builders. The front and the eastern and western sides were constructed of white marble, but a dark-colored stone was thought good enough for the rear or northern wall, since "it would be out of sight to all the world."

An appalling visitation of yellow fever not only suspended the work in July, but spread consternation throughout the length and breadth of New York. The first case was announced on the 20th, and by the 1st of August the public alarm was so great and universal that all who could leave the city had fled to places of safety. Mayor Livingston remained at his post, regarding himself bound, as by a sacred contract, to face the terrible enemy, and alleviate suffering to the extent of his power. It was a display of heroic philanthropy which a lifetime of ordinary official duty would never have called into exercise. He visited the hospitals every day, required all new cases in any part of the city to be reported to him personally, supplied the needs of the poor, encouraged nurses and physicians by his presence and his undismayed cheerfulness, and even went about the streets at night to see for himself if the watchmen were vigilant.

The scourge continued until the end of October. The fearless mayor did not escape. He was seized with the fever in the latter part of September, but recovered after a severe illness. While he was lying very low he was the object of extraordinary popular gratitude and regard. His physician, calling for Madeira to administer to him, found that not a bottle of that or of any other wine was left in his cellar, he having bestowed it all upon others. As soon as the fact became known the best wines were sent in from every direction. Young men vied with each other for the privilege of watching at his bedside. And a crowd thronged Broadway near his door or loitered in the Bowling Green to obtain the latest news of his condition.

His convalescence was announced in the newspapers and hailed with joy by the whole city. He had, however, arisen from a sick-bed to encounter a new trial. While the pestilence was raging he discovered

that a confidential clerk had embezzled a large portion of the public funds consigned to his charge. With too many irons in the fire, he had imprudently left the management of money affairs to subordinates; and thus, to his keen mortification, found himself indebted to the United States, without means in his possession for the liquidation of the debt. He at once voluntarily surrendered all his property for the security of the government. He then resigned both his offices, although offering to discharge the duties of mayor until the restoration of the public health.

In April of the same year the diplomacy of Chancellor Livingston at the Court of France resulted in a national bargain with Napoleon for the purchase of Louisiana — or the Province of Orleans, comprising the present States of Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, Nebraska, Kansas, and the Indian Territory — which not only added an enormous territory to the United States, but secured compensation for the numerous spoliation by the French on our commerce. This vast region had been recovered to France from Spain by Napoleon in 1800; and through Chancellor Livingston's masterly management, aided by James Monroe, who arrived in Paris a few days before the negotiation was concluded, it was actually sold to the United States for about fifteen millions of dollars. The American flag was first raised in New Orleans on the 20th of December, 1803.

Edward Livingston had been in close correspondence with his brother on the subject, and the prospect suddenly opening to New Orleans of becoming a great commercial city, and to Louisiana of becoming a mother of many States, he determined to repair to the new territory and try to mend his fortunes. He understood the French language, and in entering upon practice at the New Orleans bar frequently argued his cases in that tongue. The records of the court were kept in English. But it was often necessary, and it was the constant practice, to translate the pleadings and afterwards all the evidence into French, Spanish, or German, and sometimes into all these, in order to reach the comprehension of the whole jury. A sworn interpreter was attached to the court, but Livingston spoke all these languages himself, which reflects much credit upon his New York education.

De Witt Clinton was appointed Mayor of New York City in place of Edward Livingston. He was in the Senate of the United States, having been elected to fill a vacancy in 1802 caused by the resignation of General John Armstrong, and taken a seat by the side of Gouverneur Morris. But there was a degree and variety of power in the mayoralty of the metropolis at that time for which a senatorship might well be exchanged. Thus he resigned his post as a senator to accept and enter upon his duties

as a mayor. He was but thirty-four years of age, active, resolute, and eminently progressive. His brain was prolific in civic and philanthropic schemes. What Franklin in his generation did for Philadelphia, De Witt Clinton, half a century later, accomplished for New York. But we will not anticipate.

Vice-President Burr found, as the new year opened, that his political fortunes were less promising than hitherto. His aspirations for the
 1804. Presidency of the nation might as well be buried. In politics he never had any real basis, such as ideas of magnitude, strong convictions, or important originations. His peculiar gifts were rather to charm individuals than multitudes. On the 5th of January he
 Jan. 5 wrote Theodosia of the marriage of Jerome Bonaparte to Miss Patterson of Baltimore, which occurred in December. On the 17th he
 Jan. 17. wrote her again from Washington: "Of my plans for the spring nothing can be said, for nothing is resolved. Madame Bonaparte passed a week here. She is a charming little woman; just the size and nearly the figure of Theodosia Burr Alston; by some thought a little like her; perhaps not so well in the shoulders; dresses with taste and simplicity; has sense and spirit and sprightliness." On the 30th he
 Jan. 30. described to Theodosia his journey from Washington to New York with a foot depth of snow upon the ground. He wrote: "The Vice-President having with great judgment and science calculated the gradations of cold in different latitudes, discovered that for every degree he should go north he might count on four and a half inches of snow. Thus he was sure of sixteen and a half inches at Philadelphia, twenty-one inches at New York, and so for all intermediate space. Hence he wisely concluded to take off the wheels from his coach and set it on runners. This was no sooner resolved than done. With his sleigh and four horses he arrived at Baltimore at early dinner. Passed the evening with Madame Bonaparte; all very charming. Came off this morning; fine sleighing. Within six miles of the Susquehanna the snow appeared thin; within four, the ground was bare. He dragged on to Havre de Grace, and here he is in the midst of the most forlorn dilemma. Having neither wife nor daughter near on whom to vent spleen renders the case more deplorable." He added a note to this letter before it was mailed: "I left my runners and got wheels at Philadelphia."

At a caucus in February Jefferson was unanimously nominated for re-election; and Governor George Clinton was substituted for Burr as a candidate for Vice-President. There was to be an election for governor in New York, and since Burr was left out of the national nominations he resolved to see what he could do through an appeal to the people of his

own State. The independent party known as Burr-ites had become a recognized power in New York, and might draw assistance from both the Federalists and Republicans. Attack the aristocratic combination of the Clintons and Livingstons on the one hand, and that of Hamilton and the Schuylers on the other, and multitudes would cleave to a leader who had no band of brothers to unite in appropriating the wealth, the patronage, and the authority of the State. "We must make family influence unpopular, and New York will be ours," said Burr to one of his warm partisans on the evening after his arrival from Washington. He spent about two weeks in the city before returning to the seat of government. He had always possessed the rare faculty of inspiring reckless young men with his own daring; and mild-tempered elderly gentlemen were greatly attached to him. There was still another element, comprehending men of all ages, which would be a substantial support in the emergency. It was the new population of the State and city which had been pouring in from other States, particularly from New England, freighted with all the accumulated piques and prejudices of a century against the ruling families of New York, with whom they had no blood connection or natural sympathy. Burr stood before them in his prime, brilliant, cheerful, witty, fascinating, with a sharp, kindly black eye — a lithe, stylish, captivating man, with remarkable elegance of address. Nothing daunted him. Nothing depressed him. Just before leaving New York on his return to Washington he wrote to Theodosia: "The Clintons, Liv-
Feb 16.
ingstons, etc., had not at the last advice from Albany decided on their candidate for governor. Hamilton is intriguing for any candidate who can have a chance of success against A. B. He would doubtless become the advocate even of De Witt Clinton if he should be the opponent."

Two days later Vice-President Burr was announced as an independent candidate for governor of New York. On the 20th the Re-
Feb 20.
publicans nominated Judge Morgan Lewis for governor, and John Broome for lieutenant-governor.

The storm commenced forthwith. It was the most inclement March the political world of New York had ever known. The newspapers were filled with disgusting personalities; and the war of words raged unabated up to the very day of the election in April. Burr's private character, which no one could honestly defend, was assailed in the most obnoxious manner. But the Burr-ites dwelt continually upon his admirable fitness for office because he had no train of family connections to quarter upon the public treasury. It is curiously interesting to trace the course of human perversity and absurdity in both instances. It does not appear that our predecessors were any wiser than ourselves.

Burr's equanimity of temper was undisturbed through it all. He wrote to Theodosia on the 28th of March: "They are very busy
 1804. here about an election between Morgan Lewis and A. Burr; the former supported by the Clintons and Livingstons, the latter *per se*. I would send you some new and amusing libels against the Vice-President, but as you did not send me the speech . . . it may not be desired. I shall get the speech, no thanks to you; there is a copy in Philadelphia, for which I have written, and it will come endorsed by the fair hand of Celeste. The Earl of Selkirk is here; a frank, unassuming, sensible man of about thirty. He dines with me on Monday." In the midst of the
 April 25. election tempest Burr wrote to his daughter in a similar easy, gossiping strain: "The thing began yesterday, and will terminate to-morrow. My headquarters are in John Street, and I have, since beginning this letter, been already three times interrupted." In regard to summer arrangements he added: "You take Richmond Hill; bring no horse nor carriage. I have got a nice, new, beautiful little chariot, made purposely to please you. I have also a new coachee, very light, on an entirely new construction, invented by the Vice-President. Now these two machines are severally adapted to two horses, and you may take your choice of them. Of horses, I have five; three always and wholly at your devotion, and the whole five occasionally. Harry and Sam are both good coachmen, either at your orders. Of servants, there are enough for family purposes. Mr. Alston may bring a footman. Anything further will be useless; he may, however, bring six or eight of them if he like. The cellars and garrets are well stocked with wine, having had a great supply last fall." Before closing this peculiar epistle Burr added, "I forgot to speak of the election. Both parties claim majorities, and there never was, in my opinion, an election of the result of which so little judgment could be formed."

In the city of New York Burr actually received a majority of perhaps one hundred votes. But returns from the country dispelled the
 May 1. brief exultation. Morgan Lewis was elected by a large majority.

Burr attributed his defeat mainly to the powerful influence of Hamilton, who took no active part in the canvass, but whose opinions were freely and perpetually quoted by those who did. Burr may have thought that Hamilton was the only obstacle to his triumphant formation of a great national independent party, with possibilities of reward in the highest gift of the people at the end of another four years. Parton says: "Burr's spirits rode as buoyantly and as safely over all disasters as a cork over the cataract of Niagara." Hamilton had won immense glory this very spring by defending, at Albany, before Chief Justice Lewis of the Supreme

Court, with unparalleled eloquence, an editor of a Hudson newspaper who had been indicted for a libel on President Jefferson. Hamilton had volunteered to defend the liberty of the press; and he denounced the maxim, "The greater the truth the greater the libel," at least in its relation to political publications, as wholly inconsistent with the genius of American institutions. His argument was electrical in its effects upon his audience, and it resulted in the law of libels being eventually placed upon a true and correct foundation, perfectly consistent with the liberty of the press and the protection of the good name and reputation of every individual citizen.

Hamilton had always spoken of Burr as a dangerous man. He had no faith in him. He regarded him as an unprincipled, reckless, cool, designing villain, both in his private as well as in his political character, and had never hesitated to express that opinion while warning his Federal friends against Burr's arts and intrigues. During the election struggle two letters from the pen of Dr. Charles D. Cooper were published containing the two following paragraphs: "General Hamilton and Judge Kent have declared, in substance, that they looked upon Mr. Burr to be a dangerous man, and one who ought not to be trusted with the reins of government"; and, "I could detail to you a still more despicable opinion which General Hamilton has expressed of Mr. Burr." It was some weeks after the ^{June 17} election before these came under Burr's notice, but he immediately resolved to make them the excuse for forcing Hamilton into a duel.

William P. Van Ness, a young lawyer who was devoted to Burr, was the bearer of Cooper's printed letters to Hamilton, with a note from Burr himself demanding "a prompt and unqualified acknowledgment or denial of the use of any expressions which would warrant Cooper's assertions."

Hamilton had not before that moment seen Cooper's letter, but he perceived a settled intention of fixing a quarrel upon him. He declined an immediate answer; on the 20th he wrote at considerable length, declining to be interrogated as to the justice of the ^{June 20} inferences which others might have drawn from what he had said of a political opponent during fifteen years' competition. He said he could not enter into any explanations upon a basis so vague. But intimated his readiness to avow or disavow any definite opinion he had expressed respecting any gentleman. Burr replied with sharp directness, and offensively criticised Hamilton's letter. "Political opposition can never absolve gentlemen from the necessity of a rigid adherence to the laws of honor and the rules of decorum," he said. In short, he required a general disavowal, on the part of Hamilton, of any intention, in any

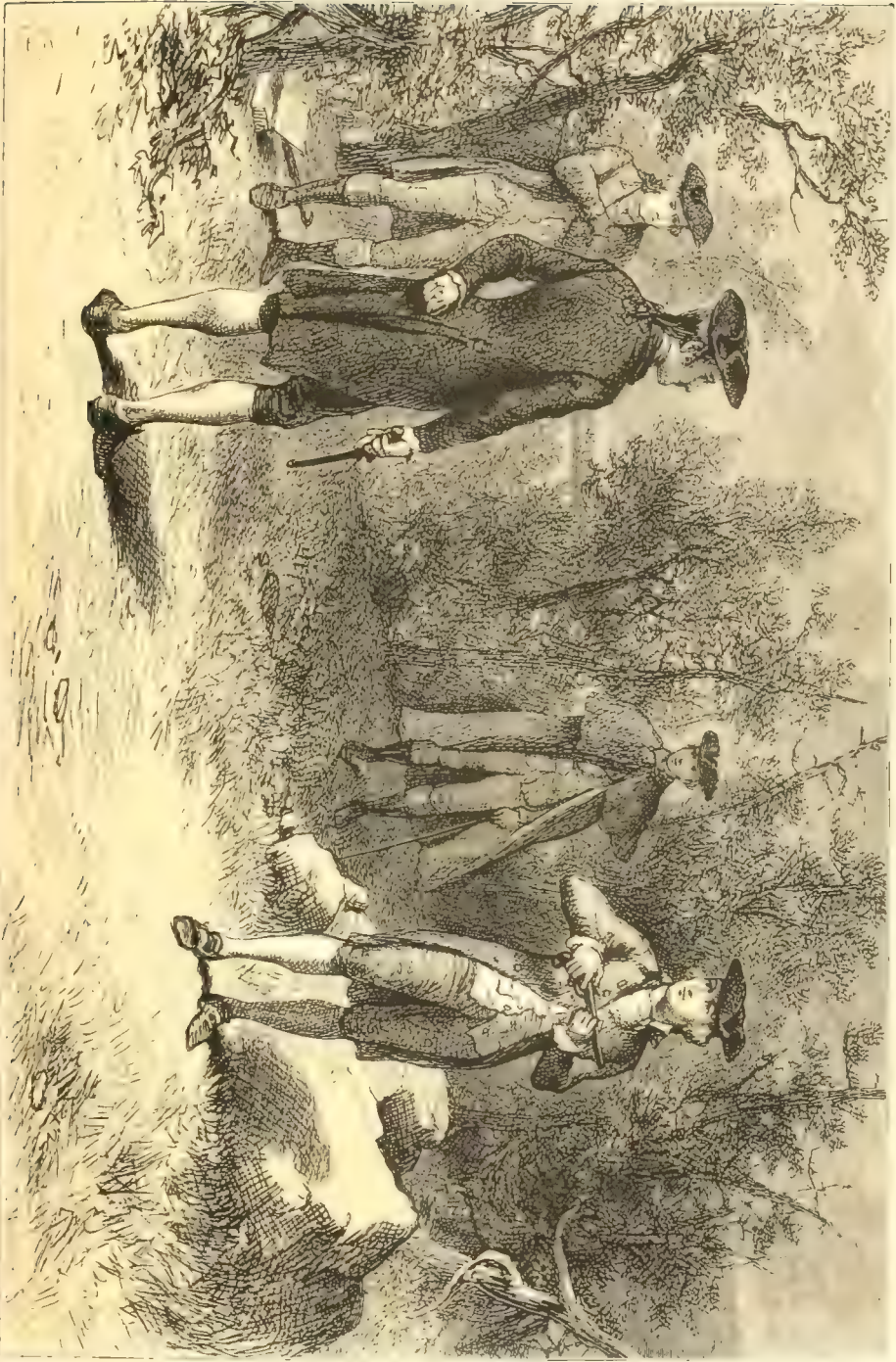
conversation he might have ever held, to convey impressions derogatory to his honor.

It was quite out of the question for Hamilton to make any such disavowal. But desirous of depriving Burr of any possible pretext for persisting in his murderous intentions, he made several attempts at pacific arrangements, which Burr arrogantly pronounced "mere evasions."

June 27. The challenge was finally given and accepted. Judge Nathaniel Pendleton, acting for Hamilton, stated that a court was then sitting in which Hamilton had much business to transact, and some delay was unavoidable, as he was unwilling to expose his clients to embarrassments, loss, or delay. Thus the meeting was arranged for the 11th of July, at seven o'clock in the morning.

In the interim Burr and Hamilton went about their daily business as usual. It was afterwards remembered of Hamilton that he pleaded his causes and consulted his clients with all his wonted vigor, courtesy, and address. His beloved wife saw no cloud upon his brow as he returned to The Grange every afternoon. On the 4th of July the two adversaries met at the annual banquet of the Cincinnati, of which Hamilton had been president since the death of Washington, and of which Burr was a member. Hamilton, as master of the feast, was overflowing as usual with vivacity. He was urged to sing the only song he ever sang or knew, the famous ballad of *The Drum*, and although he seemed more reluctant than usual to comply with the wishes of the company, he said at last, "Well, you shall have it." He sang in his best manner, greatly delighting all present. Burr was never a fluent talker in public places, but an excellent listener. It was noticed that he was even more silent than usual on this occasion. When Hamilton commenced singing, Burr turned towards him and leaning upon the table watched him closely until the song was finished.

It was on a warm bright summer morning that these two political chieftains stood before each other prepared for mortal combat. July 11 The place where they fought was the singularly secluded grassy ledge or shelf in the woods at Weehawken, which had been the scene of so many deadly encounters. It was many feet above the waters of the Hudson, picturesquely shaded with the tangled cedars which almost totally obscured the view of New York City in the distance. No residence was within sight on that shore of the Hudson, there were no roads leading to or from the spot, and no footpath existed in any direction. Parties coming from the city in boats clambered up the ragged rocky heights as best they could, and every precaution was taken to prevent discovery.



On this fatal morning Burr and his friends arrived half an hour before Hamilton, and ordered their boat moored a few yards down the river. Hamilton's boat was seen approaching at precisely the moment expected. The principals and seconds exchanged the usual salutations as they met. The distance, twelve paces, was carefully measured. Lots were cast for the choice of position, and to decide who should give the word. It fell in both cases to Judge Pendleton, the second of Hamilton. The principals were placed, Hamilton looking over the river toward the city, and Burr turned toward the heights, under which they stood. As the pistol was placed in Hamilton's hand Pendleton asked, "Will you have the hair-spring set?" "Not this time," was the quiet reply. Pendleton then explained to both principals the rules which had been agreed upon with regard to the firing — after the word "present" they were to fire as soon as they pleased. The seconds then withdrew the usual distance.

"Are you ready?" said Pendleton. Both answered in the affirmative. A moment's pause ensued. The word was given. Burr raised his pistol, took aim, and fired. Hamilton almost instantly fell, his pistol going off involuntarily. Dr. Hosack and Mr. Matthew L. Davis, listening attentively below, heard the report of the pistols, and with the boatmen hurried up the rocks, while Burr, shielded from their observation by an umbrella in the hands of Van Ness, stepped briskly down the steep to the boat, and was rowed swiftly across the river to Richmond Hill. Dr. Hosack found Hamilton half lying, half sitting on the grass, supported in the arms of Pendleton, and apparently in a dying condition. "Doctor," he said, "this is a mortal wound," and immediately swooned away. A brief examination convinced Dr. Hosack that all attempts to save his life would be fruitless, and the inanimate form was lifted tenderly and borne down the ragged declivity to the boat.

As the little craft moved slowly out upon the broad bosom of the Hudson Hamilton revived, and glancing about him observed his pistol. "Take care of that pistol," he remarked feebly, "it is undischarged, and still cocked; it may go off and do harm. Pendleton knows that I did not intend to fire at him." "Yes," replied Pendleton sadly, "I have already made Dr. Hosack acquainted with your determination as to that."

Hamilton then closed his eyes and remained tranquil, except to ask the doctor once or twice how he found his pulse, until they neared the wharf, when he said, "Let Mrs. Hamilton be immediately sent for; let the event be gradually broken to her, but give her hopes." Looking up he saw his devoted friend, Mr. Bayard, waiting at the landing in great agitation, having heard from his servant that Hamilton with his two friends had crossed the river together, and of course divined the nature

of their errand. Bayard burst into tears and lamentations when Dr. Hosack called to him to have a cot prepared. The dying statesman watched the scene calmly, and gave the necessary directions for his removal. He was borne to Bayard's house, and everything that medical skill or human love could suggest was done for his comfort. Dr. Wright Post was immediately called in, but like Dr. Hosack saw no possible hope of Hamilton's recovery. General Key, the French Consul, invited the surgeons of the French frigates in the harbor to hasten to the assistance of Dr. Hosack and Dr. Post, which they did, but were convinced that nothing could be done for Hamilton's relief.

The most touching picture was when Mrs. Hamilton with their seven children appeared at his bedside overwhelmed with anguish unspeakable. His mind still retained all its marvelous strength, and although he frequently murmured in low accents to his physician and others who were administering to his necessities, "My beloved wife and children," as if his anxiety was chiefly for them, yet his fortitude triumphed over the situation. "Once, indeed," wrote Dr. Hosack, "at the sight of his children, brought to the bedside together, seven in number, his utterance forsook him; he opened his eyes, gave them one look, and closed his eyes again until they were taken away. As a proof of his extraordinary composure of mind, let me add," continues Dr. Hosack, "that he alone could calm the frantic grief of his wife. '*Remember, my Eliza, you are a Christian,*' were the expressions with which he frequently, with a firm voice, but in a pathetic and inpressive manner, addressed her. His words, and the tone in which they were uttered, will never be effaced from my memory." Hamilton lingered in great agony through the day and night, and until two o'clock of the next afternoon, July 12th.

Meanwhile, by nine o'clock on the morning of the 11th, news of the duel had reached the city. Presently a bulletin appeared, and the pulse of New York stood still at the shocking announcement:—

"General Hamilton was shot by Colonel Burr this morning in a duel. The General is said to be mortally wounded."

People started as if stunned and turned pale as they read. Men walked to and fro aimlessly and tearfully, then rallied and sought further information in breathless anxiety. Business was almost entirely suspended. For the moment everything was forgotten except the services and the fame of the victim. Bulletins, hourly changed, kept the city in agonizing suspense. All party distinction was lost in the general sentiment of sorrow and indignation.

When the death of Hamilton was finally reported, a cry of execration upon his murderer burst from the lip and heart of the multitude. The

merchants of the city met and resolved to close their stores on the day of the funeral, to order all the flags of the shipping at half mast, and to wear crape for thirty days. The bar met in profound grief and agreed to go into mourning for six weeks. The Cincinnati, the Tammany Society, the St. Andrews Society, the General Society of Mechanics, the students of Columbia College, the military companies, and the Corporation of the city with Mayor De Witt Clinton at its head, all passed resolutions of sorrow and condolence, and agreed to wear mourning and attend the funeral. Indeed, the cortège on that solemn occasion comprised every body of men that had a corporate existence. The whole city was in mourning. The funeral ceremonies were conducted by the Cincinnati — which had lost its illustrious chief. The partisans of Burr made it a point to display their respect for the fallen statesman by appearing in the procession. The precious remains were conveyed from the residence of John B. Church, the brother-in-law of Hamilton, to Old Trinity, while minute-guns from the artillery in the Park and at the Battery were answered by the French and British ships of war in the harbor as the procession moved. Gouverneur Morris, with the four sons of the deceased by his side, delivered a brief but thrilling oration in memory of his slaughtered friend. He said, and the words are still ringing in the American ear: "You know how well he performed the duties of a citizen — you know that he never courted your favor by adulation or the sacrifice of his own judgment. You have seen him contending against you, and saving your dearest interests as it were in spite of yourselves. I declare to you before that God in whose presence we are now especially assembled, that in his most private and confidential conversations the single objects of discussion were your freedom and happiness. The care of a rising family, and the narrowness of his fortune, made it a duty to return to his profession for their support. But though he was compelled to abandon public life, never, no, never for a moment did he abandon the public service. He never lost sight of your interests. And knowing his own firm purpose (never to accept office again), he was indignant at the charge that he sought for place or power. For himself he feared nothing; but he feared that bad men might, by false professions, acquire your confidence and abuse it to your ruin." And when dust was lovingly consigned to dust in Trinity Churchyard, and the parting volley had been fired over the statesman's grave, the vast crowd dispersed in silence and in tears, each man carrying to his home a sense of profound personal sorrow and bereavement.

America wept. Every generous and every selfish consideration combined to make Hamilton's untimely death a subject for national mourn-

ing. Into the forty-seven years of his remarkable life he had compressed such an amount of difficult and laborious service as few men have ever rendered to any country in the longest term of human existence; and he had fallen just when his great powers were in their meridian fullness. "My soul stiffens with despair when I think what Hamilton would have been," wrote Fisher Ames. "My heart, penetrated with the remembrance of the man, grows liquid as I write, and I could pour it out like water. But it is not as Apollo, enchanting the shepherds with his lyre, that we deplore him; it is as Hercules, treacherously slain in the midst of his unfinished labors, leaving the world overrun with monsters."

Angelica, Hamilton's beautiful daughter of twenty, who had not yet recovered from the shock occasioned by her favorite brother's violent death, lost her reason through the terrible affliction, and was henceforward the sad charge of her grief-stricken mother.¹ Mrs. Hamilton survived her husband half a century. Popular feeling took the character of wrathful indignation towards the immediate author of all this sorrow and ruin as soon as the tenor of the correspondence between Burr and Hamilton became known. It was well understood that Hamilton abhorred the practice of dueling. The last words from his pen were a reiteration of his opinions on the subject from a religious and moral point of view. Burr was, in public sentiment, a murderer, and his name was spoken with a hiss of horror and disgust. The coroner's jury, after ten or twelve days of investigation, during which time Matthew L. Davis and another gentleman were imprisoned for refusing to testify, brought in a verdict to the effect that "Aaron Burr, Vice-President of the United States, was guilty of the murder of Alexander Hamilton, and that William P. Van Ness and Nathaniel Pendleton were accessories."

The astonishment of Burr at these unexampled proceedings was beyond expression. He had anticipated temporary excitement "which would soon blow over," never dreaming that the fatal shot which destroyed his great rival was to extinguish his own ambitious projects and plunge him

¹ Alexander Hamilton, born January 11, 1757, died July 12, 1804, married Elizabeth Schuyler December 14, 1780. Their children were: 1. Philip, born January 22, 1782, killed in a duel November 24, 1801; 2. Angelica, born September 25, 1784, died unmarried; 3. Alexander, born May 16, 1786, married, but left no children; 4. James Alexander, born April 14, 1788, married Mary Morris, died 1878, leaving four daughters and one son, Alexander, now residing at Dobb's Ferry; 5. John Church, born August 22, 1794, whose large family of sons and daughters reside chiefly in New York City; 6. William Stephen, born August 4, 1797, died unmarried in California; 7. Eliza, born November 20, 1799, married S. Augustus Holly; 8. Philip, born June 7, 1802, married Rebecca, daughter of Louis McLane (now resides at Poughkeepsie), whose two sons were Captain Louis McLane Hamilton, killed at the battle of Wachita, and Dr. Allan McLane Hamilton.

into life-long disgrace. Under cover of the public prejudice in favor of dueling he had sheltered his criminal designs against a man who his apologists say "had utterly opposed and forbidden his advancement"; and with fearless self-possession had not only executed his purpose, but had cut the ground from under his own feet and left Jefferson in undisputed possession of the field. From the day of the duel Vice-President Burr ceased to be a political leader.

His conduct immediately after the duel was as remarkable as his character. When he reached Richmond Hill from crimsoned Weehawken he took his accustomed morning bath, then his easy-chair in the library, where he was found reading by a young relative from Connecticut who arrived unexpectedly about eight o'clock. Parton says, "Neither in his manner nor in his conversation was there any evidence of excitement or concern, nor anything whatever to attract the notice of his guest." When breakfast was announced the two gentlemen proceeded to the breakfast-room together, and chatted pleasantly during the meal; after which the cousin said "Good morning," and strolled towards the city, which he reached about ten o'clock. In Broadway he observed signs of consternation or confusion, as if some extraordinary event had occurred, and when near Wall Street met an acquaintance, who exclaimed, "Colonel Burr has killed General Hamilton in a duel this morning!" "Why, no he has n't," replied the young man promptly and positively; "I have just come from taking breakfast with him." "But," said the other, "I have this moment seen the news on the bulletin!" The cousin was utterly incredulous, and denounced the report as false. He soon found, however, that the whole city was astir, and began to suspect that the terrible story was only too true. Thus completely could Burr command his features and preserve absolute composure.

Yet with all his coolness and cunning, his rapid and quick perceptions, and the recklessness with which he was ever ready to accomplish his ends, he was lamentably defective in judgment. He fancied himself a more popular man than Hamilton. And certainly a more important man, as Vice-President of the nation? It was not so very long since he had stood the idol of a great political party, second in influence and popularity only to one man in America. His self-sufficiency, thus flattered, was at higher ebb than his wisdom, else he would have foreseen that even party rancor, eager to maim the living, scorns to strip the slain. His reasoning faculties were not on a par with the brilliancy of his intellect. He treated the subject of the duel lightly in his private correspondence. On the 13th he wrote to his son-in-law, Governor Alston: "General Hamilton died yesterday. The malignant Federalists or tories, and the embittered Clin-

tonians, unite in endeavoring to excite public sympathy in his favor and indignation against his antagonist. Thousands of absurd falsehoods are circulated with industry." Five days later he wrote again: "The event of which you have been advised has driven me into a sort of exile, and may terminate in an actual and permanent ostracism. Our most unprincipled Jacobins are the loudest in their lamentations for the death of General Hamilton, whom, for many years, they have uniformly represented as the most detestable and unprincipled of men — the motives are obvious. Every sort of persecution is to be exercised against me. . . . You know enough of the temper and principles of the generality of the officers of our State government to form a judgment of my position."

For eleven days Vice-President Burr remained in the vicinity of Richmond Hill without daring to venture into the open air; but it becoming painfully apparent that he was soon to be arrested and arraigned for wilful murder, he stealthily departed from the city one dark, cloudy
 July 21. evening. A little barge had been provided which lay silently near the shore of the Hudson below Richmond Hill. At ten o'clock, surrounded by a party of gentlemen, the Vice-President emerged from the beautiful mansion, never to enter it more, and walking to the water's edge embarked in company with his faithful friend John Swartwout and a favorite servant, and soon was moving noiselessly down the river. All night the bargemen plied their oars, and at nine o'clock next morning, which was the Sabbath, paused in front of the lawn of Commodore Truxton's residence in Perth Amboy. The commodore was summoned from his study, greeted Burr courteously, and extended cordial hospitalities; Swartwout returned immediately to New York. The commodore said, "In walking up to my house the Vice-President told me they had spent most of the night upon the water, and a dish of good coffee would not come amiss. I told him it should be furnished with pleasure. As soon as we got to the piazza, I ordered breakfast, which was soon prepared, as the equipage of that meal was not yet removed below." The commodore on Monday drove Burr in his own carriage to Cranberry, some twenty miles beyond; from whence the fugitive was conveyed in a light wagon to the Delaware, which having crossed, he made his way by back roads to Philadelphia.

He was welcomed upon his arrival by some of his former friends, and at once appeared in the streets, on foot and on horseback, exactly as if nothing had happened. In accordance with his ruling principle, to make little of life's miseries and much of its pleasures, he renewed a flirtation with a beautiful Philadelphia belle whose hand had been refused him a year or two before. "I am very well, and not without occupation or

amusement," he wrote to Theodosia. "I shall be here for some days. How many cannot now be resolved." Being advised that warrants had been issued for his arrest, and that an application had been made to Governor Lewis requiring him to demand the murderer from the governor of Pennsylvania, he offered to surrender on condition of receiving a guaranty that he should be released on bail. But no such guaranty could be given him, and he prepared for further flight. He addressed Theodosia on the 11th of August, saying, "Pray write over again all you have written since the 25th of July, for the letters now on the way will ^{Aug 11} not be received for some time. Celeste seems more pliant. I do believe that eight days would have produced some grave event; but, alas! those eight days, and perhaps eight days more, are to be passed on the ocean. If any male friend of yours should be dying of ennui, recommend him to engage in a duel and a courtship at the same time."

He took refuge for a month upon an island off the coast of Georgia, and then made his way to his daughter's home in South Carolina, traveling four hundred miles of the distance in an open canoe. After ten days of rest he commenced a long land journey to Washington, determined to appear at the assembling of Congress, and perform his duty as president of the Senate. He found upon reaching the seat of government that he had been indicted for murder by New Jersey also, as the duel was fought within the limits of that State. He wrote to Theodosia: "There is a contention of a singular nature between the two States of New York and New Jersey. The subject in dispute is, which shall have the honor of hanging the Vice-President. You shall have due notice of time and place. Whenever it may be, you may rely on a great concourse of company, much gayety, and many rare sights."

Meanwhile Richmond Hill was sold by Burr's creditors to John Jacob Astor for twenty-five thousand dollars, and the amount distributed among them. But the sum was not enough to liquidate Burr's indebtedness by at least seven or eight thousand dollars; thus he was liable to imprisonment for debt if he appeared in New York. His assets were of course unavailable, his income nothing, his practice gone, and two great sovereign States were anxious to consign him to an assassin's doom. At the same time he discharged the duties of his office all winter in Washington unmolested, and was treated with as much consideration, apparently, by the officials of the government as before the duel. He was as cheerful, witty, courtly, and complaisant as ever. His motions in walking were always a little stooping and ungraceful; although of about the same stature as Hamilton, he never stood erect like the murdered statesmen. He had an eminent authority of manner, however, whenever it suited

his purposes; and he is said to have presided with great dignity in the Senate, and particularly at the impeachment trial of Judge Samuel Chase, which, commencing on the 4th of February, ended on the 1st of March in a verdict of acquittal. The Senators, as judges of this august court, were placed in a grand semicircle on each side of the Vice-President, an imposing array of judicial authority. One of the newspapers of the day said "Burr conducted the trial with the dignity and impartiality of an angel, but with the rigor of a devil." The next day, March 2, Burr took formal leave of the Senate in a speech that produced unexpected and profound sensation. And on March 4 Jefferson was sworn the second time into the Presidential office, while George Clinton, the ex-governor of New York, and head of a family whom Burr considered his bitterest enemies, became Vice-President.

Aaron Burr vanished from the political arena never to reappear. Within six days he wrote to Theodosia of his purpose to travel in the West. "This tour has other objects than mere curiosity. An operation of business which promises to render the tour both useful and agreeable," he said. Thus we catch the first gleam of that scheme of matchless daring which in its development only proved how true had been the instinct of Hamilton in warning his country against placing power in the hands of this unprincipled and energetic adventurer.

The impression left upon the New York mind by the death of Hamilton was fatal to the practice of dueling within her borders. The absurdity of the sacrifice of such a life to maintain the "honor" of a profligate like Burr intensified with every turn of the earth in its orbit. Civilized common-sense was awakened. A recent act of the Legislature had made the sending and accepting of a challenge punishable with disfranchisement and incapacity to hold office for twenty years; but such had been the state of public sentiment hitherto that parties concerned in a duel only had to maintain secrecy beforehand, and the world ignored the consequences, as well as the law. A number of persons knew that Burr and Hamilton were making preparations for a duel, yet no hindrance was interposed. It is said that but for the testimony of Rev. Dr. John M. Mason, who visited Hamilton at his request in his dying moments, and of Bishop Moore, who administered the sacrament to him, and remained at his bedside until all was over, there would never have existed a word of legal evidence that the duel had been fought.¹ With both of these eminent clergymen Hamilton conversed freely, and declared with the utmost sincerity of heart that he had no ill-will against Burr. "I used every expedient to avoid the interview," he said, "but I have found, for some time past, that

¹ *Parton's Life of Aaron Burr*; *Davis's Life of Aaron Burr*.

my life must be exposed to that man. I met him with a fixed determination to do him no harm. I forgive all that happened." ¹

The murderous custom was denounced from the pulpit on every hand. Among those who preached effective and celebrated sermons on the subject of dueling were Rev. Samuel Spring, a college friend of Burr and his companion on the famous Canadian expedition in 1776 — father of the eminent theologian Rev. Dr. Gardner Spring of the Brick Church — and Rev. Dr. Eliphalet Nott, who was the same year appointed President of Union College. "Humiliating end of illustrious greatness," exclaimed Nott, with great feeling; "a loud and awful warning to a community where justice has slumbered — and slumbered — and slumbered — while the wife has been robbed of her partner, the mother of her hopes, and life after life rashly and with an air of triumph sported away. It is distressing in a Christian country, and in churches consecrated to the religion of Jesus, to be obliged to attack a crime which outstrips barbarism, and would even sink the character of a generous savage. The fall of Hamilton owes its existence to mad deliberation, and is marked by violence. The time, the place, the circumstances are arranged with barbarous coolness. The instrument of death is leveled in daylight, and with well-directed skill pointed at his heart. The man upon whom nature seems originally to have impressed the stamp of greatness, the hero who, though a stripling, contributed to Washington's glory on the field, the statesman whose genius impressed itself upon the constitution of this country, the counselor who was at once the pride of the bar and the admiration of the court, whose argument no change of circumstances could embarrass — who without ever stopping, ever hesitating, by a rapid and manly march led the listening judge and the fascinated juror, step by step, through a delightful region, brightening as he advanced, till his argument rose to demonstration, and eloquence was rendered useless by conviction — the patriot whose integrity baffled the scrutiny of inquisition, the friend whose various worth opposing parties acknowledged while alive, and on whose tomb they unite with equal sympathy and grief to heap their honors, yielded to the force of an imperious custom; and, yielding, he sacrificed a life in which all had an interest — and he is lost — lost to his country — lost to his family — lost to us.

"I cannot forgive that minister at the altar who has hitherto forborne to remonstrate on this subject. I cannot forgive that public prosecutor, who, intrusted with the duty of avenging his country's wrongs, has seen

¹ *Bishop Moore's Letter*; *Rev. Dr. Mason's Letter*; *Reflections on Hamilton*, a paper written by himself the evening before the duel; *Will of Hamilton*, appointing John B. Church, Nicholas Fish, and Nathaniel Pendleton his executors and trustees.

those wrongs and taken no measures to avenge them. I cannot forgive that judge upon the bench, or that governor in the chair of state, who has lightly passed over such offenses. I cannot forgive the public, in whose opinion the duelist finds a sanctuary. . . . Do you ask how proof can be obtained? How can it be avoided? The parties return, hold up the instruments of death, publish to the world the circumstances of the interview, and even with an air of insulting triumph boast how coolly and how deliberately they proceeded in violating one of the most sacred laws of earth and heaven.

"Hamilton needs no eulogy. . . . In whatever sphere he moved the friendless had a friend, the fatherless a father, and the poor man, though unable to reward his kindness, found an advocate. . . . When truth was disregarded or the eternal principles of justice violated, he, sometimes soared so high and shone with a radiance so transcendent, I had almost said so 'heavenly, as filled those around him with awe, and gave to him the force and authority of a prophet' . . . His last act more than any other sheds glory on his character. . . . He dies a Christian. . . . Let not the sneering infidel persuade you that this last act of homage to the Saviour resulted from an enfeebled state of mental faculties; . . . his opinions concerning the validity of the Holy Scriptures had long been settled, and settled after laborious investigation and extensive and deep research. These opinions were not concealed. I knew them myself. Some of you who hear me knew them. And had his life been spared, it was his determination to have published them to the world, together with the facts and reasons upon which they were founded. . . . To the catalogue of professing Christians among illustrious personages may now be added the name of Alexander Hamilton; a name which raises in the mind the idea of whatever is great, whatever is splendid, whatever is illustrious in human nature."¹

The Legislature of New York was speedily memorialized for more stringent laws upon the subject of dueling; and Pinckney, the vice-president of the Cincinnati, proposed to the New York division of that society henceforward to set its face resolutely against the practice. Other societies passed resolutions in harmony with the same disposition. Religion and

¹ *Discourse* by Rev. Eliphalet Nott, D. D., July 29, 1804. President Nott was in severe domestic affliction at the time he delivered the above discourse, having lost his wife on the 9th of March, 1804. She was Sarah, the daughter of Rev. Joel Benedict, of Plainfield, Connecticut, and twenty-nine years of age at the time of her death; a lady rather small of stature, of fair complexion, expressive countenance, lighted with an uncommonly brilliant and penetrating eye, with a mind enriched by reading and taste refined by culture, and with great vivacity of manner. President Nott was born in 1773; he was the son of Rev. Samuel and Deborah Seddon Nott, of Connecticut. See p. 124 (Vol. II). *History of the White Family; The Benedicts in America*, p. 88.

humanity united in one deep, abiding frown. And since that time no man in New York, or in any other civilized State of this Union, has fought a duel without falling in the esteem of his contemporaries. Dueling had, strictly speaking, received its death-blow, and it never even temporarily revived.

"If," said Fisher Ames, "the popular estimation is ever to be taken for the true one, the uncommonly profound sorrow for the death of Alexander Hamilton sufficiently explains and vindicates itself. The public has not suddenly, but after an experience of five-and-twenty years, taken that impression of his just celebrity that nothing but his extraordinary intrinsic merit could have made, and still less could have made so deep and maintained so long. It is with really great men as with great literary works, the excellence of both is best tested by the extent and durability of their impression. It is safe and correct to judge by effects."

Three fourths of a century have since passed, and the facts and effects of Hamilton's life are now more vividly impressed upon the intelligence of America than ever before. And a fresh interest is awakening, not only in the genius, character, and services of the great statesman through whom New York took such a leading place in general affairs, but in the study of the origin and constitution of the nation whose existence has been vindicated by arms.

The Cincinnati erected a monumental tomb to his memory in Trinity Churchyard: and popular affection recorded his name indelibly upon the ever-forming map of the United States dozens of times repeated.



Tomb of Hamilton.

[Engraving by J. H. B. New York, 1854.]

CHAPTER XIII.

1804 - 1808.

INSTITUTIONS AND INVENTIONS.

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY. ITS FOUNDERS. — JUDGE EGBERT BENSON. — JOHN PINARD. — ORIGIN OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES IN AMERICA. — THE MEN OF LETTERS. — THE ELGIN BOTANICAL GARDEN. — DR. SAMUEL LATHAM MITCHILL. — CLUBS. — ORIGIN OF THE FREE SCHOOL SOCIETY. — ITS PURPOSE. — ITS FOUNDERS. — THOMAS EDDY. — INSANE ASYLUM. — SOME OF THE PUBLIC-SPIRITED MERCHANTS. — THE FRIENDLY CLUB. — PHILANTHROPIC LADIES. — THE ORPHAN ASYLUM. — THIRTY-THREE CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS. — THE ACADEMY OF FINE ARTS. — THE MEDICAL COLLEGE. — NEWSPAPERS. — SALMAGUNDI. — WASHINGTON IRVING. — FIRST STEAM-BOAT ON THE HUDSON. — ROBERT FULTON. — COLONEL JOHN STEVENS. — INVENTIONS AND EXPERIMENTS. — OCEAN STEAM NAVIGATION. — THE EMBARGO OF JEFFERSON.

THE peculiar intellectual and social condition of New York in the earliest decade of the present century is best illustrated through the institutions which were springing into existence. The movement of the human mind taken collectively is always towards something better. But neither philosophy, scientific achievement, literary culture, the art of government, nor religious knowledge can go much in advance of contemporary intelligence. The age furnishes the master-workman with materials, and from thence he builds. The growth of New York has ever been like a poem, whose beauty would be marred by leaving out a line here and there — or like a tree, whose fruit would be curtailed by rejecting as of no account a portion of its branches and its flowers. To become acquainted with the actual whole, every opening bud must be analyzed and weighed in the balance. No fact means anything when standing alone. Every fact becomes significant in proportion to the value of its setting, and so far as it reveals the quality and spirit of a people.

The careful reader, having traced in preceding chapters the results of New York's constant endeavor to provide means and methods for educating all classes of her restless, questioning population, is prepared for further developments in her elaborate machinery for the maintenance of public schools. And we have presently to draw more fully the

outline of her magnificent charities — the medicine for natural and moral evils — in which her generous extravagance has excelled through all her history that of any other city in the world. In the mean time a project was under consideration, neither educational nor charitable, but partaking of the nature of both, which was to become a priceless inheritance to all future generations.

Eleven well-known and highly accomplished and influential gentlemen met by appointment in the picture-room of the City Hall, in Wall Street, on the afternoon of the 20th of November, 1804, and agreed to organize a society for the collection and preservation of whatever might relate to the natural, civil, or ecclesiastical history of the United States in general, and of the great sovereign State of New York in particular. These gentlemen were Judge Egbert Benson, Mayor De Witt Clinton, the celebrated divines Rev. Dr. Samuel Miller, Rev. Dr. John M. Mason, Rev. Dr. John N. Abeel, and Rev. Dr. William Linn, and Dr. David Hosack, Anthony Bleecker, Samuel Bayard, Peter Gerard Stuyvesant, and John Pintard. After discussing the subject freely, a committee, consisting of Judge Benson, Rev. Dr. Miller, and John Pintard, was appointed to draft a constitution.



Judge Egbert Benson.

(From the collection. Painting by Gilbert Stuart.)

At a second meeting, on the 10th of December, other gentlemen of prominence were present, including Rufus King, Daniel D. Tompkins, and Rev. John H. Hobart. The constitution was read and adopted, and the institution thus founded was named the New York Historical Society.

The permanent officers were not chosen until the 14th of January, 1805, at which meeting the society was fully organized, with Judge Benson as president, Right Reverend Bishop Moore 1st vice-president, Judge Brockholst Livingston 2d vice-president, Rev. Dr. Miller corresponding secretary, John Pintard recording secretary, Charles Wilkes

treasurer, and John Forbes librarian. The first standing committee consisted of Dr. Samuel L. Mitchill, Dr. David Hosack, Daniel D. Tompkins, William Johnson, John McKesson, Anthony Bleecker, and Rev. Dr. Mason.

Active measures were at once taken to secure books, manuscripts, letters, documents, statistics, and newspapers relating directly or remotely to American history; and pictures, antiquities, medals, coins, and specimens of natural history were industriously sought for the formation of a museum. The beginning was broad and comprehensive, and the nucleus was soon constituted of the vast and valuable collection which has become the pride of the city, and which may well challenge comparison with museums of a similar character established and fostered by an older civilization.

John Pintard, the acknowledged founder of this time-honored institution, was an animated, cheerful, energetic man of forty-five, a New-Yorker by birth, a Huguenot by descent, who as a youth in Princeton College had enjoyed the special friendship of Dr. Witherspoon and formed a wide circle of learned and distinguished friends. He was early a student of public men and measures, and in addition to classical acquirements and familiarity with elegant literature, had some knowledge of law, and an exceptional fund of historical, geographical, and didactic information. Dr. Francis says: "He was versed in theological and polemical divinity, and in the progress of church affairs among us ever a devoted disciple. You could scarcely approach him without having something of Dr. Johnson thrust upon you. There were periods in his life in which he gave every unappropriated moment to philological inquiry, and it was curious to see him ransacking his formidable pile of dictionaries for radicals and synonyms with an earnestness that would have done honor to the most eminent student in the republic of letters."

He had traveled through the Western wilds and learned the history and habits of the Indians, was editor of *The New York Daily Advertiser* for several years; and upon his return from New Orleans in the spring of 1804 published a topographical and medical review of that French metropolis, having while there minutely examined the condition of things. He engaged in commercial enterprises, but was ever rendering important civic services to New York; he was the first city inspector, appointed in 1804, originated the first savings-bank, which was organized in the rooms of the New York Historical Society, was conspicuous in the formation of the American Bible Society, was the main-spring in the organization of the Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and was an efficient auxiliary in furtherance of the canal policy of his illustrious and intimate friend, De Witt Clinton. Dr. Francis says: "The first meeting of our citizens in recommendation of this vast

measure was brought together through John Pintard's instrumentality, at a time when to give it any countenance whatever was sure to bring upon the advocate of the ruinous measure the anathemas of certain of the political leaders of the day, and official proscription. I remember well how cautiously and how secretly many of those incipient meetings in favor of the contemplated project were convened; and how the manly bosom of Clinton often throbbed at the agonizing remarks the Opposition muttered in his hearing, and the hazard to his personal security which he sometimes encountered."

The idea which resulted in the formation of the New York Historical Society had long been cherished by John Pintard. He first became deeply impressed with the importance of preserving records of events while secretary for his uncle, the commissary for American prisoners in the Revolution. His plan gradually unfolded itself to the scholarly men of the period. As early as 1789 the celebrated Rev. Jeremy Belknap wrote from Boston to Postmaster-General Hazard, then residing in New York: "This day Mr. Pintard called to see me. He says he is an acquaintance of yours, and wants to form a society of antiquaries, etc. He seems to have a literary taste."¹ Hazard replied: "Mr. Pintard has mentioned to me his thoughts about an American Antiquarian Society. The idea pleases me much. Mr. Pintard has recently purchased a large collection (in volumes) relating to the American Revolution. It was made by Dr. Chandler, of Elizabethtown, who was in England all the war. It is valuable, as is Mr. Pintard's library." In October, 1790, Hazard wrote to Belknap, "I like Pintard's idea of a society of American antiquaries; but where will you find a sufficiency of members of suitable abilities and leisure?" In the spring following Pintard wrote to Belknap inquiring after the welfare of the contemplated institution, and informed the eminent theologian that a magazine account would soon appear of the New York Tammany Society. He said, "This being a strong national society, I engrafted an antiquarian scheme of a museum upon it. It makes small progress with a small fund, and may possibly succeed. We have a tolerable collection of pamphlets, mostly modern, with some history, of which I will send you an abstract. If your society succeeds we will open a regular correspondence, etc. If my plan once strikes root it will thrive."

Pintard's plan did strike root, and his prediction regarding its future

¹ *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, Vol. III, Fifth Series, *Belknap Papers*, Part II.; *Belknap to Hazard*, August 10, 1789; *Belknap to Hazard*, August 19, 1789; *Belknap to Hazard*, August 27, 1789; *Hazard to Belknap*, September 5, 1789; *Hazard to Belknap*, October 3, 1790; *Pintard to Belknap*, April 6, 1791. *Proceedings of Mass. Hist. Soc.*, 1791-1835.

prosperity proved correct. The Massachusetts Historical Society, with Belknap at its head, was organized in 1791. Thirteen years later the New York Historical Society entered upon a healthful existence, being the second institution of its kind in America. To Pintard is due the honor of originating both; indeed, he may with justice be pronounced the Father of Historical Societies in this country.

The men of letters who comprised its first membership did vastly more than establish the high character of the New York Historical Society upon a solid and permanent basis. They were instrumental in directing public attention throughout the land to the preservation of contemporary records as the data from which all future history must receive its true impress. The amazing perversion of facts by political writers at that particular epoch was an additional stimulus to fidelity in historical research grounded upon documentary testimony. In New York, garrets and trunks were ransacked for letters and papers which had been cast aside as worthless, scattered documents were rescued from oblivion, and ere long material of consequence was concentrated and made available for reference. Prior to 1804 but one history of New York had been printed, that of Smith, and this came down only to 1756. But the Society never rested until the period of our colonial history was as well known as that of a later date; it procured an action of the Legislature by which the archives of France, Holland, and England were examined, and it restored to the State government on more than one occasion important portions of its long-lost documents; it has also issued of its own publications twenty-four volumes, in addition to many historical essays and addresses in pamphlet form. Its accumulations, during the three fourths of a century since its foundation, have been so extensive, varied, and of such rare worth, that an architectural structure is contemplated of sufficient magnitude for their proper accommodation.¹

¹ The New York Historical Society first occupied a room in the old City Hall in Wall Street from 1804 to 1809, then removed to the Government House opposite the Bowling Green, and remained from 1809 to 1816, occupied the New York Institution from 1816 to 1832, Remson's Building, in Broadway, from 1832 to 1837, Stuyvesant's Institute from 1837 to 1841, the New York University from 1841 to 1857, and, after struggling with pecuniary difficulties that were almost destructive, came out of the trial triumphant, and celebrated its fifty-third anniversary by taking possession of its present building on the corner of Second Avenue and Eleventh Street, which, when projected and erected, was supposed capable of permanently providing for the needs of the Society. Material poured in so profusely, however, that before 1860 the officers in charge complained of want of space; and for twenty years past the subject has been agitated of removing the magnificent collection to a more suitable location in the upper part of the city — thus establishing a "Museum of History, Antiquities, and Art," which will not only be an honor to New York but to the continent of America. Plans for this object are now under consideration.

The founders of the New York Historical Society deserve more than a passing notice. They represented the highest culture of the city, and were veritable educators of the public taste. Special committees appointed to further the studies of zoölogy, botany, mineralogy, philosophy, and other subjects developed into separate societies. Art, science, and literature were encouraged and fostered. The influence of the institution became not only a blessing but a power; and its example was borrowed by the forming communities in the country at large, until similar organizations are to be found in nearly every county in the State, and in all the large cities of the United States.

Judge Benson, the first president of this ancestor of the great family of Historical Societies in America, was a native of New York, educated in Columbia College, identified through a life of usefulness with the progress of the city, and had distinguished himself in State legislation, in Congress, and in jurisprudence. He had reached his sixtieth year honored and beloved. His integrity was a proverb. He was a man of superior talents as well as of efficient excellence, a ripe English and classical scholar, and well versed in Indian lore and Dutch history. Among his writings left us is an exhaustive paper on the subject of "Names," which, after reading before the Historical Society in 1816, he printed in a small pamphlet; it is now a rare antiquarian curiosity.¹ With the scholarship and accomplish-

¹ *Memories*, by Egbert Benson, entitled *Names* ("chiefly names of places, and further restricted to places in that portion of our country once held and claimed by the Dutch by right of discovery, and by them named New Netherland"), printed 1817. Judge Egbert Benson was born 1746, died 1833. He was the son of Robert Benson (2), born 1712, died 1762, who was the son of Robert Benson (1), born 1686, who was the son of Samson Benson, born 1652, — married the daughter of Robert Van Deusen — who was the son of the first of the family in New York, Dirck Benson — or Bensing, Bensinck, Bensick, Bensich, as the name was variously entered upon the Dutch and English records. Dirck Benson came from Holland with the first settlers on the Van Rensselaer manor, and his arms were painted upon the window of the first church in Albany; in 1653, according to the land papers, he purchased a lot in Broadway, New York City. He seems to have been a man of property and importance among the men of his time. He had five children, of whom Samson was the second son. Samson had seven children, three of whom were daughters; Elizabeth married Egbert Van Borsum. Robert (1), second son of Samson, had three children: 1. Elizabeth, married Hermanus Rutgers, whose son Robert married Elizabeth Beekman, and daughter Mary married Anthony M. Hoffman; 2. Catharine, married Colonel Martin Hoffman; 3. Robert (2), married his cousin, Catharine, daughter of Egbert and Elizabeth Benson Van Borsum. The children of the latter were: 1. Robert (3), Secretary of the Convention which adopted the constitution of New York, born 1739, died 1823; 2. Henry; 3. Judge Egbert, above mentioned, who never married; 4. Anthony; 5. Mary; 6. Cornelia. Robert (3) married Dinah, the beautiful daughter of John Conwenhoven, whose children were: 1. Robert (4); 2. Catharine, married John L. Lefferts; 3. Egbert, who was a personal friend of Henry Clay and many of the great men of his time, married Maria, daughter of John Conwenhoven, and his children were, Susan, Robert (5), Egbert, George M., Leffert L., Maria E., Henry,

ments of the two first vice-presidents, Bishop Moore and Judge Brockholst Livingston, the reader is already familiar. Rev. Dr. John M. Mason was esteemed the greatest pulpit orator of his time. He was forty-four years of age, of noble and peerless bearing and marvelous erudition. Animation of manner, warmth of temperament, vigor of thought, and energy of diction were his special characteristics. He temporized with no errors, and was intimidated by no obstacles. Lethargy and indifference found little repose within sound of his voice. Through his efforts a theological seminary was established in New York in 1804, of which he was appointed professor. Rev. Dr. Linn was distinguished alike for pulpit eloquence and varied scholarship. He was untiring in his efforts to promote the interests of the society, and was laden with historical materials. Rev. Dr. Miller was about thirty-five, and had already acquired much reputation as a theological and polemical writer. His *Brief Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century*, published in 1803, marks an era in our literature; and according to a British critic its author richly deserved the praises of both hemispheres. He was a Presbyterian pastor in New York from 1793 to 1813, when he became a professor of Ecclesiastical History and Church Government in the Theological Seminary at Princeton. So deeply were his sympathies engaged in the objects of the Historical Society, that he contemplated a History of New York, and collected extensive materials for that purpose.

Another eminent divine, whose high character and literary attainments rendered him an important auxiliary, was Rev. Dr. John N. Abeel. He was of the same age as Rev. Dr. Miller, young, magnetic, full of life and vivacity, and the possessor of a voice of much sweetness and melody. He was a polished speaker, and rarely failed to capture the attention of an audience. Dr. David Hosack was also thirty-five; he had had the advantage of medical training in Edinburgh and London, under the most celebrated professors of the age. When he returned to New York in 1794, he brought the first collection of minerals introduced into America; also a collection of the duplicate specimens of plants from the herbarium of Linnæus, now constituting a portion of the Museum of the Lyceum of Natural History in the city. While a professor of Botany in Columbia College, he founded the Elgin Botanical Garden, in 1801, a work of princely munificence, where amid twenty cultivated acres he illustrated

Richard H. ; 4. John, married Sarah M., daughter of Augustine H. Lawrence, whose children were, Robert Augustine, Catharine, Sarah — married the Hon. David Stuart — and Julia ; 5. Maria, married Judge Leffert Lefferts, whose daughter, Elizabeth Dorothea, married the Hon. J. Carson Brevoort ; 6. Elizabeth ; 7. Jane, married Richard K. Hoffman, M. D., whose daughter Helena married Benjamin Woolsey Rogers. — *Family Archives*.

to his classes the mysteries of the vegetable kingdom — the loves and habits of plants and trees.¹ He was one of the original projectors of the Literary and Philosophical Society, besides giving much of his time and talent to historical pursuits; he was president of the Historical Society from 1820 to 1828. The presence of Samuel Bayard and Peter G. Stuyvesant at the inauguration of the Society was significant. They were gentlemen of education, culture, wealth, public spirit, and benevolence, and they bore names dear to the New York heart. Bayard resided in New Jersey, where he had done much to promote learning. His wife was Martha Pintard, a cousin of John Pintard. But although living in another State, he was essentially a New-Yorker, and like Stuyvesant contributed no little to perpetuate the fame of his ancestors.

Anthony Bleecker excelled all others in devotion to the future character of New York. His taste was indispensable to every arrangement for the good of the prospective Society. He was remarkable for generous sympathy as well as literary instinct, and was a favorite with all the men of letters of his time. Mayor De Witt Clinton was everywhere helpful. He believed the institution would perform a double service through the clearing of the way for other herculean enterprises already taking shape in his mind. He was an intellectual giant. Comprehending the great needs of the community at large, he could also note the intermediate steps to remarkable achievements. Few men were ever more industrious, or applied genius and industry to higher and more important ends. His scholarship was as varied as his usefulness. Metaphysics, theology, poetry, belles lettres, natural history, zoölogy, botany, mineralogy, ichthyology, and ornithology, all in turn occupied his attention. His collection of minerals in after years formed one of the most valuable private cabinets in the United States. He was elected an honorary member of many learned societies in Great Britain and on the continent of Europe, and corresponded with

¹ The Elgin Botanical Garden became the resort of the curious. It was on Murray Hill near the site now occupied by the Roman Catholic Cathedral, covering the ground between Fifty-first and Forty-seventh Streets, and Fifth and Sixth Avenues. Here Michaux, Barton, Mitchell, Doughty, Pursh, and Le Conte often repaired to solve the doubts of the cryptogamist, or to confirm the nuptial theory of Vaillant. Torrey, the eminent naturalist and public benefactor, was a pupil of Dr. Hosack, as was also Professor Gray. Since Dr. Hosack's death the botanical nomenclature enrolls no less than sixteen species of plants of different regions under the genus *Hosackia*. (*Old New York*, by Dr. John W. Francis.) François A. Michaux, mentioned above, was the only child of André Michaux, far famed through his *Oaks of North America*, and his *Flora*. Young Michaux was the author, in 1804, of *A Journey to the West of the Alleghena Mountains*, to which was added a work on *Forest Trees*, through his influence a great number of American forest trees were planted in the Garden of Plants, in Paris, where he resided through a long and useful life. Frederic Pursh was the author of the *Flora America Septentrionalis*, and for several years the curator of the Elgin Botanical Garden.

the most distinguished men of the age.¹ The scientist, Dr. Samuel Latham Mitchill, of the first standing committee, was one of the strong pillars of the Society through all its tender years. He possessed an exceptional memory, with unusual opportunities for collecting and collating information. He was in the national councils at Washington the greater part of the first dozen years of the century, but he found time to be of essential service to New York notwithstanding his numerous occupations. His medical career, professional labors, political services, and literary and scientific writings all give evidence of superior merit; he was a sort of human dictionary, whose opinion was sought by all originators and inventors of every grade throughout his entire generation. He edited the *Medical Repository*, commenced in 1797, for sixteen years, in which he was aided by Dr. Edward Miller. His analysis of the Saratoga waters greatly enhanced the value and importance of those wonderful mineral springs. His mineralogical survey of the State of New York in 1796, of which he published a report in the first volume of the *Medical Repository*, gave Volney many hints. It was the first undertaking of the kind in the United States, and secured its author a wide reputation. His ingenious theory of the doctrines of septon and septic acid gave impulse to Sir Humphry Davy's vast discoveries; and his essays on pestilence awakened inquiry all over the world. As early as 1788 he had served as a commissioner to treat with the Iroquois Indians for the purchase of lands in Western New York; and in 1793 we find him in company with Chancellor Livingston and Simeon De Witt establishing the Society for the Promotion of Agriculture, Manufactures, and the Useful Arts. Duyckink enumerates one hundred and eighty-nine distinct achievements or important acts of Dr. Mitchill's busy life.² In course of years he became an active member of nearly all the learned societies of the world.

Dr. Mitchill's versatility of talent has been the theme of many writers. The wits of the day ridiculed his hospitality to new ideas, and perpetrated

¹ While yet quite young De Witt Clinton became a member of the ancient fraternity of Freemasons, which included such men as Washington, Lafayette, Franklin, Pinckney, Marshall, and Chancellor Livingston; and in 1816 he was unanimously elected to the highest masonic office in this country, which he retained until his death.

² The first reads thus: "Returns from Europe with the diploma of M. D. from Edinburgh, obtained in 1786 — after having been initiated into the mysteries of Freemasonry, in the Latin Lodge of the Roman Eagle, by the famous Joannes Bruno, 1787." Dr. Samuel Latham Mitchill was born in North Hempstead, Queens County, Long Island, August 20, 1764; died in New York City, 1831. Through his maternal uncle, Dr. Samuel Latham, of the same village, he was placed under the instruction of Dr. Leonard Cutting (who was classically educated at Cambridge, England), and afterwards went to Edinburgh to complete his studies, remaining nearly four years, a contemporary student with Thomas Addis Emmet and Sir James Mackintosh, and while there enjoyed the best intellectual society in Scotland.

all manner of jokes at his expense, which he seemed to enjoy as well as the rest of the town. His faith in steam navigation was a special object of satire, he having warmly advocated in the Legislature the passage of the act of 1798, which conferred the right upon Chancellor Livingston to navigate the waters of New York by steam; and he had the satisfaction, in 1807, of turning the tables upon those who laughed, by sailing in the first steamboat to Albany.

In 1804 he advocated with considerable ingenuity a new name for the country to meet the supposed want of a national term for the people of the United States, and there was a lively debate upon the subject in the new Historical Society. He hit upon "Fredonia" as suggestive of a generous idea, and thus the inhabitants would be Fredes, or Fredonians; but the geographical limits of the country filled up so rapidly that the appellation of "American" continued to prevail and was not esteemed inappropriate. He was both a versifier and a poet, and amused himself at odd moments in humorous fancies and in the production of scientific poems. On one occasion a friend found him after breakfast in the charitable improvement of nursery rhymes. He said: "I have found that the verses commencing

‘Four-and-twenty blackbirds, etc.’

abound with errors, and the infantile mind is led astray by false ideas of the musical functions of cooked birds; I have therefore arranged it thus:—

‘When the pie was opened the birds they were songless,
Was not that a pretty dish to set before the Congress?’”

In the next breath the learned doctor might have been absorbed in the anatomy of an egg or a fish, deciphering a Babylonian brick, studying the character of meteoric stones, the different species of brassia, or the geology of Niagara, offering suggestions concerning the angle of a wind-mill or the shape of the gridiron, advising with Michaux on the beauty of black walnut for parlor furniture, investigating bivalves and discoursing on conchology with Dr. Samuel Akerly, his brother-in-law, talking over the feasibility of introducing the Bronx River into the city with Professor Colles, or in a profound exegetical disquisition on Kennicott's Hebrew Bible with the great Jewish Rabbi, Gershom Seixas. On one occasion a committee of soap-boilers begged him to defend the innoxious influence of their vocation in a crowded population. For his services rendered to the democratic soap-boilers Chancellor Livingston humorously told him he “deserved a monument of hard soap.”

Among the social institutions of the period was the Krout Club, its members being descendants of the early Dutch settlers, and one of its principal features was an annual dinner where cabbage was served in an end-

less variety of dishes. The presiding officer was called the "Grand Krout," and it was customary immediately after his election to crown him with a cabbage-head nicely fashioned, throwing at the same instant a mantle of cabbage-leaves about his shoulders. Dr. Mitchell, while thus arrayed as master of a cabbage feast, once delivered a most amusing eulogistic address on the cabbage, closing with the words, "Thy name has been abused, as if 'to cabbage' were to pilfer or steal. I repel with indignation this attempt to sully thy fame." The Turtle Club, comprising the "solid men" of the city, was in the habit of feasting annually on turtle, usually in a shady grove at Hoboken, and Dr. Mitchell also addressed this social clan in one of his happiest strains of humor, stating that "the turtle, by an odd perversion of language, means the cooing bird of Fredonia, and also the four-footed reptile of Bahama." He frequently addressed the ladies through the medium of the Drone Club on the healthful influence of the alkalies, and the depurating virtues of white-washing. He seemed to be equally at home on all subjects, and possessed a charm of manner and a magnetism of mind that was unusual. He did much to advance the public and private interests of New York, and elevate her scholastic reputation throughout the world.

At the important meeting when the constitution of the Historical Society was adopted additional persons were present, whose names reflect luster upon the organization: Rev. Dr. John Bowden, for a dozen years professor of Moral Philosophy and Belles Lettres in Columbia College; Rev. Dr. John C. Kunze, among the most learned divines and Oriental scholars of his day, and the first to strongly urge the propriety of educating German youth in English; John Kemp, the eminent mathematician, chosen a member of the Royal Society of Edinburgh before he was twenty-one, and who filled not only the chair of Mathematics, but that of History, Geography, and Chronology in Columbia College for a long series of years; Rev. Dr. William Harris, rector of St. Mark's Church from 1802 to 1816, a classical scholar of rare proficiency, versed in ecclesiastical history, who was afterwards president of Columbia College for many years; Peter Wilson, a notable linguist, who possessed much other knowledge of value to the new institution; John Murray, Jr., a clever man, a lover of the arts, a philanthropist, and an early and ardent promoter of our free-school system; and Dr. Archibald Bruce, a young physician of twenty-eight, who, graduating from Columbia in 1795, soon after made the tour of France, Switzerland, and Italy, and collected a mineralogical cabinet of great value — becoming indeed the first professor of mineralogy in this country, and edited the *Journal of American Mineralogy*. Rev. John Henry Hobart, subsequently Episcopal Bishop of New York, then thirty years

of age, Daniel D. Tompkins, shortly to be elected governor of the State, and Rufus King, recently returned from his mission to England, are more fully introduced to the reader elsewhere.

It will be observed that the Faculty of Columbia College furnished a strong delegation to aid in the formation of this society — and also that several of its founders were Regents of the University. Ex-Governor John Jay from his Bedford retirement rendered substantial encouragement; and his son, Peter Augustus Jay, contributed largely to the material for a library. His benefactions embraced much of that curious accumulation of periodicals published before the Revolution. He said, "A file of American newspapers is of far more value to our design than all the Byzantine historians." John McKesson was a large contributor of Legislative documents, of which were the Journals of the Provincial Congress and Convention, together with the proceedings of the Committee of Safety from May, 1775, to the adoption of the State Constitution in 1777. From the beginning the institution comprehended a rare amount of influence and literary and scientific enthusiasm, and it was sustained and fostered by the erudite and the accomplished. Its membership through all its history has represented the best scholarship of the country and the age. Its presidents — Egbert Benson, Gouverneur Morris, De Witt Clinton, David Hosack, James Kent, Morgan Lewis, Peter G. Stuyvesant, Peter Augustus Jay, Albert Gallatin, Luther Bradish, Rev. Dr. De Witt, Hamilton Fish, Augustus Schell, and Frederic De Peyster — have been nearly all men of national reputation.

In the mean time the subject of common schools was discussed with renewed earnestness. New York had not hitherto been destitute. Ever since the Dutch provided schools at the public expense opportunity had been afforded for universal education; nearly every church supported a school of its own, and other charity free schools and private schools abounded. There were in the city at this date one hundred and forty-one teachers actively employed. But the population of the city was increasing rapidly, and its enlightened citizens saw the tide of European emigration drifting multitudes to her shores whose children would grow up hopelessly ignorant, easy victims to vice and crime, unless the way was prepared for them to receive the rudiments of knowledge. Public economy and self-preservation, not less than religious duty, urged the work forward. Several of the philanthropic founders of the Historical Society discussed the subject, and finally, through the advice of Thomas Eddy, a meeting was called on the 19th of February, at the house of John Murray, Jr., in Pearl Street. It was resolved to form a society of which the membership fee should be eight dollars; but the subscription list,

1805.

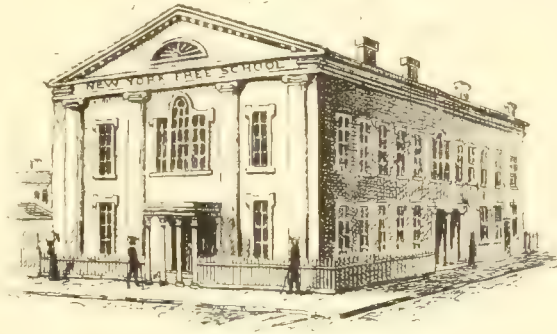
still preserved, was headed by Mayor De Witt Clinton with a donation of two hundred dollars, and other influential men gave in proportion. John Pintard, the city inspector, was constantly on the alert to advance the enterprise. Clinton, while secretary of the Board of Regents of the University, had imbibed the liberal humanitarian spirit that characterized New York, and being elected a State senator, in addition to the mayoralty of the city, he was able to bring the subject with uncommon vigor before the Legislature. The result was the institution of a free school, independent of and in nowise interfering with the schools already provided by churches, corporations, and charities. Thirty-seven names were mentioned in the Act of Incorporation, and the society was entitled "the Society for establishing a Free School in the city of New York, for the education of such poor children as do not belong to or are not provided for by any religious society." Thirteen trustees were appointed to manage the affairs of the society, of whom Mayor Clinton was president, John Murray, Jr., vice-president, Leonard Bleeker treasurer, and Benjamin D. Perkins secretary. As soon as the society assumed responsible form, the State rendered moderate pecuniary aid, and the city voted a modest appropriation. In April, 1806, Colonel Henry Rutgers

1806. generously donated the site for a school-house in Henry Street. The first school was opened the next month in an apartment of a house in Bancker, now Madison, Street, with forty scholars; the corporation of the city presently offered for temporary accommodation a building adjacent to the almshouse, in which the school flourished two years.

In 1808 the charter was altered and the name of the corporation changed to the "Free School Society of the City of New York." About the same time the tenement occupied proving greatly inadequate to the demand for admission, the city presented to the society an extensive lot of ground in Chatham Street, where a convenient brick edifice was erected to accommodate five hundred pupils in one room. In the lower story were apartments for the family of the teacher, for the meeting of the trustees, and for another school of one hundred and fifty pupils.¹

¹ The following gentlemen contributed to the erection of this building (upon which was expended some thirteen thousand dollars) either in building materials or otherwise: Abraham Russell, William Wickham, William Tilton, Whitehead Hicks, M. M. Titus, Richard Titus, Joseph Watkins, J. G. Pierson & Brothers, B. W. Rogers & Co., Richard Speaight, Abraham Bussing, Daniel Beach, P. Schermerhorn, Jr., Thomas Stevenson, Thomas Smyth, John McKie, Isaac Sharpless, Jones & Clinch, George Youle, John Youle, Forman Cheeseman, John Rooke, George Lindsay, Jonathan Dixon, J. Sherred, Alexander Campbell, William & G. Post, Joel Davis, Henry Hillman, Ebenezer Bassett, Peter Fenton, William McKenney. — *History of the Public School Society*, by William Oland Bourne, A. M.; *De Witt Clinton's Address*; *History of Public Education in the City of New York*, by Thomas Boese; *Reports of the Board of Education*; *Public School Documents*.

The building was finished and dedicated on the 11th of December, 1809, at which time De Witt Clinton, president of the society from 1805 to 1828, delivered a soul-stirring and memorable address, in which he said, calling attention to the donation of Colonel Rutgers, worth at least twenty-five hundred dollars, and to the condition of one of the deeds which made it necessary to build a school-house thereon before June, 1811—while warmly recommending its accomplishment—"The law from which we derive our corporate existence does not confine us to one seminary, but contemplates the establishment of schools." The benevolence of New York promptly responded to the appeal, and an additional subscription of over thirteen thousand dollars enabled the society to lay the cornerstone of the second structure on the 11th of November, 1810. The ceremony was performed by the munificent donor of the site, in presence of a large concourse of people. The next year two large lots, corner of Hudson and Grove



First Free-School Building, erected in 1809.

Streets, were given to the society by the vestry of Trinity Church for the erection of a third school building. By 1825 the one free school had multiplied into six, and the following March the Legislature, at the request of the trustees, changed the name of the corporate body to "The Public School Society of the City of New York," the schools by that time having ceased to be charity schools, and henceforward open to all without distinction of sect or circumstances.

The original corporators of what was so soon to become the gigantic public school system of New York City were, Mayor De Witt Clinton, Samuel Osgood, Brockholst Livingston, John Murray, Jr., Jacob Morton, Thomas Eddy, Daniel D. Tompkins, John Pintard, Thomas Pearsall, Rev. Dr. Samuel Miller, Joseph Constant, Robert Bowne, Matthew Clarkson, Archibald Gracie, John McVickar, Charles Wilkes, Henry Ten Broeck, Gilbert Aspinwall, Valentine Seaman, William Johnson, William Coit, Matthew Franklin, Adrian Hegeman, Leonard Bleecker, Benjamin G. Minturn, Thomas Franklin, Samuel Russell, Samuel Doughty, Alexander Robertson, Samuel Torbert, John Withington, William Edgar,

George Turnbull, William Boyd, Jacob Mott, Benjamin Egbert, Thomas Farmer, and Dr. Samuel Latham Mitchill. They were men of different religious persuasions and political parties, and represented nearly every profession, as well as the commercial and social life of the city, embracing more solid worth and real and merited distinction than is usually found among an equal number of individuals. The common welfare and the common safety in the broadest catholicity of spirit was the goal. No sect or creed, nationality or name, was to be known in admitting scholars. Thus with open-hearted hospitality the metropolis welcomed the perpetually arriving hosts from other States and countries. As New York had been foremost on this continent in establishing, after the manner of Oxford, a university, to which was intrusted the superintendence of all colleges and seminaries of learning within the State, and as her eldest college, Columbia, exacted, it is said, of a candidate for admission more classical and other knowledge than any other college in the United States, it is the more interesting to note the sound policy with which provision was made for the education of the humblest and most destitute within her borders.

Thomas Eddy was a philanthropist of the highest order, and his life was in a certain sense spent for the good of New York. He was the son of a Philadelphia Quaker, but removed to New York at an early age. He was not quite fifty at the time his exertions helped to found the first free school, and for months he spent his leisure moments in going through the lanes and back streets looking up children, and devising ways and means for the success of the undertaking. He had already been for years laboring to change the penal code of the State and establish a new penitentiary system. His doctrine was the prevention of crime by eradicating vice; and at a later period we shall find him prominent in founding the Society for the Reformation of Juvenile Delinquents, and also with De Witt Clinton and others projecting the Bloomingdale Asylum for the insane. It was through his influence, as one of the governors of the New York Hospital, that the first hospital for the insane was erected in 1807; he became deeply interested in the treatment of lunatics, and corresponded with philanthropists in every part of the world upon that delicate subject. He was actively concerned in nearly all the other great charities of his time.

Charles Wilkes was president of the Bank of New York. He was a nephew of the celebrated John Wilkes, the member of Parliament who figured in English politics for a long period, and the brother of John Wilkes, a lawyer residing in Wall Street, whose son Charles, born in 1801, was the famous naval commander, hero of the capture of *Mason*

and Slidell.¹ Alexander Robertson was an educated Scotchman of about thirty-three, who, removing to New York some years before, had developed artistic gifts of superior order: he was recognized as a successful portrait-painter, and became secretary of the Academy of Fine Arts. Matthew Clarkson's name is familiar to the reader. He was called to the presidency of the Bank of New York in 1804, which position he retained until a few days before his death, a period of twenty-one years. He was also the senior vice-president of the American Bible Society. De Witt Clinton said, "Wherever a charitable or public-spirited institution was about to be established Clarkson's presence was considered essential. His sanction became a passport to public approbation." His name is associated with the foundation of nearly all the early meritorious societies of New York, whether intended for education, culture, relief, or protection. Chancellor Kent said, "His portrait presents an elevation of moral grandeur 'above all Greek, above all Roman fame.' It belongs to Christianity alone to form and to animate such a character." In private life no man was more beloved for amiable qualities.

Gilbert Aspinwall was a wealthy importer and owner of ships, the prominent representative of a family of princely merchants whose history for upwards of a century is interwoven with that of the city. He lived in a large commodious mansion in Beaver Street, corner of Broadway, afterwards the home of his son-in-law, John Van Buren. He was a man of fine tastes and no inconsiderable learning, of great financial ability, of large benevolence, and of many social attractions. He was one of The Friendly Club, which flourished for many years before and a few years after the death of Washington—until annihilated by political differences. This club included among its members Chancellor Kent, Charles Brockden Brown, Anthony Bleecker, Dr. Edward Miller, John McVickar, William Walton Woolsey, George Muirson Woolsey, William Dunlap, and Dr. Samuel Latham Mitchell; it met at the houses of its members in rotation every Tuesday evening, and it was the duty of the host to direct conversation through the reading of a passage from some favorite author. At the close of the discussion light refreshments—wine, cake,

¹ When the Bank of New York first commenced business in 1784, Charles Wilkes was its principal teller. In 1794 he was made cashier. Gulian Verplanck was then president. He was subsequently elevated to the presidency of the institution, and remained in the directorship to the end of his life. His son, Hamilton Wilkes, married a daughter of Henry A. Coster. Commander Charles Wilkes married the sister of Professor Renwick. The Slidells were also a New York family, and lived on Broadway. John Slidell was president of the General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen in the early part of the century, and from 1810 to 1817, was the first president of the Mechanics' Bank. His son, John Slidell, the future senator, and Commander Wilkes were neighbors and playmates in childhood.

etc.—were served without ceremony. Gilbert Aspinwall was the son of Captain John Aspinwall, a vestryman of Trinity Church before the Revolution, whose country-seat was at Flushing; and his brother, John Aspinwall, was his partner in business.

John McVickar was also an importer and ship-owner. He was a tall, sharp-featured, courtly man, with a kindly eye, a smile of singular sweetness, and a mouth and chin indicative of an unbending will. He was rich and respected, able and generous. He was noted for his prominence in building churches, and was constantly aiding the clergy—also unobtrusively assisting deserving young merchants in trouble. It was a common remark in disastrous times among business men, “Well, who is McVickar going to help to-day?” His wife was Ann, daughter of John Moore, first cousin of Bishop Moore, and the sister of Lady Dongan. He had nine children, to all of whom he gave a liberal education, and the benefit of a tour through Europe. His son John was the accomplished professor in Columbia College, who married the daughter of the famous Dr. Bard; another son, Archibald, after graduating from Columbia, went to England and finished his education at Cambridge, then married Catharine, daughter of Judge Brockholst Livingston; still another son, Benjamin, married Isaphane, daughter of Isaac Lawrence, president of the United States Bank in New York; and one of his daughters, Augusta, married Judge William Jay, the youngest son of the chief justice.

Archibald Gracie was another great merchant doing business with all parts of the world. Oliver Wolcott, who knew him intimately, said “he was one of the excellent of the earth—actively liberal, intelligent, seeking and rejoicing in occasions to do good.” His wealth was enormous, even after he lost over a million of dollars through the Berlin and Milan decrees. Josiah Quincy was entertained by him at dinner while passing through New York on his journey to Washington in 1805, and described his country-seat on the East River, opposite Hell-Gate, as beautiful beyond description. “A deep, broad, rapid stream glances with an arrowy fleetness by the shore, hurrying along every species of vessel which the extensive country affords. The water, broken by the rocks which lie in the midst of the current into turbulent waves, dashing, foaming, and spending their force upon the rocks, and the various courses every vessel has to shape in order to escape from the dangers of the famous pass, present a constant change and novelty in this enchanting scene. The shores of Long Island, full of cultivated prospects and interspersed with elegant country-seats, bound the distant view. The mansion is elegant, in the modern style, and the grounds laid out with taste in gardens.” Among the other guests

at Mr. Gracie's dinner-table on this occasion were, Oliver Wolcott, who resided in the city for a dozen or more years after he retired from the Treasury, becoming the first president of the Merchants' Bank, Judge Pendleton, Hamilton's second in the fatal duel, and Dr. Hosack, who subsequently married the widow of the Holland merchant, Henry A. Coster, who was then residing at his country-seat on the East River, near the foot of Thirtieth Street.¹

Of Archibald Gracie, whose beautiful ships and well-known red and white private signal were familiar in every sea, no more endearing memory exists



Residence of Archibald Gracie.

[On East River at House Block, corner of Port and of English Street.]

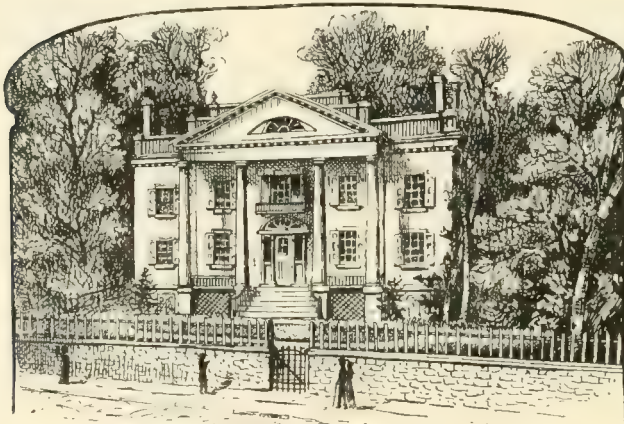
than that of his intelligent and far-reaching sympathy in the free-school enterprise. His manliness and liberality are recorded in imperishable colors. He said ignorance was the cause as well as the effect of bad governments, and the rational powers must first be cultivated if we would entertain just ideas of the obligations of morality or the excellences of religion. The fundamental error of Europe was, in his opinion, the infamous neglect of the education of her poor. Magnificent colleges and universities, dedicated to literature, were all very well, but it was a cardinal mistake to withhold appropriations for diffusing knowledge among the lower classes. He gave a strong impulse to the movement from which millions have already reaped benefits beyond price. Mrs. Gracie was an educated lady of rare culture, and their domestic life was of the purest, sweetest, and most charming character. She was Esther Rogers, sister of

¹ The first wife of Dr. Hosack was the sister of Thomas Eddy the philanthropist.

the distinguished merchant brothers, Fitch, Henry, Moses, and Nehemiah Rogers, three of whom founded three great mercantile houses in the city. Her sons were men of sterling character, and her daughters were among the best informed and most attractive ladies in New York, two of whom married sons of Hon. Rufus King, and a third married Hon. William Beach Lawrence.

Between Gracie's Point — which the traveler on the East River may now recognize by an enormous tree towering above the bluff, nearly or quite two centuries old — and the city were at that date numerous country-places and fine grounds of special historic interest, of which the Beekman mansion near Fifty-first Street, and the Kip mansion on the line of Thirty-fifth Street, have been illustrated in the earlier pages of this work.¹ Between these two, overlooking Turtle Bay near Forty-

first Street, stood the summer residence of Francis Bayard Winthrop, a descendant of Governor Winthrop, who married the daughter of Moses Rogers, and after her death, Elizabeth, daughter of William Walton Woolsey.² In architectural appearance the Winthrop mansion was



The Coster Mansion.

[On East River, near Thirtieth Street, purchased by Ann S. Phelps in 1851.]

similar to that of the Beekmans, except that it was flanked by two octagon wings. At a more modern period it was known as the Cutting homestead. The Coster mansion was more of the Grecian type of architecture, then much in vogue upon Manhattan Island.³ It was finely shaded, and a smooth-cut lawn extended to the river's edge.

¹ See Vol. I. 159, 569. The residences of Peter Gerard Stuyvesant and his brother Nicholas Stuyvesant are illustrated in Vol. I. 217.

² The wife of Moses Rogers was Sarah, sister of William Walton Woolsey, and of Mary, the wife of President Timothy Dwight of Yale College. William Walton Woolsey's wife was Elizabeth, sister of President Dwight, and granddaughter of President Edwards. He was a great sugar refiner and merchant, and held many public offices and trusts. His son, Theodore Dwight Woolsey, born in New York in 1801, was President of Yale College from 1846 to 1871.

³ Henry A. Coster owned a handsome residence also in Chambers Street. His wealth and

In the mean time, while the foundation was being laid for the golden records of the Free School Society, a number of the cultivated and influential ladies of New York originated a scheme of usefulness similar to that of the industrial schools of a later date, except that the teaching was gratuitous. Mrs. Isabella Graham, her daughter, Mrs. Joanna Bethune, mother of Rev. Dr. George Washington Bethune, the celebrated divine, author, and poet, and Mrs. Sarah Hoffman were foremost in this endeavor to throw light into the habitations of the destitute. A meeting was called February 11, 1804, and twenty-nine ladies assembled in the parlors of Josiah Ogden Hoffman. It was resolved to visit the poor districts personally, in pairs for mutual protection, and devote certain specified hours of the day to the work of instruction. As it was before the establishment of Sabbath schools in the city, and while the pressing need of a non-sectarian free school was agitating the community, the self-imposed duties of these philanthropists may be easily conjectured.

In the course of two following years other ladies of commanding social position joined the charitable coterie, among whom was Mrs. John McVickar, Mrs. Coster, and the wife of Major Fairlie. The question of providing for the orphan children of deceased widows was again and again discussed, and it was finally decided to appeal to the benevolent public. A meeting was called on the 15th of March, 1806, when the New York Orphan Asylum Society was organized, with Mrs. Sarah Hoffman 1806 first directress, Mrs. Alexander Hamilton second directress, Mrs. Bethune treasurer, and ten prominent ladies constituting a board of managers. A two-story frame house in Greenwich village was hired, and a few orphans gathered at once into the fold. The ladies adopted from the beginning, as a principle of management, never to refuse an orphan child brought to them for protection, whether they had a dollar in the treasury or not, from which they never swerved. Rev. Dr. Bethune wrote: "I have often heard my mother say that in any time of need a few words stating that the funds of the society needed replenishing, thrown into a newspaper, was sure to bring in donations equal to the need; more frequently the money came in before the appeal was made."

that of his brother, John G. Coster, added materially to the prosperity of New York. They imported all kinds of goods, and were constantly buying and shipping to Europe all kinds of American produce. Both brothers were directors in the chief money corporations of the period, such as the Manhattan Bank, the Merchants' Bank — of which John G. Coster was elected president to succeed Henry Rensen, in 1826 — and the two insurance companies, the Phoenix and the Globe; and they were large contributors to the humane institutions rapidly springing into existence. One of the daughters of Henry A. Coster married William Laight, another married the son of Charles Wilkes. John G. Coster built a splendid granite double residence above Canal Street on Broadway, about 1833, which was considered palatial in its day. His children intermarried with the Primes, De Launcys, and other notable families.

It soon became evident that a building was indispensable, and an acre of ground was purchased in Bank Street, where a plain structure fifty feet square was erected at a cost of some twenty-five thousand dollars. Mrs. Bethune managed the finances with great skill, pledging her husband's credit for thousands of dollars rather than that the building should be delayed. Several of the ladies advanced money from their own well-filled purses. The debt that remained at the completion of the building was soon canceled by donations and legacies; and the growth of the city increased the value of the property in such rapid ratio, that in 1840 it was comparatively easy to replace the original by the noble edifice which now stands in the midst of ten acres of ground on the shore of the Hudson at Seventy-fourth Street. In 1817 Mrs. Hoffman resigned her place at the head of the institution, and was succeeded by Mrs. Hamilton, still beautiful in her ripening age, brilliant in conversation, and whose chief happiness was found in a religious life devoted to active charities.

An English writer in 1807 enumerates thirty-one benevolent institutions in New York City, and calls attention particularly to the ^{1807.} efforts of the ladies to provide for poor widows and orphan children as worthy of imitation in Great Britain.¹

A medical society was incorporated in 1806 to regulate the practice of physicians and surgery in the State. All practitioners henceforward must be examined, and receive a diploma from a board of censors appointed by this body, before they could legally collect any debts incurred in the duties of their calling. A College of Physicians and Surgeons was chartered by the Regents of the University in 1807, the Legislature having sanctioned the act sixteen years prior to that date. It was opened in November with such success that the State immediately appropriated twenty thousand dollars for its support. The importance and usefulness of an institution devoted exclusively to the cultivation and diffusion of

¹ These institutions, or benefit societies, were : The Free School Society, Tammany Society, Provident Society, incorporated in 1805, Mutual Benefit Society, Benevolent Society, Albion Benevolent Society, Ladies' Society for the Relief of Widows with Small Children, New York Manufacturing Society, Fire Department Society, Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen, The Dispensary, instituted in 1790 for the relief of the sick poor who were unable to procure medical aid at their dwellings — and incorporated in 1795, the Lying-in Hospital, founded in 1798 by Robert Lenox, Dr. Hosack, and others, the Manumission Society, the Marine Society, chartered April 12, 1770, Sailors' Snug Harbor, Kine-pock Institution, City Hospital, Almshouse, House Carpenters' Society, Bellevue Hospital, founded by the city upon the old estate of Lindley Murray for an occasional infirmary, Marine Hospital at Staten Island, Humane Society, Masonic Society containing thirteen lodges, German Society, Society of United Brethren for propagating the Gospel among the Heathen, First Protestant Episcopal Charity School Society, St. George's Society, St. Patrick's Society, St. Andrew's Society, the New England Society, and the Cincinnati. — *Hardie's Description of New York ; The Picture of New York, or Traveler's Guide*, by Dr. Mitchell, 1807 ; *Corporation Manual*, 1870, p. 855.

medical science was highly appreciated by the community, and fifty-three students the first, and seventy-two the second year, bore testimony to the ability with which courses of instruction were delivered in all the branches of medicine. In September, 1813, a great event occurred in the medical annals of New York: the medical faculty and medical school of Columbia College and the College of Physicians and Surgeons were consolidated, becoming one of the most distinguished schools of practical medicine at that time in the country.

The demand for classical learning in New York was so great at this period that many excellent private seminaries were sustained where boys were prepared for college under able teachers. The publishers and booksellers were numerous, and generally men of property. In 1802 the first social gathering of American publishers occurred at the old City Hotel in Broadway, under the auspices of Matthew Carey. From that time a "literary fair," as then called, was held every year, alternating between New York and Philadelphia. It promoted acquaintance, encouraged the arts of printing and book-binding, and facilitated the circulation of books through the nation. The high taxes and prices of paper and labor in Great Britain were favorable to authorship and the publication of books in America. English works of celebrity were reprinted and sold for one fourth the original price. Latin editions of the writings of Cæsar, Cicero, and Virgil were printed in beautiful style, and some remarkable editions of the Bible were issued. Three or four public reading-rooms were supported by subscription, and several of the booksellers established circulating libraries.

Nineteen newspapers, of which eight were dailies, together with several monthly and occasional publications, entertained New York in 1807.¹ The expansion of the press during the eventful years since the adoption of the constitution of the State, when the editor of an almost solitary newspaper was content to be compositor, pressman, folder, and distributor, and considered himself doing a fair business if he sold three or four hundred copies of one issue, seems marvelous. But it was only the healthful indication of the brilliant future for journalism in New York, which in the

¹ The morning newspapers in 1807 were *The American Citizen*, *The New York Gazette*, *The Mercantile Advertiser*, *The Morning Chronicle*, *The People's Friend*, and the evening newspapers were *The Commercial Advertiser*, *The Evening Post*, and *The Public Advertiser*. Twice every week *The Republican Watch-Tower* was issued from the office of *The American Citizen*, *The Spectator* from the office of *The Commercial Advertiser*, *The Express* from the office of *The Morning Chronicle*, *The Herald* from the office of *The Evening Post*, and *The People's Friend* from the office of *The People's Friend*. The weeklies were *The New York Price Current*, *The Weekly Museum*, *The Weekly Visitor*, *The Independent Republican*, *The Weekly Inspector*, and *The New York Spy*.

three-fourths of a century following 1807, was to result in the record to appear upon a future page.

To measure the situation at this early period of the century, it must be borne constantly in mind that all modern facilities for traveling through the country were yet unknown. Slow, unwieldy stage-coaches, private conveyances, saddle-horses, and sloops where bodies of water made their use practicable, were the only vehicles for transportation. Country roads were hardly passable, and bridges were almost unknown. Accidents often occurred in solitary places, for the fording of rivers is always perilous, and the scows used for ferry-boats were little better than death-traps in a multitude of instances. In the summer of 1803 a pleasure-party from New York City visited Canada, spending a few days in Ogdensburg, Montreal, and Quebec. They traveled in wagons. The party consisted of Mr. and Mrs. Ludlow Ogden, Mr. and Mrs. Josiah Ogden Hoffman, Miss Ann Hoffman, Miss Eliza Ogden, and Washington Irving, then a gay youth of twenty. On one occasion the wagon in which the young ladies, attended by Washington Irving, were riding "stuck fast in the mud, and one of the horses laid down and refused to move." The young people alighted and climbed into the next wagon, which presently mired, and the whole party were compelled to walk. Suddenly it began to rain, and coming upon a little shed of bark laid on crotchets, which had served some hunter for a night's shelter, the ladies were hurried into it; but one half of it tumbled down upon them in the beginning, and although the gentlemen tried to make a roof with their overcoats, it was in vain to think of remaining, and they toiled along half a mile further, where they found a small hut about sixteen by eighteen feet square. It had but one room, although occupied by eight persons already, and here our New York travelers spent the night, and the next day proceeded on their journey in an ox-cart.

It should furthermore be observed that art and literature could hardly be said to have secured an existence in New York prior to 1807. Through the suggestion of Chancellor Livingston a subscription had been opened in 1801 for raising means to purchase statues and paintings for the instruction of artists, and a Fine Art Society was finally organized in 1802. A school for drawing and painting had been successfully taught by Robertson for some years. But it was not until February 13, 1808, that an act of the Legislature incorporated the American Academy of Fine Arts. Livingston had secured for it many valuable specimens of art during his residence in France, and was chosen the first president of the institution; Colonel John Trumbull, the great American artist, was vice-president; Mayor De Witt Clinton, Dr. Hosack, John Murray, William Cutting, and

Charles Wilkes were its first directors. Emperor Napoleon presented to the academy valuable busts, antique statues, twenty-four large volumes of Italian prints, and several portfolios of drawings: he was made an honorary member, as were also his brothers Lucien Bonaparte and Joseph Bonaparte. There was no dearth of literary talent in the city, but it had been almost exclusively directed to political subjects, and to organizing theories and testing untried institutions. Charles Brockden Brown had written a series of remarkable novels, but James Fenimore Cooper, who has the credit of giving the first decided impulse to romantic fiction in this country, and some of whose works are known abroad in almost every living language, was but eighteen, and striving for promotion in the navy rather than to turn love-stories into bank-accounts. The geography of Morse and the spelling-books of Webster had made their way to public approbation through much opposition. Their success may be classed among the wonders of literary history. But the trepidation of an American publisher when the question was to be decided of reprinting an English poem reveals the lack of practical experience in the publishing world. Sir Walter Scott issued his *Lay of the Last Minstrel* in 1804. A presentation copy in luxurious quarto was received by Mrs. Divie Bethune, who was intimate with the author in Scotland. The volume circulated widely among friends, and it was observed that the Minstrel was a classic. An American reprint was suggested. The publisher hesitated, then called in a literary coterie, who pronounced the poem too local in its nature, and its interest obsolete; its measure was thought too varied and irregular, and without the harmony of tuneful Pope. Thus it was rejected by the critical tribunal. Longworth, however, soon brought sufficient resolution to the front, and printed it in his *Bell's-Letter's Repository* of 1805.

Washington Irving was but twenty-four, and then more distinguished in the city of his birth for being a very heedless law-student than for genius in letters. He was admitted to the New York bar in the autumn of 1806, through the lenity of Josiah Ogden Hoffman, as he says, with whom he had studied, and who examined the candidates. He was living with his mother in William Street, corner of Ann, and wrote clever articles very frequently for *The Morning Chronicle*, edited by his brother Dr. Peter Irving, but few knew that he was the author of them. On the 24th of January, 1807, *Salmagundi* first appeared, in the form of a little primer about six and one half inches long and three and one half inches wide, published by Longworth. The editors announced themselves three in number, "all townsmen, good and true," and said their new paper would contain "the quintessence of modern criticism." They further

proclaimed: "Our intention is simply to instruct the young, reform the old, correct the town, and castigate the age. As everybody knows, or ought to know, what a *Salmagundi* is, we shall spare ourselves the trouble of an explanation. . . . Neither will we puzzle our heads to give an account of ourselves, for two reasons: first, because it is nobody's business; secondly, because, if it were, we do not hold ourselves bound to attend to anybody's business but our own, and even that we take the liberty of neglecting when it suits our inclination. . . . We beg the public particularly to understand that we solicit no patronage. We are determined, on the contrary, that the patronage shall be entirely on our side. We have nothing to do with the pecuniary concerns of the paper; its success will yield us neither pride nor profit, nor will its failure occasion us either loss or mortification. The publisher professes the same sublime contempt for money as its authors. As we do not measure our wits by the yard or the bushel, and as they do not flow periodically nor constantly, we shall not restrict our paper as to size, or the time of its appearance. It will be published whenever we have sufficient matter to constitute a number, and the size of the number shall depend on the stock in hand. The price will depend on the size of the number, and must be paid on delivery. The public are welcome to buy or not, just as they choose. But we advise everybody, man, woman, and child, that can read, or get any friend to read for him, to purchase it. If it be purchased freely, so much the better for the public, and the publisher — we gain not a stiver. If it be not purchased, we give fair warning: we shall burn all our essays, critiques, and epigrams in one promiscuous blaze; and, like the books in the Alexandrian Library, they will be lost forever to posterity. For the sake, therefore, of our publisher, for the sake of the public, and for the sake of the public's children to the nineteenth generation, we advise them to purchase our paper. . . . We have said we do not write for money — neither do we write for fame; we know too well the variable nature of public opinion to build our hopes upon it — we care not what the public think of us; and we suspect before we reach the tenth number they will not *know* what to think of us — we write for no other earthly purpose but to please ourselves, and this we shall be sure of doing, for we are all three of us determined beforehand to be pleased with what we write. If we edify, instruct, and amuse the public, so much the better for the public; but we frankly acknowledge that so soon as we get tired of reading our own works we shall discontinue them."

Upon the western bank of the Passaic River, a little above the city of Newark, stood a famous old mansion built by the Gouverneurs of New York, who owned an extensive plantation in that vicinity. It was occu-

pied by a bachelor and his servants: and thither Washington Irving and James Kirke Paulding, who was a clerk in the loan office and lived with his sister, the wife of Washington Irving's brother William, went nearly every Friday afternoon during the summer and remained until Monday morning with their genial host. Sometimes they were accompanied by William Irving. It was a quiet retreat, and the stage-ride of nine miles over the corduroy road between Paulus Hook and Newark was not without its influence in sharpening their humor. They named the house "Cockloft Hall." A little octagonal summer-house in the yard, where the gay bachelors concocted the witty papers which monthly "vexed and charmed the town," with its private wine-cellar, had three windows looking inland, that old "Pinder Cockloft," so Irving said, "might have his views upon his own land, and be beholden to no man for a prospect." This quaint little publication was managed with such dashing, buoyant au-



Washington Irving.

dacity that the sobriety of New York was greatly disturbed, and unusual efforts were made to discover its authorship.

It was in the latter part of the same year that Washington Irving, assisted by Dr. Irving, who had just returned from Europe, commenced the writing of *Knickerbocker's History of New York*, intended as an extravagant burlesque of Dr. Mitchell's *Picture of New York*, just published. The felicitous style of the work, which was issued before the end of the following year, and its wonderful humor, sufficiently broad not to be confounded with realities, gave it a high place in public favor. Everybody

read and laughed, and everybody wished for more. It is said the great satirist, Judge Brackenridge, smuggled a copy of the book to the bench and exploded over it during one of the sessions of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. Sir Walter Scott has left his own testimony of the impression the production made upon his mind, in an autograph letter, written to Mr. Henry Brevoort, of New York. He says: "I beg you to accept my best thanks for the uncommon degree of entertainment which I have received from the most excellently written history of New York. I am sensible that, as a stranger to American parties and politics, I must lose much of the concealed satire of the work; but I must own that, looking at the simple and obvious meaning only, I have never seen anything so closely resembling the style of Dean Swift as the annals of Diedrich Knickerbocker. I have been employed these few evenings in reading them aloud to Mrs. Scott and two ladies who are our guests, and our sides have been absolutely sore with laughing. I think, too, there are passages which indicate that the author possesses power of a different kind, and has some touches which remind me of Sterne. I beg you will have the kindness to let me know when Mr. Irving takes pen in hand again, for assuredly I shall expect a very great treat, which I may chance never to hear of but through your kindness."¹

Although Washington Irving continued to write at intervals, it was a dozen or more years — as late as 1820 — before he began to attract the attention of the whole world by his singularly pure and graceful diction, and the fine pathos and imaginative power of his productions. His genius was artistic, and the color thrown into his pictures indelible. Many a grave scholar at this day turns to the old Holland records, in vain, for the origin of the popular term "Knickerbocker," which is not only applied to the early Dutch inhabitants of New York by universal consent, but is prefixed to nearly every article in the range of industrial products on this side of the Atlantic; and yet it dates no farther back than the humorous history of Irving, in 1807. It was the name of a highly respectable Dutch family dwelling in New York through many generations, with one member of whom Irving was acquainted. A charm

¹ The autograph letter of Sir Walter Scott, from which the author has been permitted to make the extract, has been carefully preserved by a member of the family of the gentleman to whom it was written, and is now for the first time given to the public. Washington Irving was born in William Street, New York City, April 3, 1783, the same year that the city was evacuated by the British army. He died in 1859. His father, William Irving, was a native of Scotland. His brother Dr. Peter Irving (born 1771, died 1838) was a man of eminent abilities, and many years editor of a New York journal. His brother William Irving (born 1766, died 1821) was a New York merchant, eminent for wit and refinement. He married the sister of James Kirke Paulding.

equally potent is thrown into legends from the pen of Irving, until certain localities have come to be like places bewitched. One almost thirsts for a taste of the cool water from the mysterious spring which he tells us the Holland housewife took up in the night before emigrating, unbeknown to her husband, and smuggled to the banks of the Hudson in a churn, being confident in her own mind that she should find no water fit to drink in the new country.

The year 1807 was rendered memorable in the history of New York by the experiment of Robert Fulton in steam navigation, which, unlike the experiments of his predecessors in that field of enter-^{1807.}prise, was a successful application of the steam-engine to ship propulsion.

The *Clermont*, built under the direction of Fulton at the ship-yard of Charles Brown, on the East River, was launched in New York waters early in the spring. While its machinery was being placed, its possibilities were denied, and proceedings were watched and criticised with as much incredulity as if the strange craft had been proclaimed a veritable Noah's Ark. In July, while the work was going forward, Fulton tried a notable experiment in the harbor with one of his torpedoes. He exploded an old brig at anchor near Governor's Island. In the next number of *Salmagundi* appeared a laughable account of the excitement into which the town was thrown by "an attempt to set the Hudson River on fire."

One bright midsummer day the *Clermont* was in readiness for a trial trip to Albany. Very few believed it would ever reach its destination. The gentlemen whom Fulton invited to accompany him on this voyage were present with evident reluctance. They predicted disaster, and wished they were well out of it. They stood around in groups, silent and uneasy, as the signal was given, and the great uncouth wheels, without any wheel-houses, stirred the water into a white foam, and the boat moved forward. Presently it stopped, and the crowd upon the river-banks shouted in derision, while audible whispers of "I told you so" from those on board reached Fulton's ears. He had not been without his own anxieties from the first, as unexpected difficulties might arise in more than one direction; but he mounted a platform and assured his passengers that if they would indulge him one half-hour he would either go on or abandon the undertaking for that time. This short respite was conceded without objection. He hurried below, and found the trouble to have been caused by the improper adjustment of some of the machinery, which was quickly remedied. His sensitive nature had been very much hurt by the witticisms of the press, and still more by the lack of faith manifested by his friends; hence the occasion was for him one of keen solicitude. But "the horrible monster" steamed on,

“breathing flames and smoke.” Pine wood was used for fuel, and the blaze often shot into the air considerably above the tall smoke-stack ; and whenever the fire was stirred or replenished immense columns of black smoke issued forth, mingled with sparks and a cloud of ashes. The terrific spectacle, particularly after dark, appalled the crews of other vessels, who saw it rapidly approaching in spite of adverse wind and tide ; many of them fell upon their knees in humble prayer for protection, while others disappeared beneath their decks or escaped to the shore.

As this new-fangled craft was passing the Palisades, a wall of solid rock twenty miles long, the noise of her machinery and paddle-wheels so startled an honest countryman, that he ran home to tell his wife he had seen “the devil on his way to Albany in a saw-mill.”

At Clermont, the country-seat of Chancellor Livingston, Fulton paused to take in wood, and tarried for a short time. He reached Albany in safety and in triumph, having accomplished the distance of one hundred and fifty miles at the average rate of five miles per hour. He returned to New York City in two hours less time than had been consumed in going from New York to Albany. This was the first voyage of any considerable length ever made by a steam vessel in any quarter of the world.

While Fulton cannot be said to have originated steam navigation, nor, indeed, to have invented the mechanism which rendered steam possible and profitable in navigation, he is justly accorded the great honor of having been the first to secure that combination of means which brought the steamboat into every-day use. His industry and ingenuity resulted also in the experimental determination of the magnitude and laws of ship resistance, together with the systematic proportioning of vessel and machinery to the work to be accomplished by them.

It is hardly remembered of Fulton that he was an artist of considerable merit, so closely have his name and fame been associated with mechanical achievements. When he first came to New York in 1785 he was only known as a miniature-portrait painter. He had actually bought a small farm with his earnings in Philadelphia prior to that date — which speaks well for his industry, and for the appreciation of the good people of the Quaker City. He went to England and studied several years with Benjamin West, during which period he was one of the household of that great artist. He traveled about England with the design of studying the masterpieces of art in the rural mansions of the nobility. It was in the neighborhood of Exeter that he made the acquaintance of the Earl of Bridgewater, the famous parent of the canal system in England. Through his advice and example, and the encouragement of Lord Stanhope, Fulton was led to adopt the profession of a civil engineer. Afterwards, in jour-



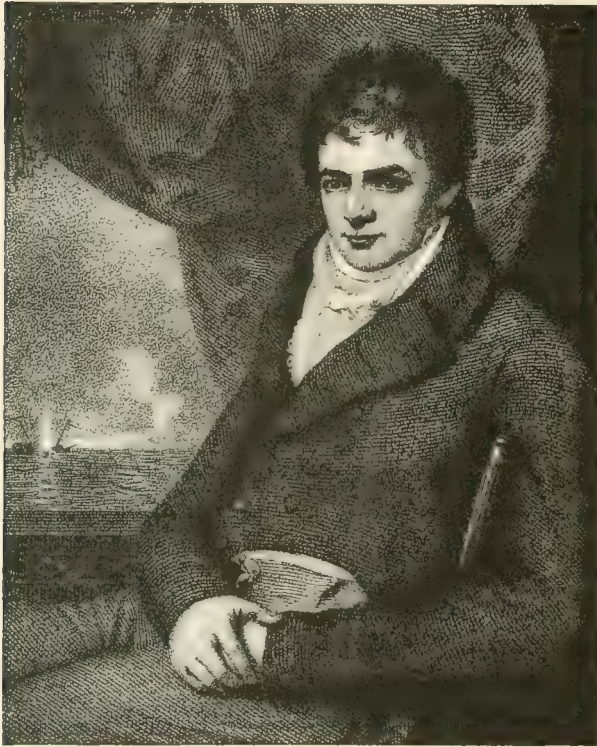
The steamship is shown in the foreground, moving towards the right. The background features a high, steep cliff with a forested top. The water is calm, reflecting the ship and the cliff. A small rowing boat with several people is in the foreground, moving towards the left. The overall scene is a typical representation of a river scene from the mid-19th century.

neying through Europe, he sketched picturesque figures by the wayside ; and in Paris he executed the first panorama in that city.

As early as 1793 he proposed experiments in steam navigation to Lord Stanhope, and seems never to have lost sight of the subject. In Paris he succeeded so well with his submarine torpedoes and torpedo-boats that no little anxiety was created in the English mind ; for war then existed. In France he lived with Joel Barlow, and studied the French, German, and Italian languages, and the higher branches of mechanical science. When Chancellor Livingston arrived as minister to the French Court, Fulton called upon him, and together they discussed the project of constructing a steamboat to be tried on the Seine. Fulton directed the work, and it was completed in 1803. But the hull of the little vessel was too weak for its heavy machinery, and it broke in two and sank to the bottom of the Seine. This was, however, reconstructed, and the little craft again steamed up the Seine in presence of an immense concourse of spectators, among whom was a committee from the National Academy, and the officers of Napoleon's staff. The trial was attended with apparent success, and yet Napoleon would not render Fulton any pecuniary aid. Livingston wrote home and procured an extension of the legislative act granted in 1798 by the State of New York, and thus secured the monopoly of the Hudson for a few years longer. He was more than ever convinced that a boat could be successfully moved by steam over the waters about New York. He had become an enthusiast on the subject, and his large wealth gave him confidence, and enabled him to accomplish what a mere inventor found impracticable. Fulton, under Livingston's pecuniary support, ordered an engine to be built by Boulton & Watt in England, from plans which he furnished. The engine was completed and sent to New York in the latter part of 1806. The Chancellor had resigned his mission in 1805, traveled on the continent for a few months, and reached New York about the same time, closely followed by Fulton. And the purse of the one and the genius of the other were applied lavishly to the production of results which were to mark an era in the science of navigation.

Fulton was a tall, slender, well-formed man, of quick perceptions, sound sense, graceful and pleasing manners, and voice of peculiar melody. His eyes were large, dark, and penetrating, and over his high forehead and about his neck were scattered curls of rich dark brown hair. His refined character rendered him a social favorite. At times his vivacity was singularly engaging, but usually he was reserved and serious, his features expressing deep thought. His portrait by Benjamin West seems to bring him before us in the flesh with all his lovable charac-

teristics and grave disappointments. He was forty-two years of age when he demonstrated the utility of the steamboat. He was at the time very deeply in love with Miss Harriet Livingston, the niece of the Chancellor,



Portrait of Robert Fulton.
[From a painting by Benjamin West.]

and early in the spring of 1808 their nuptials were celebrated with distinguished ceremony. This was the season of Fulton's superlative glory. His triumph in the application of steam to navigation had opened to him the prospect of vast riches, through the exclusive grant of the navigation of the Hudson. And he was caressed, applauded, and honored.

The *Clermont* left New York again for Albany in October, 1807, with ninety passengers. She was

repaired and enlarged during the following winter, and in the summer of 1808 advertised as a regular passenger boat between New York and Albany. Meanwhile Fulton built other steamboats; each one larger than its predecessor, and abounding in improvements.

The reaction came swiftly. Prosperity is always exposed to some severe test. Fulton found that improvements in machinery, and the demands of travel, rapidly increasing, occasioned perpetual expense. He was, moreover, beset with legal difficulties touching the right of exclusive navigation of the Hudson. New Jersey claimed that it was too wide a privilege to be given by the legislature of a single State. And inventors were springing up in various quarters, as is usually the case after a fact is established, to deny his having originated a single mechanical idea. They said in England, where, prior to 1811, steam navigation had practi-

cally no existence, that he had visited Symmington and made drawings of the machinery of the unfortunate *Charlotte Dundas*, which, built to tow vessels on the Forth and Clyde Canal, was abandoned because its paddles washed down the bank in an alarming manner. The friends of John Fitch quoted his unique steamboat on the Delaware twenty years before, which moved at the rate of four miles an hour — although its boiler burst before proceeding far, and no practical results followed. All the immature schemes and various experiments of ingenious mechanics, for a score of years, were used to invalidate Fulton's pretensions as an inventor of the steamboat. Claimants for the honor arose on every hand. It was said that Fulton employed men in building the *Clermont*, who had been brought from Germany and trained by Nicholas Roosevelt, and that he used the side-wheels invented by Roosevelt. Fulton and Roosevelt were subsequently associated in the introduction of steam-vessels on the Western waters, establishing a ship-yard at Pittsburg and building the *New Orleans*, the pioneer steamer of the Mississippi, in 1811.

It is not to be supposed that those who were experimenting with steam as a propelling power, and drafting suggestions and recommendations, were unacquainted with what had been done by their predecessors, or by their contemporaries on two continents: and they undoubtedly profited, as far as it was possible, by the experience of all. But Fulton's fame was justly earned. He had done what his rivals had not, bridged the chasm between mere attempts and positive achievements. He had given the world the fruits of the inventive genius of the world, and mankind was reaping its benefits. At the time of the trial of the *Clermont* not another steamboat was in successful operation on the globe.

The laurels of Fulton were very closely contested by Colonel John Stevens of Hoboken, who had been experimenting with steam and machinery ever since John Fitch, in 1796, tried his little boat with a screw propeller on the Collect, or Fresh Water Pond, in New York City. It is said that Stevens first became interested in the application of steam-power to the methods of travel through coming accidentally upon the imperfect steamboat with which John Fitch experimented on the Delaware in 1787. If so much could be done, why not more? He studied the subject attentively, noting failures and their causes. His venture on the Passaic, in company with Livingston and Roosevelt, in 1798, increased his desire for ultimate success. In 1804, while Fulton was still in Europe, he built an open steamboat sixty-eight feet long, with a screw propeller, which possessed certain recognized elements of success. The next year he built another of similar style, with twin screws, a novel device which many years afterwards was brought forward and adopted as something

new. He invented improvements to the boiler he had imported, which his eldest son, John Cox Stevens, patented while in England in 1805. He appears to have been one of the first to comprehend the importance of the principle involved in the construction of the sectional steam-boiler. Finding the signs of promise as developed by his performances thus far sufficient to warrant the outlay, he built the *Phoenix*, a formidable rival of the *Clermont*, which was completed and launched in the autumn

1807. of 1807, only a few weeks after Fulton's triumph had been assured.

The *Phoenix* being excluded from the waters of New York by the monopoly held by Fulton and Livingston, trips were made for a time between New York and New Brunswick. But Stevens and his sons decided to send their steamboat to Philadelphia to ply on the Delaware.

The passage was made by the sea in June, 1808, and although a severe storm of wind was encountered no accident occurred. The conductor of the expedition was Robert Livingston Stevens, son of Colonel John Stevens, then but twenty years of age. Inheriting his father's mechanical genius, he had already commenced a career of discovery and improvement which was to give him a very high rank among modern inventors. He introduced into the *Phoenix* the concave water-lines, the first application of the "wave line" to ship-building; also a feathering paddle-wheel, and the guard beam, now used. And he was the foremost man of any country to trust himself upon the ocean in a vessel relying entirely upon steam-power. Thus was inaugurated ocean steam navigation.

New York also is entitled to the honor of introducing steam navigation upon the great rivers of the West. Nicholas Roosevelt conducted the first steamboat from Pittsburg — where it was constructed under the auspices of Fulton and Livingston — to New Orleans in 1811. He embarked with his family, an engineer, a pilot, and six "deck hands" in October, and reached New Orleans in about fourteen days.

Colonel John Stevens, like Roosevelt, was a native of New York City, where he was born in 1749. He was the grandson, through his mother, of the great lawyer and mathematician, James Alexander, who figured so conspicuously in the reader's acquaintance prior to the Revolution; and through his grandmother, Mrs. Alexander, he was descended from Johannes De Peyster, founder of the De Peyster family in America.¹ He was

¹ See Vol. I. 225, 503, 504. John Stevens, the grandfather of Colonel John Stevens, came from England to New York as one of the law officers of the Crown. John Stevens (2) married Elizabeth Alexander. Colonel John Stevens (3) married Rachel, daughter of John Cox. He bought the Bayard estate at Hoboken when it was sold under the Confiscation Act in 1784, upon which he founded the city of Hoboken. In 1804 he advertised a four days' sale of eight hundred lots. He was for several years Treasurer of the State of New Jersey. — *History of the County of Hudson*, by Charles Winfield.

the nephew of Lord Stirling; and his sister was the wife of Chancellor Livingston. His inventive talent and his philosophical far-sightedness were remarkable. In urging well-conceived plans for the application of the steam-engine to land transportation, he was so far ahead of the age that his advice and his offers were unaccepted. The appointment of commissioners in 1811, of whom Robert Fulton was one, to explore a canal route from the Hudson River to the Great Lakes, induced him to issue a pamphlet, in 1812, to prove the superior advantages of steam-carriages over canal navigation. He unfolded a scheme — varying little from our present railway system — and offered to construct a roadway from Albany to Lake Erie, to be traversed by a steam-carriage, which he thought might be moved with the velocity of one hundred miles an hour, although in practice he presumed convenience would confine it to twenty or thirty miles an hour. This great project was broached by Stevens, with the political, financial, commercial, and military aspects of the question all apparently present to his mind, while there was but one locomotive in the world, that of Richard Trevithick at Merthyr-Tydvil — which was powerless except on a level surface — and nothing in the way of railroads except the old wooden tram-roads of the English collieries.

After Fulton and Stevens had thus led the way in New York, steam navigation was introduced very rapidly on both sides of the ocean. The unimaginative mind can hardly keep pace with the production of steam-vessels in this country. While Fulton was multiplying them upon the Hudson and Stevens was bringing out a fleet upon the



Trevithick's Locomotive, 1804.

Delaware, other mechanics were preparing to contest the field with them. Upon the breaking down of the Fulton monopoly by the courts, the Stevenses, father and son, built some of the finest steamboats on the Hudson. Both Fulton and Stevens were enthusiasts in trying to bridge by steam the rivers that separated New York from the opposite shores. Until 1810 barges with oars were the established ferry-boats, excepting some recently constructed horse-boats, with the wheel in the centre, propelled by a sort of horizontal treadmill worked by horses. Stevens was the first to bring a steam-ferry into active operation. In October, 1811,

he invited the corporation of New York City, and numerous celebrities, to attend him on a voyage from New York to Hoboken upon the first regular steam ferry-boat ever used in any part of the world.

The next year Fulton completed a small steam ferry-boat for the Paulus Hook ferry. Within another twelvemonth he had two steam ferry-boats connecting New York with Brooklyn.

The exigencies of the war by this time turned the thoughts of our inventors towards war-vessels propelled by steam. Fulton submitted plans to Decatur, Perry, John Paul Jones, Evans, and others, which met their approval; he proposed to build a cannon-proof steam-frigate, capable of carrying a heavy battery and of steaming four miles an hour. The vessel was to be fitted with furnaces for red-hot shot, and some of her guns were to be discharged below the water-line. Congress authorized an expenditure of three hundred and twenty thousand dollars, in March, 1814, and the new steam-frigate, named in honor of its projector, *The Fulton*, was launched in the autumn of the same year. Its trial-trip to the ocean at Sandy Hook and back was an overwhelming success. Its projector did not live to witness its completion, but fell as it were a martyr to the undertaking. Exposure in crossing the Hudson amidst the ice in an open boat produced illness, and before he was fully restored he superintended some work on the open deck of *The Fulton*. His death followed, and it was mourned as a national calamity. "I have observed him," wrote Dr. Francis, "on the docks, reckless of temperature and inclement weather, anxious to secure practical issues from his midnight reflections, or to add new improvements to works not yet completed. His floating dock cost him much personal labor of this sort. His hat might have fallen into the water, and his coat be lying upon a pile of lumber; but trifles were not calculated to impede him or dampen his perseverance." Not long before his death Fulton planned a vessel for service in the Baltic Sea; but circumstances induced a change of plan, and it was subsequently placed on the line between New York and Newport.

The Fulton comprehended the first application of the steam-engine to naval purposes, and for the period was exceedingly creditable. The *Savannah*, built in New York, with side-wheels, and propelled by steam machinery and sails, made the voyage to St. Petersburg in 1819, which had been proposed for Fulton's ship. She was in charge of Captain Moses Rogers, a New-Yorker, who had previously commanded both the *Clermont* and the *Phoenix*. The trip from New York to Savannah, where the vessel had been purchased by Mr. Scarborough, occupied seven days. She proceeded to Liverpool, and thence, touching at Copenhagen and Stockholm, to St. Petersburg: Lord Lyndock was a passenger, and on

taking leave of Captain Rogers at the Russian capital presented him with a silver teakettle inscribed with a legend commemorative of the important event. Thus virtually commenced Atlantic steam navigation.

Colonel John Stevens designed a circular or saucer-shaped iron-clad steamer, like those built sixty years later for the Russian navy, in 1812. It was to be plated with iron of ample thickness to resist shot fired from the heaviest ordnance then known. A set of screw propellers beneath the vessel, driven by steam-engines, were to be so arranged as to permit the vessel to revolve rapidly about its centre. Thus each gun after its discharge could be reloaded before coming round again into the line of fire. The vessel did not obtain an existence beyond paper at that period, but the genius of its inventor was reflected through his son, Robert L. Stevens, who at a later date originated the first well-planned iron-clad ever constructed. Indeed, the younger Stevens became one of the greatest of naval architects, and for twenty years after the trial trips of the *Clermont* and the *Phoenix* was constantly lavishing time and money upon changes and improvements in steam navigation, the variety, extent, and importance of which it would be impossible to describe in common language. He adopted a new method of bracing and fastening steamboats; discovered the utility of employing steam expansively; was the first on record to use the new, unmanageable, anthracite coal for steam fuel; he designed the now universally used "skeleton beam"; he first placed the boilers on the guards; he introduced the artificial blast for forcing the fires; and he invented the inelegantly styled "hog-frame," one of the peculiar features of every American river-steamer of any considerable size to prevent its bending in the centre. Another of his productions, in 1814, was an elongated bomb-shell of marvelous destructive power, for which he received a large annuity from the government.¹

While New York was taking the lead so nobly in the advancement of steam navigation, Aaron Burr was arraigned and tried for treason in Richmond, Virginia. He had crossed the mountains, traveled through the western country, conceived his famous Mexican scheme, been thwarted in its execution, and captured while trying to escape through the woods on the Tombigbee River. Two judges sat upon the bench,

1807.

¹ Robert Livingston Stevens was born at Hoboken in 1788, and died in 1856. He was the projector, engineer, and president of the Camden and Amboy Railroad, in process of construction at the time of the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railroad in 1830. He invented the new standard T-rail, known in this country as the Stevens rail, and in Europe, where it was afterwards introduced, as the "vignolles" rail, which was first tested upon this road. Colonel John Stevens built in 1825 a small locomotive which he placed on a circular railway before his dwelling-house at Hoboken to prove that his early speculations had a basis of fact. — *Thurston*.

Chief Justice John Marshall and Cyrus Griffin, judge of the District of Virginia. The array of legal talent on both sides was imposing. Burr was himself the real leader of the defense, as not a step was taken or a point conceded without his concurrence. His policy was to overthrow the testimony. The trial was tediously long. Richmond, then a city of six thousand inhabitants, was thronged with magnates from all parts of the country. New York was well represented. So many distinguished persons claimed seats within the bar, that lawyers of twenty years' standing were excluded from their accustomed places and thankful to obtain admission even to the hall. Theodosia, who had fondly hoped to see her father the glorious and powerful head of a nation created by his own genius, came to share his prison life, accompanied by her devoted husband.

Through the scorching days of that memorable summer of 1807 the excited eyes of the nation rested upon one reposeful figure — that of the well-dressed man with hair powdered and tied in a cue, who, polite and confident, seemed above all others at peace with the entire world. Could he have had in view the destruction of the Union? Who could trace in his placid countenance the determination to assassinate Jefferson, corrupt the navy, and overthrow Congress, with which he was charged? The President wrote of the mad enterprise: "It is the most extraordinary since the days of Don Quixote. It is so extravagant that those who know Burr's understanding would not believe it if the proofs admitted doubt. He has meant to place himself on the throne of Montezuma, and extend his empire to the Alleghany, seizing New Orleans as the instrument of compulsion for our Western States."

The acquittal of Burr by the jury was the result of the difficulty found by the prosecution in proving overt acts; but it had very little effect upon public sentiment, which had already pronounced his condemnation. He went forth a free man, while his conduct was singularly like that of a criminal fleeing from justice. He lay concealed in the houses of his friends in New York until an opportunity offered for securing a passage, under an assumed name, and with passage-money borrowed from Dr. Hosack, for Europe.

At this moment Napoleon was nearing the pinnacle of his greatness.

Every human interest was subordinate to his gigantic wars. All
1807. Europe was in arms. On the 14th of June the battle of Friedland was fought, and on the 25th the French and Russian emperors met on a raft in the middle of the river and vowed eternal friendship, two armies looking on. On the 7th of July a treaty of peace was concluded at Tilsit. Months prior to these events the British and French govern-

ments had issued retaliatory proclamations which interfered with the neutral commerce of America upon the ocean. Great Britain declared the whole coast between the Elbe and the Brest to be in a state of blockade. This subjected American vessels attempting to enter the continental ports to capture and condemnation -- a manifest violation of the law of nations. The plundered merchants appealed to Congress for defense and indemnity. Napoleon in turn issued the famous Berlin decree which declared the British Isles to be in a state of blockade, and which rendered American vessels liable to seizure and condemnation when carrying on what had heretofore been a lawful trade with Great Britain. The American government remonstrated, but without effect.

While matters were thus situated the frigate *Chesapeake* was attacked by the British and disabled, as she was leaving her post for a distant service ; several of her crew were killed, and four of them taken away by the assaulters. About the same time the British government published an order, holding all their absent seamen to their allegiance, recalling them from foreign service, and pronouncing heavy penalties upon such as disobeyed. This principle of the law of allegiance was diametrically opposed to that recognized by the American government, as it denied the right of expatriation. Every naturalized citizen of the United States who had been in the marine service of Great Britain was commanded to disregard his oath of allegiance to the United States, and return to Great Britain. An order was passed declaring the sale of ships by belligerents illegal. This was eclipsed by Napoleon's decree of Milan, enforcing the decree of Berlin, which, if carried out, would have doomed to confiscation every vessel of the United States that had been boarded or even spoken by the British. The order of Napoleon was approved by Spain, and in some instances enforced. Vessels were also burned by the French cruisers. Under the impression that neither England nor France could dispense with our productions, as the demand for breadstuffs occasioned by the war had raised the price of produce in this country to an amount before unequaled, President Jefferson recommended an embargo on all American shipping until the two hostile powers should acknowledge our neutral rights by a repeal of their obnoxious orders and decrees.

Congress passed a bill in accordance with the President's recommendation, at eleven o'clock at night, December 22 ; American vessels were thenceforward prohibited from sailing for foreign ports, all ^{Dec 22.} foreign vessels were forbidden to take out cargoes, and all coasting vessels were required to give bonds to land their cargoes in the United States. Thus terminated the year 1807.

CHAPTER XIV.

1808-1812.

THE RISING STORM.

EFFECTS OF THE EMBARGO IN NEW YORK. — POLITICAL ANIMOSITIES. — ELECTION OF GOVERNOR TOMPKINS. — THE FIRST WOOLEN MILLS IN NEW YORK. — LIVINGSTON HOMES ON THE HUDSON. — OPPOSITION TO THE EMBARGO. — FASHIONS OF THE PERIOD. — MADISON'S ELECTION. — PARTY STRIFES IN NEW YORK. — THE TWO HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DISCOVERY OF MANHATTAN ISLAND. — THE BANQUET. — THE NEW CITY HALL. — CITY HALL PARK. — GEORGE FREDERICK COOKE. — CHURCH EDIFICES OF THE CITY IN 1812. — CANAL STREET. — THE GRADING AND EXTENSION OF STREETS. — LAYING OUT OF THE WHOLE ISLAND INTO STREETS AND AVENUES. — THE ALDERMEN. — COLONEL NICHOLAS FISH. — THE ERIE CANAL IN CONTEMPLATION. — SURVEYS. — WAR PROSPECTS. — CELEBRATED CHARACTERS.

NEW YORK suffered severely from the embargo. Her kings of commerce were doomed to see their immense business suspended, for no vessels could sail to the East and West Indies, or to the vast colonial regions of North and South America, any more than to England and France, without being subject to capture and condemnation. The trade of the whole world, in fact, was interdicted, and could not be carried on without risk of forfeiture. Ships in which a vast amount of capital was invested rocked idly at anchor and went to decay in New York harbor. The merchant discharged his clerks, and warehouses were in many instances closed and deserted. The farmer had either no market for his produce or must sell at a great reduction of price. Prosperity was arrested, and actual, palpable, pecuniary loss stared every merchant and farmer in the face.

The Federalists denounced the measure in the most violent terms. They said it was one which would not and could not produce the desired result of compelling the belligerents to rescind their orders and decrees. Both England and France had distinctly intimated that if the United States would side with them every advantage should be given to her commerce; and they had both resolved that the United States should not be permitted to remain neutral, but should be forced to go to war with one or other of the contending powers. It was not believed that either nation would be seriously affected by a suspension of American com-

merce. As for France, the emperor, after the peace of Tilsit, wielded the chief resources of the European Continent and directed them to the avowed purpose of conquering the British Empire; and the United States was greatly desired as an ally.

Napoleon's minister, Champagny, wrote in January: "War exists, in fact, between England and the United States; and his Majesty considers it as declared from the day in which England published ¹⁸⁰⁸ her decrees." The Federalists insisted that France was the principal aggressor, and if America must have a war it ought to be with the French, and not with the British.

Meanwhile England dispatched a special minister to adjust the difficulty with the United States which had arisen from the assault on the frigate *Chesapeake*. On arriving at Washington he informed Secretary Madison of his instructions requiring President Jefferson's proclamation, interdicting British vessels of war from the harbors of the United States, to be withdrawn before he could enter upon the subject of reparation. Jefferson declined, and insisted upon bringing into review other cases of aggression, even the whole question of impressment itself, and the further progress of the negotiation was interrupted. In March the British minister re-embarked for England in the same frigate which had brought him out.

This event excited afresh the animosity of the two political parties. The Republicans sustained Jefferson, and claimed that the settlement of the one point in dispute would have been of no real consequence in the present position of affairs. They said the embargo policy prevented the loss of ships, and avoided an entanglement of the nation in a war that was waged solely for conquest and empire. The Federalists in turn charged the President and his party with hatred of England and a desire to further the wishes of France; and contended that other and more efficient measures less injurious to the nation, and especially to the grain-growing and commercial States, than an embargo for an indefinite period of time, might have been adopted.

At a public meeting in New York of which De Witt Clinton was chairman, resolutions were adopted disapproving the embargo. The Clintonian paper, edited by Cheetham, decidedly opposed the measure. The new council of appointment chosen in February proceeded to restore De Witt Clinton to the mayoralty of New York City, he having been removed in 1807, and Marinus Willett elevated to that office. It also restored Pierre Cortlandt Van Wyck to the office of recorder, who had been displaced the year before by the appointment of Maturin Livingston. Thirteen other removals and appointments were made on the same day.

Of these were Dr. Thomas Tillotson, the secretary of the State since 1801 (with the exception of one year), removed, and Elisha Jenkins appointed in his stead. "Such was the power," writes Hammond, "of this strange and formidable machine called the council of appointment, that new general commissions of the peace were sent into many of the counties, and in the course of a few months brought almost an entire change of persons holding civil offices in the State." On the 20th of March, Martin Van Buren, then a bright, promising young lawyer of twenty-six, was appointed surrogate of the county of Columbia.

Daniel D. Tompkins had been elected governor of New York in 1807. From the time he first became a voter he had identified himself with the Republican party, and was one of Jefferson's most enthusiastic admirers. He had been selected as a gubernatorial candidate by the Clintonians, bent upon defeating Morgan Lewis, who represented the Livingston interest.



Daniel D. Tompkins.

[Governor of New York. Vice-President of the United States.]

Tompkins was a young and very popular man. Educated at Columbia and admitted to the bar early, he had, in 1804, when only thirty years of age, been elevated to the bench as associate justice of the Supreme Court of New York, at the same time that the great jurist, James Kent, was made chief justice. His pleasing manners, not less than his fine, manly, magnetic presence, were greatly in his favor, and there was depth to his learning and strength in his character which gave him wide influence. Governor Lewis was supported by the Livingstons, and by many of

the Federalists; but the report having been circulated that he had gone over to the Federalists, Tompkins received the respectable majority of four thousand and eighty-five votes. In his first speech to the Legislature at the commencement of the annual session, in Albany, January 26, 1808, he defended in a clear, forcible manner the foreign policy of the adminis-

tration of Jefferson, and justified the embargo act : and his views were sustained in the answers of both houses.

Ex-Governor Lewis retired to his country-seat at Staatsburg on the Hudson, and interested himself in agricultural pursuits. The mania for merino sheep was at its height, and he was soon possessed of a flock. Chancellor Livingston had wintered successfully a large number at Clermont the year before, and was writing a volume on sheep-raising. The importation of the animal was prohibited by the laws of Spain, but adventurers were every now and then landing some which sold at fabulous prices ; one lamb easily brought a thousand dollars, and not infrequently fifteen hundred. " At such ruinous rates there will be men to import them from the very jaws of the infernal regions," exclaimed John R. Livingston, who had escaped the contagion.

The interruption of foreign traffic naturally turned attention to home industry. American wools had not been supposed suitable for fine cloths, and the woollen fabrics hitherto produced had been largely the product of household labor and private looms. Capital had not been expended to any considerable extent in the building of factories. But the wool from merino sheep, unwashed, sold for one and two dollars per pound, and the manufacture of fine broadcloth was seriously contemplated in many parts of the land. Dr. Seth Capron, who erected and put in operation the first cotton manufactory in the State of New York, at Whitesborough, Oneida County, formed a wool company and established the Oriskany Woollen Mills, not only the first of the kind in the State, but believed now to be the oldest existing wool-making institution in the United States. He was a man of known sagacity, integrity, and moral worth, and in taking the lead in an enterprise of such importance, located in the commanding geographical avenue of intercourse between Albany and the region of the lakes, was regarded with curious interest.¹ 1809 is the date of the

¹ Dr. Seth Capron was born in Rhode Island about 1760, died at Walden, Orange County, in 1855 (*New York Commercial Advertiser ; Niles Register*, October 3, 1835). He served under Washington during nearly the whole period of the Revolution. He settled in Whitesborough, Oneida County, New York, soon after Slater established the first successful cotton mill in this country at Providence, Rhode Island, in 1790, and was the pioneer of the cotton industry in New York. He established also both cotton and woollen mills at Walden, where he spent the later years of his life. The account of the establishment of the Oriskany Woollen Company in the *Annals and Recollections of Oneida County*, by Pomeroy Jones, fixes the date of the act of incorporation as 1811, referring to the general act of incorporation for manufacturing companies. Dr. Seth Capron was the father of General Horace Capron, who while at the head of the Agricultural Department of our national government at Washington, in 1870, was invited by the Mikado of the great and ancient Empire of Japan to teach his people the science of agriculture. As commissioner and adviser of the Kattakushi, General Capron spent several years in developing the resources of Yesso and its dependent islands, — a task without precedent, and performed amidst the most novel difficulties and surroundings.

charter of the Company, which included such men as Stephen Van Rensselaer, Ambrose Spencer, De Witt Clinton, John Taylor, James Platt, Nathan Williams, Newton Mann, and Theodore Sill; but the mills had then been in operation some months. The satinets first made sold readily at four dollars, and broadcloth for ten and twelve dollars per yard. For the first four years the wool used cost an average price of one dollar and twenty cents per pound.

The beautiful estates of the various members of the Livingston family on the shores of the Hudson at this period would have made a village of villas, indeed, if they could have been collected. John R. Livingston disputed with his brother, the Chancellor, the honor of having the show place; his stately house covered so much ground, and was esteemed so perfect in architectural symmetry, that drawing-masters made sketches of it and gave it to their pupils to copy. The design was by Brunel, after the château of Beaumarchais in France. His establishment in the city was unrivaled for style, and both himself and family mingled in fashionable life with great zest. Henry Beekman Livingston inherited his grandfather Beekman's estate at Rhinebeck. He was a fine-looking man, and by many thought to surpass even the Chancellor in the manly courtesy of his address. He married Miss Shippen, niece of Henry Lee, president of the first Congress. Montgomery Place, the residence of their oldest sister, the widow of Richard Montgomery, stood upon an elevation nearly opposite the Catskills, with picturesque views on every hand. It embraced a great number of valuable acres in a high state of cultivation. Mrs. Thomas Tillotson was the mistress of Linwood; from the piazza of her dwelling the river had all the effect of a lovely lake, enclosed by gently sloping hills adorned with pretty villas half hidden in the groves. Briercliff, Mrs. Garretson's country-seat, was within a mile of Linwood; she was said to have more genius and imagination than either of the sisters. Her husband, Rev. Freeborn Garretson, was one of the pioneers of the early Methodist Church in America.

Rokeby, the country-seat of Mrs. Armstrong, was one of the ornaments of the river. The house was of stone and very spacious, and the beautiful, well-planned grounds elicited general admiration. She was the youngest of the sisters, and the most striking in personal appearance, with queenly manners, and large, dark, expressive eyes. When her brother, the Chancellor, retired from his mission to France, her husband, General John Armstrong, was appointed to the post in his stead, and she, with her family, accompanied him to Paris, residing there seven years. She was a special favorite among the distinguished men and women at the court of Napoleon, where her intelligence, animation, overflowing good-

humor, and tact in conversation were unrivaled. In knowledge of the French language she was in nowise inferior to her brother Edward, who found his acquirements of such practical value in New Orleans; and who had, when a boy, so captivated Lafayette, while at one time domesticated for a season in the family, that he was urged by the Marquis to run away with him to Europe. "I will adopt you for my brother, and you shall have every advantage of education that Europe can afford," Lafayette argued persuasively; "we will write from the other side to be forgiven." It is needless to add that the temptation was resisted. Mrs. Armstrong's only daughter married William B. Astor.

Still another handsome property not far from Clermont was Grasmere, left Mrs. Montgomery by her deceased husband, but which had been purchased by her sister Joanna, who married Peter R. Livingston, the brother of Maturin Livingston.¹ The house was of French architecture, and furnished with many costly articles imported from France, such as red morocco sofas and Turkey carpets. Maturin Livingston sold his New York house in Liberty Street upon being removed from the office of recorder — at the close of the governorship of his father-in-law, Morgan Lewis — and bought Ellerslie, a valuable estate near Rhinebeck, upon which he erected an elegant mansion, the same that was subsequently owned and occupied by Hon. William Kelly.

These fine domains, as the reader will observe, belonged simply to one of the branches of the extensive and opulent Livingston family, and they were clustered within a few hours' drive of each other in the neighborhood of Clermont. The Livingston manor property was further to the north; and other estates of magnitude, located between Clermont and the metropolis, were equally illustrative of the development of the rich country bordering the Hudson, and of the wealth and consequence of the dominant political party in New York at this epoch. The Clintons eclipsed the Livingstons in will-power if not in moneyed influence, and an irreconcilable feeling of hostility existed between them. But they were of one mind in sustaining the administration. Mayor De Witt Clinton renounced his opposition to the embargo laws after mature reflec-

¹ Peter R. and Maturin Livingston were sons of Robert James Livingston, born 1729, whose wife was Susan, daughter of the famous lawyer and judge, Hon. William Smith (see Vol. I. 567, 568), and sister of the equally famous William Smith, the historian, who became Chief Justice of Upper Canada, and who married Janet Livingston, her husband's sister. Robert James Livingston was the son of James Livingston, born 1701, who married Elizabeth Kierstede. And James Livingston was the son of Robert, nephew of the first Lord of the Manor, who, coming from Scotland in 1696, married Margaretta Schuyler in 1697; their daughter Janet married Colonel Henry Beekman; and another daughter, Angelica, married Johannes Van Rensselaer.

tion, for which he was charged with bad faith by Cheetham, who adhered to the stand he had first taken, his paper thereby losing its party caste. And both the Livingstons and the Clintonians disclaimed with energy the charge of the Federalists that they were under French influence.

But the election of a new President was drawing near, and old feuds broke out afresh. Jefferson declared his fixed determination to retire. Many wished to see Vice-President George Clinton elevated to the Presidential chair, and were displeased, when, according to the fashion of the day, a congressional caucus nominated James Madison. James Monroe would have better suited a considerable number of the Virginians, on the special ground that Madison was so identified with the existing system of foreign policy that with him for President no change could rationally be expected. In New York some overtures were made and a meeting held for the purpose of transferring the Federal vote to Vice-President Clinton. This arrangement, however, failed, and the Federal candidates were Charles C. Pinckney and Rufus King. When the electors were chosen by the Legislature, they were distributed six to Clinton and the remaining thirteen to Madison, through a compromise between the Clintonians and Livingstons. At the same time a most vigorous personal opposition to Vice-President Clinton was prosecuted quite as persistently by some of his own party as by the Federalists, and great efforts were made to impair the public confidence in Mayor De Witt Clinton.

Before the results of the Presidential election were known, Jefferson became uneasy about the unpopular embargo. It did not work well. Indeed, it had proved a total failure in bringing England and France to terms. While it bore heavily upon England, it was far more injurious to the United States. England could obtain supplies elsewhere — cotton from Brazil, tobacco from South America, naval stores from Sweden, lumber from Nova Scotia, and grain from the Baltic. The United States was deprived of the trade of all nations, and must do without silks, linens, woolens, hardware, pottery, and many other articles to which the people were accustomed, and had not the facilities to manufacture at home.

The insolence of the French was even more humiliating than the arrogance of England. To Minister Armstrong's remonstrances when American vessels were seized because they had merchandise of British origin on board, Napoleon craftily answered that since the passage of the embargo act no American vessel had a legal right on the ocean, thus any pretending to be American must either be British or subservient to British orders. Of course there were American vessels abroad at the

time the law was enacted; and many of these, instead of returning to their native wharves, conducted a hazardous traffic from one European port to another, contriving to evade the French prohibitions by forged documents; and the Bayonne decree was chiefly aimed at the suppression of this trade. But it subjected to confiscation innocent vessels as well, for which there was no remedy.

Jefferson had no intention of going to war with England. With nothing but a handful of useless gunboats, no army, and almost no fortifications, the idea of actual hostilities was scouted rather than entertained. He had summarily and cavalierly rejected the treaty negotiated by James Monroe and Pinckney, and looked with equanimity upon the distresses of the merchants and the multitudes dependent upon trade for support, fondly imagining that agriculture would be benefited thereby. He had in earlier times expressed the abstract opinion that it would be happy if the United States could be shut out from the rest of the world, like China, and her inhabitants be all husbandmen.

He was amazed to see how much of secret evasion and open resistance the embargo encountered at home. It even became necessary to send troops to check the traffic on Lake Champlain, a convenient outlet for the produce of portions of New York and New England. Some bloody encounters took place in that quarter, leading to trials for murder and treason. It was exceedingly difficult to obtain verdicts of guilty from jurors, and the treason cases came to nothing in every instance. Judge Livingston held that no resistance to law, however extensive or violent, could amount to treason where mere private advantage was the object, and not the overthrow of the government. In New England prosecutions were defended by the celebrated Samuel Dexter, and other eminent lawyers, on the ground of the unconstitutionality of the embargo. It was impossible, with such extensive coasts and numerous ports, to enforce an odious law which every knave violated, however scrupulously honest men might obey and suffer. And it was found productive of mischief in an infinitude of ways. The richer the merchant, the less he objected to the cessation of his business, which was sure to furnish him with the opportunity of buying up, at a great discount, the ships and produce of smaller men. Those of moderate means were the victims. The very poor were not hesitant about demanding food and shelter when labor was denied them.

The mayor of New York, for instance, called a special meeting of the common council, on one occasion, to advise in relation to a significant notice published in the *Daily Advertiser*, inviting the idle seamen in the vicinity of the city to assemble in the Park at eleven o'clock the next morning, for the purpose of inquiring of the mayor what they were to do

for their subsistence during the winter. A resolution was entered upon the minutes, and also inserted in the evening papers, to the effect that the mayor disapproved of the mode of application, but informed the public that "the corporation would in the emergency, as they had done on former occasions, provide for the wants of all persons, without distinction, who might be considered proper objects of relief."¹

Josiah Quincy was the champion of the principles and policy of the Federalists at Washington in 1808, and in his vehement and peculiar style of oratory declared it would be as reasonable to undertake to stop the rivers from running into the sea, as to keep the people of New England from the ocean. It was all very well to talk about the patriotism and quiet submission of such as dwelt in the interior, who had no opportunity to break the embargo; but when those whose ships lay on the edge of the ocean loaded with produce, with the alternative before them of total ruin or a rich market, and they risked the latter, they could not for any length of time be identified with common smugglers. Already the suspension of imports had imposed a loss of thirty millions of dollars, principally on the maritime interest of America; and it was not to be expected that such ruinous sacrifices would be long borne with patience.

In one of Quincy's letters to his wife in March he said, "We are tired of one another, and Jefferson of us. The only difficulty to be surmounted is, that those who voted for the embargo do not like to go home with it on, and yet they dare not take it off. We meet and adjourn, do ordinary business, wrangle, and then the majority retire to intrigue for the Presidency." A glimpse of his manner of life is afforded through a passage in an earlier letter during the same session: "At half past six in the morning my servant comes into my room, makes my fire, gets my dressing apparatus, and at half past seven I am out of bed, and dressed for the day. My servant, not content with tying my hair simply with a ribbon, works it up into a most formidable queue, at least three inches long, and as big as a reasonable Dutch quill. He says this is the mode in New York, and as I do not wear powder, and it looks a little more trig, I acquiesce."

Although John Jay in one of his letters speaks of the French Revolution as having abolished silk stockings and high breeding from the land, and Jefferson was making a study of carelessness in personal attire to illustrate his notions of equality and democracy, old-school fashions had by no means become obsolete. The carriage dress worn by Mrs. Quincy while visiting the home of her brother, General Jacob Morton, in New York, the year before, was a short pelisse of black velvet, edged round the

¹ *Minutes of Common Council in Manuscript.* 1808, Vol. XVIII. p. 18.

skirt with deep lace, and trimmed with silk cord and jet buttons, while her hat was of purple velvet and flowers; her costume worn in Washington the same winter at a ball given by the British Minister was of rich white silk embroidered in gold, with train, and a corresponding head-dress, ornamented with a single white ostrich feather.

Peter Parley tells an amusing story of a leading New York barber, who was shaving a gentleman on the evening Madison's nomination for the Presidency was announced. "Dear me!" he exclaimed. "Surely this country is doomed to disgrace and shame. What Presidents we might have had, sir! Just look at Daggett of Connecticut, or Stockton of New Jersey! What queues they have got, sir — as big as your wrist, and powdered every day, sir, like real gentlemen as they are. Such men, sir, would confer dignity upon the chief magistracy; but this little Jim Madison, with a queue no bigger than a pipe-stem! Sir, it is enough to make a man forswear his country!"

The winter of 1808 – 1809 was one of intense anxiety and excitement throughout the country. Madison was found to have received one hundred and twenty-two votes for President; and George Clinton one hundred and thirteen votes for Vice-President, thus both were declared elected. The question of preparing for war agitated the public mind almost equally with that of repealing the embargo act. Many of Jefferson's partisans became alarmed at the condition of affairs, and sided with the Federalists. After much caucusing Jefferson consented to a compromise, and non-intercourse was substituted for embargo, which was the last act of his administration.

By the new law all nations except France and Great Britain were relieved from the arbitrary provisions of the former act, and the 1809. coasting trade was in a great measure set free. Men breathed with more ease, and business began to revive. But the restraints still subjected honorable merchants to serious embarrassments, and evasions by the dishonest were ten times as frequent as during the fourteen months' embargo. Jefferson laid down the scepter with hearty good-will. He had discovered a wide difference between author- March 4 ity in theory and authority in practice. He had pursued his policy of peace, with one half the nation lauding him as a political saint and the other charging him with intolerable tyranny, until earth and sea seemed to have united in one great paroxysm of madness, and war threatened both at home and from abroad.

Madison was inaugurated with the usual ceremonies, and in his address declared his intention "to cherish peace and friendly intercourse with all nations having correspondent dispositions; to maintain sincere neutrality

towards belligerent nations ; and to exclude foreign intrigues and foreign partialities." At the same time he acknowledged the difficult crisis of affairs, the more striking by its contrast to the extraordinary commercial prosperity of preceding years, a crisis resulting, in his opinion, solely from the misconduct of the powers in Europe who were at war with each other, and not from errors of administration.

One of his first acts, in view of the dark clouds of war which for years had overshadowed Europe and were now rolling towards America, was to send John Quincy Adams on a mission to Russia. The youthful Emperor Alexander was rising to a prominent and influential position among the nations of the Old World. Adams had veered about in politics and sustained Jefferson and his embargo policy, and with his eminent talents and literary acquirements, his perfect knowledge of the relations of nations, and of the diplomatic language of Europe, he was well fitted for such an embassy. Twenty-eight years before, while a mere lad, he had been in the same place as private secretary to Dana. He was now in his prime, and, arriving at St. Petersburg in the autumn of 1809, made such a favorable impression upon the court, that the emperor, charmed by his varied qualities, admitted him to terms of personal intimacy seldom granted to the most favored individuals.

An attempt to negotiate a treaty with Great Britain was unsuccessful. Erskine, the English minister at Washington, had been sincerely desirous of effecting conciliatory arrangements with the United States, and entered into an agreement with Madison's Secretary of State that the British orders in council should be repealed on the tenth day of the coming June. The highest hopes of commercial freedom began to fill the American mind. But news came that turned the tide into a flood of bitter resentment. The British government peremptorily refused to honor the treaty of their minister, and charged him with having exceeded his instructions, knowingly. President Madison, who had fondly hoped to relieve the nation from the multiplied evils of the restrictive policy, had no alternative but to issue a mandate renewing non-intercourse.

The excitement was intense. Republicans generally charged the British Cabinet with a palpable breach of public and pledged faith, and the Federalists blamed the President and his advisers. A remarkable change had taken place in the respective politics of Republicans and Federalists during the eight years of Jefferson's rule, showing that party distinction had arisen greatly from differences of opinion as to certain questions of temporary policy, together with divided sympathies respecting the contest between England and France. The embargo system had increased the strength of the Federalists, particularly in New England,

where at the election in 1809 the union against the administration was complete. In New York the Federalists carried the State election, for the first time in ten years.

Consequently, at the first meeting of the new Council of Appointment De Witt Clinton was removed from the mayoralty of the city, and Jacob Radcliff chosen in his stead; while Pierre Cortlandt Van Wyck was exchanged for Josiah Ogden Hoffman in the recordership. The politics of New York at this time would puzzle a stranger unfamiliar with the deadly feuds between families, which had raged for upwards of a century. The tactics and the manœuvres of the factions for supremacy might be likened to a kaleidoscope, presenting many fine colors and symmetrical forms, but leaving a singular uncertainty upon the mind as to the future character of the exhibition. Purely partisan conflicts are of as little moment to history as the rise of cliques which after brief existence suddenly disappear from the horizon of politics. A few brave men of the Republican party still clung to Aaron Burr, who in abject poverty was at this moment vainly trying to get out of France, and believed his vexatious detention was due to the enmity of Armstrong; he was under the surveillance of "that perfect police which could make the empire as impassable a prison as a walled and moated fortress," and learned from Theodosia that the newspapers in America seldom mentioned his name but to stigmatize it, and that politicians knew too well that to appear in his defense would be to share his odium, and destroy all their hopes of the smallest governmental favor. Another section of the Republican party, which had supported Madison for the Presidency in opposition to George Clinton, made common cause with the Livingstons.

Before the end of the year the pressure from the Federalists was so great that the Clintonians and the Livingstons coalesced, and re-elected Governor Tompkins by ten thousand majority over Jonas Platt, the Federal candidate. Thus the Federalists, although having increased their strength in the city, lost both the Assembly and the council of appointment, and were doomed to see every man of their party holding office removed to make room for former incumbents. De Witt Clinton was restored to the mayoralty, and Van Wyck to the recordership.

A celebration was planned in the summer of 1809 by the New York Historical Society, to commemorate the discovery of Manhattan Island. Two hundred years had elapsed since Henry Hudson came in sight of our shores, as described in the second chapter of the first volume of this work. The anniversary of such a momentous event attracted universal attention. The corporation of the city tendered the use

of the front court-room in the City Hall to the Society for the exercises of the day, which was accepted, and a large audience of ladies

1809. and gentlemen assembled therein to listen to a brilliant and
 Sept. 4. learned historical address by Rev. Dr. Miller. Governor Tompkins was present, also the mayor and corporation of the city.

At the conclusion of the discourse, about four in the afternoon, the Society adjourned to the City Hotel on Broadway, where an elegant dinner had been prepared. Among the invited guests were ex-Mayor Marinus Willett, Judge Nathaniel Pendleton, Theodorus Bailey, the postmaster, Colonel



City Hotel, Trinity Church, and Grace Church.

(From a fine old print.)

Peter Curtenius, Charles Baldwin, and Henry Gahn, the Swedish Consul. The viands served were "a variety of shell and other fish with which our waters abound, wild pigeons and succotash (Indian-corn and beans), the favorite dish of

the season, with the different meats introduced into this country by the European settlers."¹ It was a banquet in keeping with the historical spirit of the occasion, all modern delicacies having been rigidly excluded.²

Among the nominees for membership of the Historical Society at this meeting were Oliver Wolcott, David B. Ogden, William Paulding, Jr., Washington Irving, Richard Riker, James Swords, and Matthias B. Tallmadge. A few of the honorary members elected were Lindley Murray, Noah Webster, Charles Brockden Brown, George Gibbs, Timothy Alden, Rev. Dr. Jedediah Morse, Rev. Dr. John Elliott, Rev. Dr. William Samuel Johnson, Rev. Dr. Benjamin Trumbull, Dr. Samuel Bard, Dr.

¹ *Minutes of the New York Historical Society in Manuscript*, Vol. I. p. 23 ; *Dr. Miller's Discourse*, *New York Hist. Soc. Coll.* Vol. I. 1809.

² The sentiments offered at this notable dinner were : —

"Christopher Columbus. — The discoverer of America. His monument is not inscribed

Benjamin Rush, Rev. Dr. Timothy Dwight, president of Yale College, Rev. Samuel Stanhope Smith, president of Princeton College, Josiah Quincy, and Vice-President George Clinton.

with his name, yet all nations recognize it. Its base covers half the globe, and its summit reaches beyond the clouds."

"Queen Isabella of Spain. — The magnanimous and munificent friend and patron of Columbus."

"John and Sebastian Cabot. — The contemporaries of Columbus and the discoverers of North America."

"John Verrazano. — His enterprising genius and his visit to this part of our country deserve to be better known."

"Henry Hudson. — The enterprising and intrepid navigator. Though disastrous his end, yet fortunate his renown, for the majestic river which bears his name shall render it immortal."

"The Fourth of September, 1609. — The day on which Hudson landed on our shores."

"Wouter Van Twiller. — The first governor of New Netherland."

"Peter Stuyvesant. — The last Dutch governor, an intrepid soldier and faithful officer."

"Richard Nicolls. — The first English governor of the Province of New York."

"George Clinton. — The first governor of the State of New York."

"William Smith. — The historian of New York."

"Richard Hakluyt and Samuel Purchas. — May future compilers of historical documents emulate their diligence and fidelity."

"William Smith, Cadwallader Colden, Samuel Smith, Jeremy Belknap, and George Richards Minot — American historians. — They have merited the gratitude of their country."

"The United States of America. — May our prosperity ever confirm the belief that the discovery of our country was a blessing to mankind."

"The State of New York. — May it ever be the pleasing task of the historian to record events that shall evince the wisdom of her Legislature, and display the virtue of her people."

"The Massachusetts Historical Society, which set the honorable example of collecting and preserving what relates to the history of our country."

"Our Forefathers. — To whose enterprise and fortitude, under Providence, we owe the blessings we enjoy."

Among the numerous volunteer toasts — after the governor and the mayor had retired from the table — were the following: —

By William Johnson, the chairman (in the absence of Judge Benson, the president of the Society): — "The Governor of the State of New York."

By John Pintard: — "The mayor and corporation of the city of New York."

By Dr. Samuel L. Mitchill: — "A speedy termination of our foreign relations."

By Simeon De Witt: — "May our successors, a century hence, celebrate the same event which we this day commemorate."

By Dr. David Hosack: — "The memory of St. Nicholas. May the virtuous habits and simple manners of our Dutch ancestors be not lost in the luxuries and refinements of the present time."

By Judge Pendleton: — "May the same virtues and the same industry combine in our land which have converted an Indian cornfield into a Botanic Garden."

By Josiah Ogden Hoffman: — "Egbert Benson, our absent and respected president."

By Colonel Curtenius: — "Pierre Van Cortlandt, the first lieutenant-governor of the State of New York."

By Mr. Gahn, the Swedish Consul: — "The mouth of the Hudson. May it soon have a sharp set of teeth to show in its defense."

The new City Hall in the Park was not yet completed, although workmen had been employed upon it almost without intermission since 1810. the corner-stone was laid by Edward Livingston in 1803. In 1810 an order was sent to England for copper with which to cover the roof, and it came at last, although not until 1811, costing ten thousand five hundred dollars. The edifice was pronounced finished in 1812, upwards of half a million of dollars having been expended upon it, exclusive of its furniture. It was the handsomest structure at the time in the United States.

The white marble of the front and sides was brought from Stockbridge, Massachusetts. The architecture was both Ionic and Corinthian, the great columns resting upon a rustic basement of brown freestone, nine feet in height. The principal entrance was on the south front by a terrace walk extending the length of the building, about forty feet in breadth, and raised some three feet above the level of the Park. From this walk a flight of steps led to an Ionic colonnade, thence to a large vestibule adjoining a corridor which communicated with the different apartments and staircases. In the centre of the edifice, facing the entrance, was a large circular stone staircase, with a double flight of steps upheld without any apparent support. On the level of the second floor stood ten marble columns of the Corinthian order, with a circular gallery around them. The columns were fluted, and the entablature fully enriched; the whole covered by a hemispherical ceiling, ornamented with stucco in novel designs, and lighted from the sky with fine effect. A balustrade of marble surrounded the building, hiding a great portion of the roof. The centre had an attic story crowned with a well-proportioned cupola surmounted by the figure of Justice.

The council chamber was richly ornamented with wood and stone carvings, and the chairs provided for the mayor the same that had been used by Washington while presiding over the first Congress in New York City; it was elevated by a few steps on the south side of the room, and graced with a canopy overhead.

The City Hall Park was described by a writer of the period as "a piece of inclosed ground in front of the new City Hall, consisting of about four acres, planted with elms, planes, willows, and catalpas, the surrounding foot-walk encompassed with rows of poplars. This beautiful grove, in the middle of the city, combines in a high degree ornament with health and pleasure; and to enhance the enjoyments of the place, the English and French reading-room, the Shakespeare gallery, and the theater, offer ready amusement to the mind; while the mechanic-hall, the London hotel, and the New York gardens present instant refreshment to the body.

Though the trees are but young, and of few years' growth, the Park may be pronounced an elegant and improving place."

The Park Theater will be recognized in the sketch, upon the southeast side of the Park, and has the effect of a large and commodious building, as it must necessarily have been to accommodate twelve hundred persons with seats. The boxes are said to have been remarkably well adapted to the display of beauty and fashion, as well as to the view of the scenic performances. In November of this year George Frederick Cooke Nov. 21. appeared in *Richard III.*, before the largest audience ever crowded within its walls. The throng was so great that many were pushed through



City Hall Park.

(With the Park Theater in the background.)

the doors without paying. Ladies were taken to the alley and introduced to the boxes from the rear. Cooke's vast renown had preceded him to this country, and his arrival was one of the chief milestones in the progress of the drama. He was fifty-four years of age, possessing all the elasticity of thirty, of stalwart figure and commanding presence, and being a man of keen observation who had for a decade made mankind a perpetual study, his breadth of vision and boldness and originality of conception convinced the New York community that he was the first of living actors. He engrossed all minds; and old play-goers discovered a mine of wealth in Shakespeare never before comprehended.

On the 23d he played *Sir Pertinax*, and, notwithstanding a violent snow-storm, the receipts of the house were fourteen hundred and twenty-four dollars. It was his greatest performance, and was Nov. 23.

rendered the more acceptable by his wonderful enunciation of the Scotch dialect. He was told that all the town had concluded he was a Scotchman. "They have the same opinion of me in Scotland," he replied, "yet I am an Englishman." When asked how he had acquired so complete a knowledge of the Scotch accentuation, he said, "I studied more than two and a half years in my own room, with repeated intercourse with Scotch society, in order to master the Scotch dialect, before I ventured to appear on the boards in Edinburgh as Sir Pertinax, and when I did Sawney took me for a native. It was the hardest task I ever undertook."¹

The Brick Church with its little yard of tombs, then occupying the site of the present building of the *New York Times*, was the scene of the ordination and installation of Rev. Dr. Gardiner Spring in August, 1810. He was a young divine of great promise, who first saw the light in Newburyport, Massachusetts, twenty-five years before, and who maintained for over half a century the position as pastor of this church organization — unmoved by invitations to preside at Hamilton and at Dartmouth colleges. He was one of the most able, popular, and esteemed preachers of the city, as well as the author of twenty or more valuable works which have passed through many editions, and have been in part translated and republished in Europe.²

During the summer of the same year the Wall Street Presbyterian Church was rebuilt on an enlarged plan, ninety-seven feet long and

¹ George Frederick Cooke was born in England, April 17, 1756, died in New York City September 26, 1812. He began life as a printer's apprentice, but his fondness for the stage led him early into that career. He was three years in Dublin, and in 1800 appeared at Covent Garden in Richard III., taking his place in the front rank of actors. He was also celebrated in Macbeth, Iago, Shylock, and Sir Pertinax. His habitual intemperance destroyed his constitution, and while it never impaired his dramatic reputation, it disgusted the world and terminated his dazzling career. (*Drake ; Dunlap ; Old New York*, by Francis.) He was buried in Trinity Churchyard, where a monument was erected to his memory in 1821, by Edmund Kean, of the Theater Royal, Drury Lane. "His funeral was an imposing spectacle. He had no kindred present, but the clergy of New York, physicians, members of the bar, officers of the army and navy, the *Literati* and men of science, together with the dramatic corps, and a large concourse of citizens, moved in the procession." — *Tombs in Old Trinity*, by Mrs. Martha J. Lamb, in *Harper's Magazine*, November, 1876.

² Rev. Gardiner Spring, D. D., was the son of Rev. Dr. Samuel Spring, of Newburyport, Massachusetts, one of the chaplains of the army who accompanied Arnold in his attack on Quebec in 1775. He graduated at Yale in 1805, after which he studied law with the distinguished jurist, David Daggett, of New Haven, who was at one time chief justice of the State and also mayor of New Haven. Admitted to the bar in December, 1808, he commenced practice. But the effect of one of the great sermons of Rev. Dr. John M. Mason — from the text, "To the poor the gospel is preached" — was to turn his mind to the study of theology. After a year passed at Andover he was licensed to preach, and in a few months received and accepted the call to the Brick Church. (*Greenleaf ; Sprague ; Hardie ; Duyckinck ; Drake*.)

sixty-eight feet wide, with a handsome spire. Rev. Dr. Rodgers was at the time bending under the weight of years, and died the following spring at the ripe age of eighty-four. He continued his pastoral relations with the church, however, until the last, and was one of the most active in urging the work forward on the new edifice. Rev. Dr. Miller, who had been associated with him as collegiate pastor, assumed the entire charge until 1813, when he resigned in consequence of his appointment to the professorship of divinity at Princeton. He was succeeded by Rev. Philip Melancthon Whepley, the son of Rev. Samuel Whepley, of Stockbridge, Massachusetts, an author and clergyman who established a very popular school in New York about 1814, and who died in 1817. Young Whepley was but twenty-three at the time of his installation over the Wall Street Church in 1815, yet he fulfilled his duties satisfactorily until his death in 1824. For two years the church was without a pastor, but in 1826 Rev. William W. Phillips accepted a call, and entered upon his pastorate on the 19th of January.

In the month of April, 1809, the three Presbyterian churches of the city, which hitherto had been one collegiate charge, were separated in an orderly manner by the Presbytery; and the Rev. Dr. Philip Milledoler, installed as a colleague in 1805, became the sole pastor of the Rutgers Street Church until 1813, when he resigned. He was a distinguished scholar, born at Farmington, Connecticut, in 1775, educated at Edinburgh, and developed into a most philosophical and industrious literary man. He was one of the founders of the Bible Society; and subsequently president of Rutgers College—from 1825 to 1841. The Rutgers Street Church was a spacious frame edifice erected on land presented by Henry Rutgers in 1797, and had a cupola and a public clock. Rev. Dr. John McKnight, who had labored incessantly with the ministers since 1789, resigned his sacred office with the consent of the Presbytery in 1810.

This was a period when new churches were being founded by every denomination. The Presbyterians commenced a new house of worship in Spring Street, near Varick, in 1810, the venerable Dr. Rodgers being present and offering a short prayer. The Canal Street Church was organized in 1809, the original structure being located on Orange Street, near Grand, the corner-stone of which was laid by Dr. Rodgers. The site proving unfavorable and the building badly constructed, it was abandoned, in 1825, for a larger and more substantial brick edifice erected upon the corner of Canal Street and Green. Meanwhile the Pearl Street Church, between Elm and Broadway, built of stone in 1797, had for a few years formed a collegiate charge with the Scotch Presbyterian Church in Cedar Street, but separated in 1804. In 1810 a third Associate Pres-

byterian Church was formed chiefly from the Cedar Street congregation, and an elegant stone edifice was built on Murray Street, opposite Columbia College. When completed, in 1812, Dr. John M. Mason became its pastor, he having retired from his former charge. The Duane Street Church was established with twenty-eight members in November, 1808, and first occupied a small church edifice in Cedar Street, between William and Nassau. Under the ministry of Rev. Dr. John B. Romeyn until his death in 1825, a large congregation was gathered, and not until 1836 was it thought expedient to remove to the elegant house of worship erected on Duane Street, corner of Church.¹ The spring of 1836 marked also the removal of the Scotch Church in Cedar Street to a new edifice in Grand Street, near Broadway. The organization known as the earliest Associate Presbyterian Church, formed in 1785, worshiped in a small edifice in Nassau Street erected in 1787; that of the earliest Reformed Presbyterian Church dated back to 1797, and occupied a church edifice built in 1801, in Chambers Street, east of Broadway, the Rev. Dr. Alexander McLeod being its pastor from 1800 to 1818.² In 1810 a religious meeting under a Congregational or Independent form was established in Elizabeth Street, and the following year it was reorganized as a Presbyterian Church, admitted to the Presbytery of New York, and Rev. Henry P. Strong was installed pastor.³

While the Presbyterians of the city prior to the war of 1812 had multiplied into twelve distinct organizations, the Episcopalians, inclusive of chapels and mission churches, had fourteen places of worship. Trinity, St. Paul's Chapel, and St. George's Chapel in Beekman Street, have hitherto been brought before the reader's notice. St. John's Church, an elegant stone structure costing upwards of two hundred thousand dollars, was built by Trinity Church in 1807. The site chosen, in Varick Street, between Laight and Beach, was one of the most desolate imaginable, the scenery comprehending little else than a dreary marsh, covered with brambles and bulrushes, and tenanted by frogs and water-snakes. How-

¹ In May, 1836, Rev. George Potts was installed pastor of the Duane Street Church, but after a few years the congregation had scattered towards the north to such an extent that he followed, and, preaching for a time in the chapel of the New York University, laid the foundation for the handsome church edifice in University Place, corner of Tenth Street. Rev. Dr. James Waddell Alexander succeeded to the pulpit of the Duane Street Church, which subsequently removed to Fifth Avenue, corner of Nineteenth Street; and in 1875 again removed to the handsome edifice, corner of Fifth Avenue and Fifty-fourth Street, of which the present pastor is the eloquent and popular divine, Rev. Dr. John Hall.

² The original session of this church consisted of John Currie, Andrew Gifford, David Clark, John Agnew, and James Nelson.

³ The Elizabeth Street Church was dissolved by the Presbytery in 1813, it being too feeble to sustain itself.

ever, the spirit of progress which actuated the New York mind soon became visible in the laying out of Hudson Square, covering an entire block in front of the church.

In Ann Street, a few doors east of Nassau, stood Christ's Church, founded in 1794; in 1810 it counted three hundred members in communion; and in 1823 a new edifice was erected in Anthony Street, a little west of Broadway. Its rector from 1805 to 1848 was Rev. Dr. Thomas Lyell. The French Church, Du St. Esprit, in Pine Street, was open for worship until 1834, at which time the property was sold, and the congregation removed to an elegant structure of white marble in Franklin Street, corner of Church. In Broome Street, corner of Chrystie, St. Stephen's Church was built in 1805. Upon the site of the old chapel of Governor Stuyvesant in Second Avenue, corner of Eleventh



St. John's Church.

Street, — beneath which was the Stuyvesant vault — St. Mark's Church was opened for worship in 1799, the property having been generously donated to the vestry of Trinity Church by the great grandson of the governor, together with some eight hundred pounds sterling in money

towards the erection of the edifice. Rev. Dr. William Harris was the rector from 1801 to 1816, although elected president of Columbia College in 1811. Grace Church was founded in 1805, and a spacious edifice was soon erected in Broadway, near Trinity Church, upon the site of the old Lutheran Church which was burned in 1776; the elegant church in Broadway, corner of Tenth Street, was completed by this organization in 1846; the first rector was Rev. Dr. Nathaniel Bowen. Zion Church stood in 1810 in Mott Street, corner of Cross; it was built by a small society of Lutherans in 1801, and was afterwards received into the communion of the Episcopal Church; Rev. Ralph Williston was the pastor from 1811 to 1815, when the building was burned, and about two years later rebuilt. In the neighborhood of Manhattanville and Washington Heights many families desired religious privileges; therefore, in 1807, St. Michael's Church was founded, and a small frame building erected at Bloomingdale. In 1810 St. James's Church was formed, and a church edifice erected about a mile east of St. Michael's. The two parishes were associated under the rectorship of the Rev. Dr. Samuel Farmer Jarvis until 1818, when he was appointed Professor of Biblical Learning in the new General Theological Seminary established in New York. The colored Episcopalians held a service by themselves in a school-room in William Street from 1809 to 1812, after which they removed to a room in Cliff Street, where they worshipped for several years; in 1819 they erected St. Philip's Church in Centre Street, between Leonard and Anthony. Calvary Church, near Corlaer's Hook, resulted from a missionary effort in 1810 of the Rev. Benjamin P. Aydelott, a physician who had received orders, and entered with great enthusiasm into the work of preaching the Gospel to the inhabitants of that locality. A church was regularly organized with eleven members in August of that year, but it afterwards became extinct.

The Reformed Dutch Church had at the same time not less than seven houses of worship. It was the oldest organization of Christians in the city, and distinguished for the high character of its well-trained theologians and devoted ministers. The three principal churches, Garden Street, Middle Church, and North Church, described upon former pages, constituted a collegiate charge—a plan which seems to have prevailed among all the early churches of New York, and was first abandoned by the Presbyterians. The old church in Garden Street was taken down in 1807, and a new edifice erected on the same site—which was destroyed in 1835 by fire, and its successor rebuilt on Washington Square. In 1813 a petition from the congregation procured a separation from the collegiate connection, and this church proceeded to form a Consistory of

its own. Its pastor for a series of years was Rev. Dr. James M. Mathews. The Middle Dutch Church, in Nassau Street, was occupied for divine service until 1844. Meanwhile, in 1807, the consistory of the collegiate church built the Northwest Church, in Franklin Street, near West Broadway; and the same year enlarged the little wooden church in Greenwich village, which had been erected in 1782. A church was founded at Harlem soon after the settlement of the city; and about 1805 Jacob Harsen erected at Bloomingdale, upon his own land, a small wooden building for public worship, which was formally dedicated by Rev. Dr. Livingston on the last Sabbath in June of that year. In October the officers were duly installed, and the edifice conveyed to the organization by Mr. Harsen. In 1808 the Rev. Alexander Gunn was called to the pastorate; and six years later a substantial structure was erected by the congregation in Sixty-eighth Street, between Ninth and Tenth Avenues.

The German Reformed Church, built in Nassau Street before the Revolution through the efforts of Dominie Kern, was sold in 1804, and a new edifice erected in Forsyth Street. A controversy arose about the same time concerning the church property, which two adverse parties within the organization, one Calvinistic, and connected with the collegiate Reformed Dutch, and the other Lutheran and standing alone, both claimed; at length, in 1834, the Lutheran party obtained possession of the edifice. Ten years later the decision was reversed, and the Calvinistic party returned, while the Lutherans retired to Columbia Hall in Grand Street. In 1846, by a decision of the Court of Errors, the Lutherans once more took possession of the building. Their minister was connected with the Lutheran Synod, and officiated in the German language.

The Lutherans whose church was burned in Broadway in 1776 united after the war with another congregation of Lutherans who had in 1767 erected a small stone edifice, known as the Swamp Church, in William Street, corner of Frankfort, where the Rev. Dr. John Christopher Kunze was the stated pastor from 1784 until his death in 1807. He was succeeded by Rev. Dr. F. G. Geissenhainer. Both of these divines preached in the German language only.

The Baptists had already expanded into eight distinct church organizations. As early as 1770 a difficulty in the First Baptist Church arose about psalmody. It had been the usage of the church to have the lines parceled out as sung, but an innovation was desired with such persistence that fourteen members seceded and formed the Second Baptist Church. Their first pastor was Rev. John Dodge of Long Island. In 1791 a division arose in the Second Church, which resulted in the founding of a third church, and the erection of an edifice in 1795 in Oliver Street, corner of


Henry, which was enlarged and rebuilt in 1800. The Second, afterwards called the Bethel Church, built a church edifice of wood in Broome Street, near the Bowery, in 1806. The Mulberry Street Church was formed in 1809, and until 1838 was under the ministry of Rev. Dr. Archibald Maclay. In 1809 the North Beriah Church was also formed, a colony of some thirty members from the First Baptist Church having united in a new church enterprise, and erected a frame building in Van Dam Street, between Varick and Hudson. It was known as the North Church until after the War of 1812. The structure was burned in 1819, and its successor rebuilt in McDougall Street, near Van Dam. In the mean time the Scotch Baptists formed a church in 1802, styled the Ebenezer Baptist Church, and in 1806 built a small house of worship in Anthony Street, near West Broadway. In 1809 the Abyssinian Church was organized, consisting of a colony of colored people from the First Baptist Church, and bought the little edifice so recently completed by the Scotch Baptists in Anthony Street, who obtained a frame building in York Street not quite as costly. In 1807 a party of seventy-six Welsh Baptists, all communicants, organized into a church, with Rev. John Stephens pastor, worshipping in a small house in Mott Street.

Two Methodist churches were formed in 1810, the Allen Street Church and the Bedford Street Church, the former erecting a stone edifice in Allen Street, seventy feet by fifty-five, and the latter a frame building in Bedford Street, corner of Morton. These, with the four churches of this denomination before mentioned, and one African Methodist — which had a small brick edifice, erected in 1800 in Church Street, corner of Leonard — comprise the seven Methodist churches of 1812. There were, also, one Moravian Church; one Universalist Church, located in Pearl Street near Chatham; one Congregational Church, built in Elizabeth Street, between Walker Street and Hester, in 1809; two Quaker meeting-houses, one in Pearl Street near Franklin Square, built in 1775, and the other in Liberty Street in 1802 — a brick building sixty by forty feet; one Jewish Synagogue, in Mill Street, and one Roman Catholic Church. While the English laws were in force prior to the close of the Revolution, no Catholic clergyman was allowed to officiate in the State of New York. But in all legislation after the war every man was permitted to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience. The Roman Catholics formed a congregation in 1783, and commenced worship in a small building in Vauxhall Garden, on the margin of the Hudson, until St. Peter's Church was completed in Barclay Street, corner of Church, in 1786. For more than thirty years this was the only Catholic church in the city of New York.

Deep and strong New York had laid the foundation of her religious society in the beginning. Thus the wonder is not that her church edifices increased in proportion to the rapid spread of her boundaries, until the number reached fifty-nine prior to the second war with Great Britain, many of which were spacious, elegant, and costly, but that so much was done in this direction during the marked period of pecuniary distress from 1807 to 1812.

The creation and regulation of streets form a chapter of interest and importance in the history of the city. While the discussion of the subject is intermingling every foreboding and most serious

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Foot of Canal Street and Hudson River.
[From an engraving by J. C. Neill, after A. C. Smith.]



Foot of Canal Street and Hudson River.
[It must be noted that the view is from the river side.]

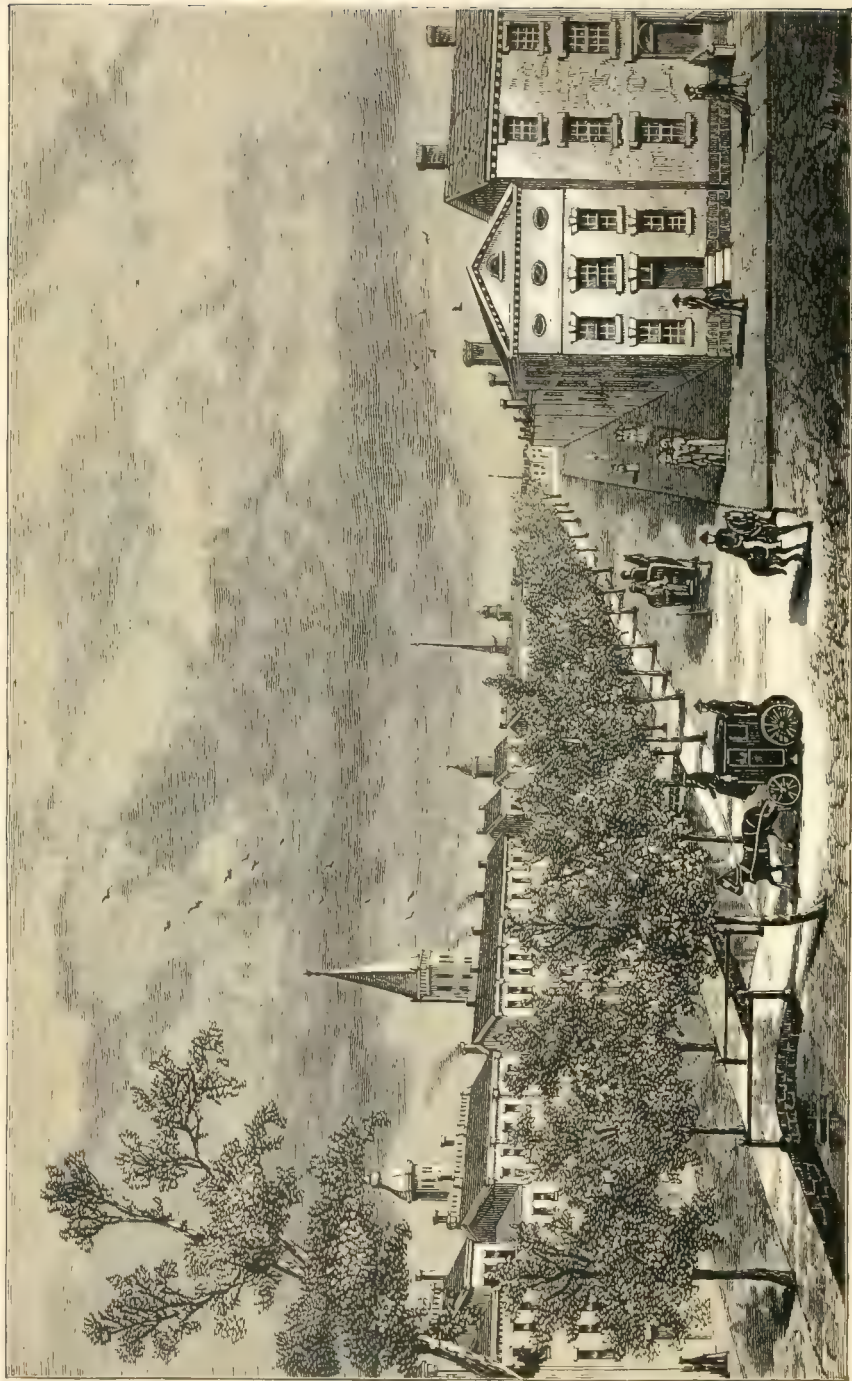
sequences, new roadways were springing into existence, and by-paths and alleys striking new levels or new orbits, and growing like mushrooms in the night. In the midst of the struggle to obtain appropriations from the government for defenses, and the general feeling of insecurity pervading New York City—the shining mark for a foreign foe—the labor of grading hills and elevating valleys went forward with as much apparent spirit as if the whole ambition of the community was involved. The minutes of the Common Council teem with reports of commissioners and surveyors, and with resolutions for opening and elongating streets, until the city was actually blockaded by the British.

The corporation brain encountered no puzzle half as formidable as the proper course to be pursued with the swamp in the region of Canal Street. Broadway was graded below the stone bridge, and for some distance above, and Spring Street was marked out, and houses built in certain parts of it, while yet nothing but a small sluggish stream of water marked the site of the broad and convenient Canal Street of to-day. The Lispenard Meadows were overflowed with water at some seasons of the year, and in winter they formed a skating pond for thousands of persons who delighted in the amusement, as the Collect, or Fresh Water Pond had done before its beauty was spoiled by the filling in of offal and rubbish. The point where the Canal Street rivulet united with the Hudson River was sketched one winter's morning in the early part of the century by Alexander Anderson, the first wood-engraver in America, and the scene represented is in such striking contrast with that of the same locality at the present day that it is reproduced for the

entertainment of the public. The habitable portion of the city had crept up the Bowery as far as Bond Street. Various schemes had been discussed of disposing of the Collect, and Canal Street had been laid out upon paper by competent engineers as many times as there were months in the calendar. The most feasible plan for some years seemed to be the construction of a canal or tunnel on a level one foot below low-water mark, passing directly through the pond, from the East River to the Hudson, which should drain the meadows adjacent as well, "carrying off the water from the streets that descend thereto." Before funds had been raised for its execution, the idea of filling the pond with the cleanest and best earth which could be obtained was acted upon; at the same time an effort was made to dig from the bottom a sediment soil formed from decomposed vegetable matter similar to peat or turf, extending to a great depth, and which it was believed might be converted into fuel and thus prove remunerative. Laborers were employed in the summer of 1808 for one or two months, but for some reason the work was discontinued, and the old process of "filling in" again prevailed.

During the same season a great clamor arose among property owners along the line of Canal or Duggan Street — as it was at first called from Thomas Duggan, a large property-owner in the vicinity — which had been temporarily laid out in 1806. The method which met with more general approbation than any other had been laid aside for less practicable suggestions, and then reconsidered, until any one plan, however imperfect, if only permanent, was sought as a special boon. It was represented that upwards of three thousand lots fronting on the proposed street could not be improved, and that cellars, wherever they existed, were filled with water. At what is now the corner of Grand Street and Greene, as was stated, a man had walked into deep water by mistake in the night and been drowned. Some went so far as to declare that when the Hudson and the East Rivers were swollen with the spring tides "their waters ran into and covered the swamps, meeting one another."

In accordance with an earnest petition, application was made to the Legislature, and an act passed appointing commissioners to decide upon the method, and to regulate and open the street. This was a separate and distinct act from the one passed April 3, 1807, appointing Gouverneur Morris, Simeon De Witt, and John Rutherford "commissioners of streets and roads in the city of New York"; and all three of those gentlemen declined to serve on the new commission, their duties lying chiefly above Houston Street. Difficulties of a scientific character interposed, and the year 1809 was well advanced before the tangled meadows and wild grass



"It resulted finally in a street one hundred feet wide with a ditch or open canal in its center bordered with shade trees, upon either side of which was a broad drive lined with habitations—and which was very naturally called Canal street." Page 507

began to disappear. The drainage must necessarily embrace a considerable extent of high land to the north, where the permanent grade of the streets had not yet been established. Thus the work progressed slowly, and with many interruptions. It resulted finally in a street one hundred feet wide with a ditch or open canal in its center bordered with shade trees, upon either side of which was a broad drive lined with habitations — and which was very naturally called Canal Street.

In the mean time the Collect received the tops of all the eminences in the neighborhood, and was obliterated from the topography of the city. East of its site were several unfinished streets for many years. The property in the neighborhood of the Jews' burial-ground was not considered worth anything — at least nobody could be found willing to buy it at any price. But there were several estates lying beyond, which subsequently became extremely valuable. The Banckers owned a large tract of land in the vicinity of Bancker — afterwards Madison — Street, adjoining the Roosevelt property, from which Roosevelt Street received its name. And the Janeways were extensive real-estate proprietors in the same neighborhood at one period. Colonel Rutgers was immensely rich in lands, and one of the most liberal men of his time in the matter of donating sites for public buildings and streets.

On the west side of the town the wealthy corporation of Trinity Church was munificent in contributing landed property to the authorities for streets — as it was required from year to year. In 1808 it ceded to the city the ground for Washington Street, from Christopher Street to the Hudson River; also that for Greenwich Street from Spring Street north to the extent of the church property, for Hudson Street from North Moore Street to Vestry Street, for Varick Street from North Moore Street to Vestry Street, for Beach Street from Hudson to east boundary of church land, for Laight Street from Hudson to east boundary of church land, for Vestry Street from Greenwich Street to east boundary of church land, for Desbrosses Street from Greenwich Street to Hudson River, for Le Roy Street from Hudson Street to Hudson River, for Van Dam, Charlton, King, Hamersley, Clarkson, Barrow, and Morton Streets as far as the church lands extended from east to west, and for two alleys, each twenty-five feet wide — one in the rear of St. John's Church, and the other from Beach Street to Laight Street. The beautiful park itself, in front of St. John's Church, was not only appropriated from the Trinity Church domains and made the pride of the city, but embellished at the expense of the church corporation. At the same time hardly a form could be mentioned in which the liberality of Trinity Church was not manifested towards the younger and needy Episcopal churches not only of the city but of every section

of the State. Gifts of communion-plate, organs, bells, salaries, and lots, were of common occurrence, donations reached hundreds of aged and infirm clergymen from time to time, institutions of learning were endowed, and loans were granted which in a few years exceeded a million of dollars.

The labors of Bishop Moore in this field terminated through a severe illness in February, 1811, from which he never recovered, although he survived until 1816. He had been associated in the duties of the Trinity Church pulpit since 1774, shortly after his return from England, where he was ordained by the Bishop of London in the Episcopal palace at Fulham. Upon the resignation of Bishop Provoost in 1801 he was unanimously elected his successor. From 1801 to 1811 he was also president of Columbia College, but the terms of his acceptance of the office relieved him from all regular instruction and the details of college discipline, confining his duties to presiding at the public examination of classes, the weekly declamations, at commencements, and other public occasions. His style of conferring degrees was very charming. He was a slender man, of medium stature, and a bright, attractive countenance; and without the least semblance of affectation or any attempt to appear condescending or patronizing, his manners were the perfection of grace, dignity, and gentleness, reflecting both intelligence of mind and loveliness of character. "His voice," wrote the Rev. Dr. David Moore, "though feeble rather than powerful, was music to the ear, and his enunciation was so distinct that the most distant hearer was in no danger of losing a word." He was always ready to sympathize with those in difficulty or trouble; and the truly catholic spirit breathing through his whole conduct radiated an influence which might be traced in thousands of praiseworthy deeds that seemed to emanate from other sources than himself. In his thirty-seven years' connection with Trinity Church he celebrated no less than three thousand five hundred marriages, according to the parish register, and baptized over three thousand persons. He retained the office of Rector and Bishop of New York during life; but Rev. Dr. John Henry Hobart was consecrated assistant bishop in May, 1811, and in 1816 became Diocesan of New York. Rev. Dr. Abraham Beach was appointed assistant rector to Bishop Moore. He was then over seventy years of age, and had been leading a noiseless course of usefulness as assistant minister of Trinity parish for twenty-seven years.¹ He retired, how-

¹ Rev. Abraham Beach, D. D. (born 1740, died 1728), was the son of Captain Elnathan Beach, of Cheshire, Connecticut, whose second wife, the mother of the great divine, was the sister of General David Wooster, who fell while opposing the British at the burning of Danbury. (See page 160, Vol. II.) Rev. Dr. Beach married Ann, daughter and sole heiress of Evert Van

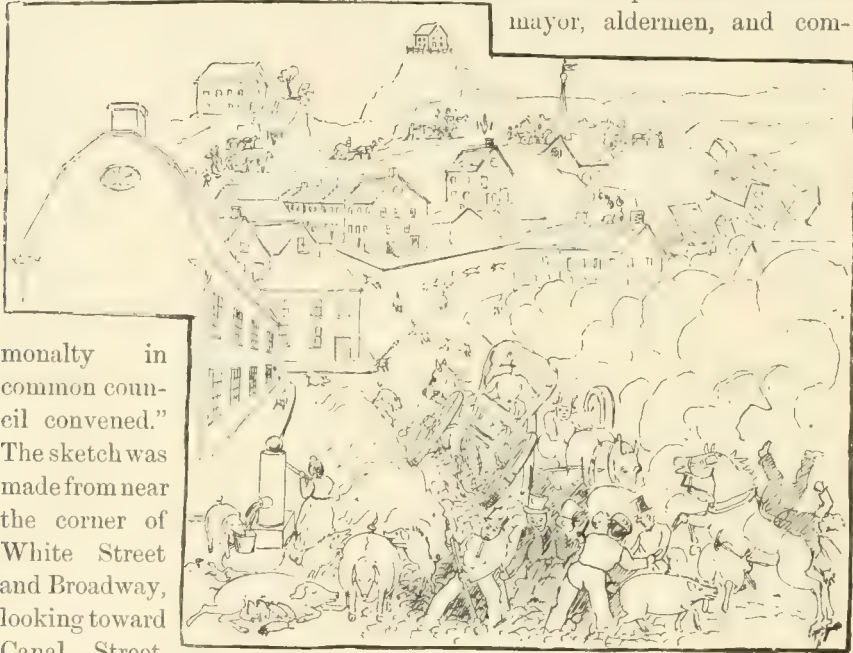
ever, from the pulpit in 1813. He was an elegant scholar, and "one of the excellent of the earth." Elected a Regent of the University of New York in 1784, he took a deep interest in educational affairs, and was named in the charter of Columbia College in 1787 as one of its trustees; for many years he was secretary of the board. During a considerable portion of his busy life in New York he was the rector of Christ's Church in New Brunswick.

All that was romantic in scenery and prepossessing in cultivated grounds immediately above Canal Street was quickly doomed. The city was on the march, and every form of hill and dale and pleasant valley must be sacrificed. From the Bayard mansion, on the summit of the high point of land between Grand Street and Broome, the views — just before the edifice was built downward, so to speak — embraced a curious variety of suggestive scenes. The valley of Canal Street at its foot had been transformed into a busy thoroughfare, no longer presenting a pastoral picture with streams of water flowing through it into both rivers, that on the east finding its way through the low lands along the line of Roosevelt Street; and over the roofs and foliage of the new street the City Hospital could be seen, and then the city itself in outline, its smoke and spires reaching into the sky; to the southwest the handsome country-seat of Leonard Lispenard was plainly visible, crowning a beautiful eminence near St. John's Church; to the north of west appeared, above the intervening fields and glens, the green woods which surrounded Richmond Hill; to the north and northeast a half-dozen villas, including those of the Stuyvesants, met the eye in peculiar fellowship with intermediate dwellings of every description scattered along the neighborhood of the Bowery road; while in the distance the Hudson and East Rivers, the magnificent bay, and the shores and heights beyond, completed as fair a prospect as could be found on either continent.

The enemy, with its armor of pickaxes, stood back appalled at the strong, firm, bold front which the Bayard Hill presented. It seemed invincible. But the assault was finally made, the citadel yielded, and the inhabitants fled. As for the real-estate owners, they were solaced by the rise of property. Fortunes grew while dwellings, stables, flower-gardens,

Winkle, one of the original Dutch settlers on the Raritan, near New Brunswick. Their eldest daughter married Rev. Elijah D. Rattoone, D. D.; another daughter was the wife of Rev. Thomas Lyell, D. D., rector of Christ's Church, New York; a third daughter married Rev. Abiel Carter, rector of the Episcopal Church in Savannah; and a fourth daughter married Isaac Lawrence of New York, and was the mother of the author and jurist, William Beach Lawrence, and of the wife of James A. Hillhouse, of New Haven. *Sprague's Annals of the American Pulpit; Dr. Beccian's History of Trinity Church; Disosway's Earliest Churches of New York; Greenleaf's History of the Churches.*

fruit-orchards, grassy lawns, summer-houses, lovers' walks, and finely shaded private avenues tumbled promiscuously into the mass of worthless ruins — and posterity was enriched. The humorous etching of John P. Emmet, Professor of Chemistry in the University of Virginia, showing the condition of Bayard's house during the jubilee of destruction, which he designates as "corporation improvements," will be regarded with a smile of credulity, and a twinge of painful reminiscence, by all those who have witnessed the demolition of their earthy idols, "with the approbation and permission of the mayor, aldermen, and com-



Corporation Improvements.

[From an original etching by John P. Emmet, copied through the courtesy of his son, Dr. Thomas Adams Emmet.]

monalty in common council convened." The sketch was made from near the corner of White Street and Broadway, looking toward Canal Street, and, however exaggerated, is

a clever illustration of the confusion of affairs consequent upon removing eminences in the herculean endeavor to perfect the site of a great city like the New York of to-day.

The city records afford picturesque glimpses of the details of the labor. Streets were pushed through a block or two in length one year and allowed to rest the next. Springs and rivulets impeded progress and were finally choked into subordination to the laws, and buried without ceremony. Litigations arose involving the rights and privileges of citizens, and questioning the vast extent and complexity of powers assumed by the corporation. The investigation of land-titles was troublesome, and

the settlement and collection of assessments upon individual property attended with an incalculable amount of hinderance and vexation.

The entrance-gate to the Bayard country-seat was on the Bowery road, and the location of the private avenue called Bayard's Lane was nearly on the line of Broome Street, until torn away by the cartmen. The property had been very much cut up by military works during the Revolution. From it, also, in anticipation of the great future for real estate, lots had been sold fronting on Broadway, and some few buildings erected, although chiefly of an inferior class—so long as the discordant action relating to the digging of the ditch in Canal Street continued. Poplar-trees were planted in 1809 along the line of Broadway between Spring Street and Art Street, now Astor Place. The other farm of Nicholas Bayard, known as the West farm, comprising one hundred or more acres, and bounded on the north by Amity Lane and the Herring farm, on the east by Broadway, on the south by the line of Prince Street, and on the west by what was the Henry and Elias Brevoort farm prior to 1755, extended irregularly southwest to McDougall Street. Having been mortgaged, and fallen into the hands of trustees, it was laid out into lots and streets, and sold in parcels. Another farm belonging to one of the Brevoort family extended from Tenth Street to Fourteenth, and from the Bowery on the east to a part of the old estate of Sir Peter Warren on the west.

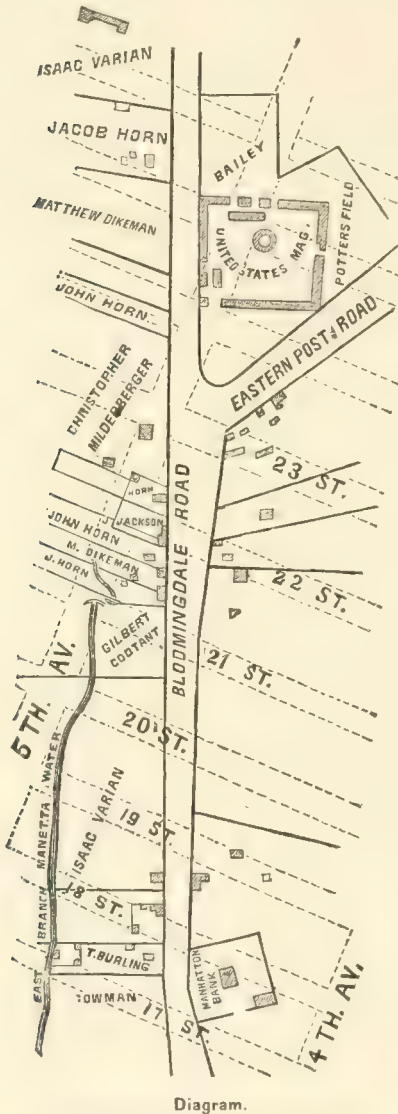
The property of this English nobleman of the former century, Sir Peter Warren, embraced not less than two hundred and sixty acres, ninety-one of which rested upon the line of Christopher Street on the south, and that of Ganesvoort Street on the north, bounded by the old Greenwich road on the east. He married the daughter of Stephen De Lancey and granddaughter of Stephanus Van Cortlandt, the first lord of the Van Cortlandt manor, who had great possessions. The estate became vested in Richard Amos, John Ireland, and Abijah Hammond, chiefly under Lord Willoughby, who married Sir Peter Warren's daughter.¹

The commissioners, Gouverneur Morris, Simeon De Witt, and John Rutherford, in their task of laying out the whole island of Manhattan to Kingsbridge into streets and avenues, under the act of 1807, encountered the most novel and unexpected difficulties. Numerous farmers and mechanics of small means had purchased plots of land in various places, laid out and cultivated gardens, and erected comfortable dwellings. When they discovered that the city was about to run streets wherever it pleased, regardless of individual proprietorship, and that their houses

¹ See diagram in the Appendix to *Murray Hoffman's Treatise upon the Estate and Rights of the Corporation of the City of New York*, Vol. III. For sketch of Sir Peter Warren's mansion overlooking the Hudson, see Vol. I. p. 588.

and lots were in danger of being invaded and cut in two, or swept off the face of the earth altogether, they esteemed themselves wronged and outraged. At the approach of engineers, with their measuring instruments, maps, and chain-bearers, dogs were brought into service, and whole fami-

lies sometimes united in driving them out of their lots, as if they were common vagrants. On one occasion, while drawing the line of an avenue directly through the kitchen of an estimable old woman, who had sold vegetables for a living upwards of twenty years, they were pelted with cabbages and artichokes until they were compelled to retreat in the exact reverse of good order. They adopted the method of parallel streets across the island, numbering towards the north from Houston Street, at which point their special labors began. The streets were intersected with avenues one hundred feet wide, extending to the extreme northern limit of the island, twelve of which numbered eastward from First Avenue, the remainder to the east being designated by the letters of the alphabet, A, B, C, and D. In their report, under date of March 22, 1811, the commissioners explained why they had set apart space for an immense reservoir, believing the city must sooner or later be supplied with water from the country above the Harlem River; and they half apologized for having provided for a greater population than was collected at any spot this side of China, while they did not presume "the grounds north of Harlem Flats would be covered with houses for centuries to come." The avenues were



(Showing condition of a part of Broadway in 1811.)

arranged to extend south as far as the boundary marked out by the statute with the exception of Fourth Avenue, which was lost in Union Square

at Fifteenth Street. The commissioners were perplexed at this place. The Bowery road curved somewhat in passing through the present site of Union Square, and from about Sixteenth Street pursued a straight course towards Bloomingdale. The meeting of so many large roads at one point naturally involved considerable space for security and convenience. Broadway had been opened in an undeviating straight line from the Battery to Tenth Street, from which point a slight divergence westward was perceptible; and it seemed desirable to continue this great central thoroughfare along the line of the Bloomingdale road. By straightening Fourth Avenue into the Bowery road, a narrow, irregular, shapeless tract of land was left open. If the cross-streets should be laid through it, as elsewhere, it would be cut into morsels and rendered valueless. Owners of property in the vicinity differed widely in their wishes and opinions concerning it. While attempting to regulate Broadway in 1806 it was found necessary to call in assessors to settle claims for damages. Some time must elapse before any of the contemplated cross-streets could be opened, in any event; thus the troublesome subject was allowed to rest. In 1815 an act was passed appointing Union Place, as it was called, which was occasionally used as a Potters' Field, for public purposes. But its only ornamentation for the following ten years was a miserable group of shanties. It was as late as 1832 before the city corporation resolved to have it enlarged and regulated; and not before 1845, after one hundred and sixteen thousand dollars had been expended upon it, were the elegant mansions projected which in the course of events received an influx of fashionable residents, rendering this charming square for more than a decade the Court end of the city.

The farm of Henry Spangler, some twenty-two acres, extended along the west side of the Bowery road from Fourteenth Street to Sixteenth. He had purchased it in 1788 from the executors of John Smith for nine hundred and fifty pounds sterling, it having been originally a part of the large estate of Elias Brevoort, purchased by Smith twenty-six years before. The Brevoorts divided up and sold other portions of their landed property both above and below, and a succession of suburban residences were established in the vicinity — many of which, however, were removed in consequence of the line of Fourth Avenue cutting diagonally through them. The mansion of Henry Brevoort fronted the Bowery road, and, according to the plan of the commissioners, Eleventh Street would occupy the same site. He resisted the opening of the street with such determination and effect that although ordinances were passed in 1836 and in 1849, they were rescinded. To this day the block remains undisturbed, Eleventh Street having no passage-way between Broadway and Fourth Avenue.

The homestead property of Henry Brevoort extended back from his house to a point between Fifth and Sixth Avenues.

Adjoining the Brevoort farm was the notable estate of Andrew Elliott, son of Sir Gilbert Elliott, Lord Chief Justice Clerk of Scotland, who was receiver-general of the province of New York under the Crown. This also fronted the Bowery road, and the handsome mansion he erected before the Revolution stood back so far that Broadway, when cut through, clipped its rear porch. It was the property and residence of Baron Poelnitz at the time of the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, who sold it in 1790 to Robert Richard Randall. The latter resided here until his death. By his will, made in 1801, he established one of the most munificent charities in the country for the support of aged, infirm, and worn-out seamen, chiefly on the basis of this estate; he directed the erection of an edifice to be called the "Sailors' Snug Harbor," by which name the property was known for many years. The buildings, for good and sufficient reasons, were erected on the north shore of Staten Island in 1833.

The junction of the Bloomingdale road with the Old Boston Road, at what is now Madison Square, left another piece of corporation land in a deformed and unsightly condition. It had been used in early times as a Potters' Field, but in 1806 the city ceded it to the United States government for the erection of an arsenal, and it was thus occupied until 1823, when an institution of which we shall speak more at length hereafter was founded upon its site.

Notwithstanding the election combinations and conflicts of the period, comparatively few changes occurred from year to year among the aldermen of the city. Men of ability and position were required for the management of municipal affairs, those who commanded the respect and confidence of the community at large. Each alderman looked after the interests of his ward, and gave personal attention to the enforcement of the laws within its limits. Indeed, an alderman was then really and truly a guardian of the city. And no graver responsibility ever devolved upon a corporate body of citizens than that of providing for the prosperous future of New York while yet its site was largely but a picturesque and diversified landscape. During the early years of the century such names appear on the lists of "City Fathers" as Robert Lenox, Mangle Minthorne, Jacob Le Roy, Stephen Ludlow, Henry Brevoort, George Janeway, Wynant Van Zandt, Robert Bogardus, Samuel Torbet, Jacob Mott, Samuel Kip, John Slidell, Benjamin Haight, Jasper Ward, Joseph Watkins, John Hopper, and Simon Van Antwerp. Many of the aldermen served from six to a dozen years in succession; as, for instance, Peter Mesier from 1807 to 1818; Augustus H. Lawrence from 1809 to 1816;

Elisha W. King from 1810 to 1815, and again from 1818 to 1824; Samuel Jones from 1809 to 1817; Reuben Munson from 1813 to 1823; and Colonel Nicholas Fish from 1806 to 1817.

The death of Lieutenant-Governor Broome in 1810 necessitated the choice of a successor, and De Witt Clinton consented to accept the nomination. This was a matter of surprise to those who had not supposed he was willing to admit himself to be of less political consequence than Tompkins, the governor; and Clinton was, moreover, the mayor of the city, deriving emoluments equal to fourteen thousand dollars per annum. A section of the Republican party, called "the Martling Men," afterwards the "Tammany party," from their place of rendezvous in "Martling's Long Room," Tammany Hall, opposite City Hall Park, met immediately upon hearing of De Witt Clinton's nomination, determined upon his defeat, and, after passing resolutions, with a preamble to the effect that they believed Mr. Clinton was cherishing interests distinct and separate from the general interests of the Republican party, and bent "upon establishing in his person a pernicious family aristocracy," they nominated Colonel Marinus Willett for lieutenant-governor, and appointed Dr. Mitchill, Matthew L. Davis, John Ferguson, Teunis Wortman, and others, a committee to promote his election. Mangle Minthorne, the father-in-law of the governor, presided at this meeting. The Federalists nominated and supported Colonel Nicholas Fish as their candidate for lieutenant-governor.

The election occurred in April; and such was the disposition of Clinton's opponents in the city, and the popularity of Colonel Fish, ^{1811.} that while Clinton received but five hundred and ninety votes, and Willett six hundred and seventy-eight, Fish actually received two thousand and forty-four. But despite the vigorous efforts of many gentlemen of great influence and weight of character to detach from Clinton the support of his party, the estimation in which he was held by the Republicans in other parts of the State, and the general confidence his talents and integrity had hitherto inspired, prevented any serious results, and he was elected. He filled the position of lieutenant-governor of New York until 1813, during which time he was the peace candidate for the Presidency of the United States, receiving eighty-nine electoral votes in opposition to Madison.

Colonel Nicholas Fish was the Revolutionary officer who has been frequently mentioned heretofore; he was in the confidence of Washington, and regarded as an excellent disciplinarian. In 1797 he became president of the New York Society of the Cincinnati. He was a New-Yorker by birth, and a lawyer by profession; also one of the most active members of

several of the early religious literary and benevolent institutions of the city. He was at this time about fifty-three years of age, a representative citizen, of elegant scholarship, refinement, and good breeding. His wife was Elizabeth Stuyvesant, the great-great-granddaughter of Governor Stuyvesant, and a descendant through her mother, Margaret Livingston, of the first lord of Livingston manor. Peter Gerard Stuyvesant, afterwards president of the Historical Society, and Nicholas William Stuyvesant were her brothers; and Mrs. Benjamin Winthrop and Mrs. Dirck



Colonel Nicholas Fish.

Ten Broeck were her sisters. The lawyer and statesman, Hon. Hamilton Fish, who was governor of New York in 1850, and Secretary of State during the eight years' administration of President Grant, was the son of Colonel Nicholas and Elizabeth Stuyvesant Fish, born in New York City in 1809.

The city was visited by a terrible conflagration in May, 1811, a fire breaking out in Chatham Street, near Duane, one Sunday morning,

which consumed between eighty and one hundred good buildings. The firemen were baffled by the wind in their exertions to check the flames, and the scene became very exciting and impressive. The Brick Church was in danger, its spire being lighted by the flying embers; and all eyes were turned in that direction. Presently a sailor appeared on the roof of the edifice and climbed up the steeple hand over hand, clinging only to the rusty, slender iron of the lightning-rod. The perilous ascent was watched with breathless anxiety by the vast multitude collected in the

vicinity. He must hold on, or fall and perish. If he should succeed in reaching the part of the steeple that was blazing, what could he do? How, unaided, extinguish the fire? Neither hose nor bucket could be sent to his assistance. The crisis came swiftly, and a prolonged shout rent the air as the brave man, firmly grasping the lightning-rod with one hand, caught his hat from his head in the other and with it literally beat out the flames with strong, quick, nervous, incessant blows. When his work was accomplished he slowly and safely descended to the ground, and quickly disappeared in the crowd. A reward was offered for the hero who performed the noble, daring, and generous act, but he never came forward to claim it. The cupola of the old jail, which stood on the spot now occupied by the Hall of Records, also took fire, but the building was saved through the exertions of one of the prisoners.

In the midst of the desolation caused by the burning of so much property, public attention was divided between the report of the commissioners concerning the internal navigation of New York and ^{1811.} the aggressions of Great Britain. It would be in vain to inquire who first conceived the prodigious idea of connecting Lake Erie with the Atlantic Ocean. Nor would the original thought, if traced to its native brain, reflect special credit upon the individual proprietor, unless he did something towards the execution of the project. Many intelligent and scientific New York men had opportunities for acquiring all the knowledge connected with the matter, and the notion was undoubtedly common to hundreds at the same time. The embargo and consequent prostration of commerce, together with the substitution of non-intercourse, and the general belief that the country was rapidly drifting into another war with its ancient enemy, created an intense desire for the opening of a direct route of communication between the tide-waters of the Hudson River and the western lakes.

Experiments had been tried to improve the navigation of the Mohawk with small canals and lockage some time before the close of the last century. Christopher Colles was several times before the Legislature with enterprises for the public good, all of which were thought too mighty for the public resources;¹ he received some encouragement, however, in relation to connecting the Mohawk with Lake Ontario. General Philip

¹ Christopher Colles, the philosopher, was born in Ireland in 1738, and died in New York in 1821. He was left an orphan at an early age, and was educated by the Bishop of Ossory, upon whose death in 1765 he left Ireland for America. In 1773 he delivered a series of lectures in New York upon inland lock navigation, and in 1774 he proposed to build a reservoir for New York City. He surveyed the country of the Mohawk prior to 1785, and published a book on roads through New York; he also subsequently published a pamphlet on inland navigable communications. He was one of the eminently useful men of his day and generation.

Schuyler was one of the most efficient promoters of the important measure, which developed finally into the great canal system of New York.¹ He studied out a plan of locks to overcome the descent in the Mohawk at Little Falls, and as the success of the project would depend largely upon the favor with which it was received by the Dutch settlers, he visited the region and, calling a meeting at a country tavern, unfolded his views. His audience listened attentively. The astute Dutchmen perceived the advantages, and were pleased with the prospect of the Mohawk's bearing the commerce of the State past their own doors, but they did not understand how the boats could ascend the Little Falls. The general explained the principle of locks in vain. They shook their heads and shrugged their shoulders. They liked the general, and would take his word for almost anything, but they could not be made to believe that water would run up hill. The unsatisfactory meeting was finally adjourned, the Dutchmen going to their beds, and the general retiring to worry over his failure. All at once he arose, and lighting his candle, took a knife and a few shingles and went into the yard, where he dug a miniature canal of two different levels and connected them by a lock of shingles. Then providing himself with a pail of water he summoned the Dutchmen from their beds, and pouring the water into the ditch, locked a chip through from the lower to the upper level. "Vell! vell! General!" the Dutchmen cried, "now ve understands, and ve all goes mit you and the canal!"

The works at Little Falls—a canal about two and three fourths miles in length, with five locks — were completed in 1796. Governor George Clinton had recommended to the Legislature in 1791 the policy of "taking measures to facilitate the means of communication with the frontier settlements"; and during the same session an act was passed by which commissioners were directed to survey the section between the Hudson River and Wood Creek, and to report an estimate of the expense of making canals between the two points. During the same year Elkanah Watson journeyed through the State and published essays which influenced public opinion greatly in favor of canals. In 1792 an inland navigation company was incorporated, the act being draughted by General Schuyler, who was chosen its first president. Thomas Eddy, the philanthropist, Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, Barent Bleecker, Elkanah Watson, and Robert Bowne were among its most active and important members. So herculean a task did it appear to build a canal of a few miles in length, that the company was allowed fifteen years to accomplish its objects. But, succeeding in the enterprise at Little Falls, it soon con-

¹ *Memoir* by Cadwallader D. Colden; *Randall's History of New York State*; *Eastman's History of New York*; *Letter from General John Cochrane to the author*.

structed a canal of a mile and a quarter in length at the German Flats, and completed a canal connecting the Mohawk with Wood Creek in 1797 — in all less than seven miles. Some years afterwards its improvements had so far progressed that a boat might pass from Schenectady into the Oneida Lake; but the great expenditure necessitated heavy tolls, and these canals were little used. Land carriage and the natural rivers were generally preferred.

Prior to 1800 no definite idea of a canal from Lake Erie to the Hudson appears to have existed. The company above mentioned only aimed to improve the natural water-courses. In the summer of 1800 Gouverneur Morris visited some property of his own and some that had been confided to his care by others in the northern parts of the State, and extended his journey to Montreal, thence down the St. Lawrence to Lake Ontario, and by land to Lake Erie. He wrote to John Parish in January, 1801: "hundreds of large ships will, at no distant period, bound on the billows of these inland seas. The proudest empire in Europe is but a bawble compared to what America will be, must be, in the course of two centuries; perhaps of one! One tenth of the expense borne by Britain in the last campaign would enable ships to sail from London through the Hudson River into Lake Erie. As yet, my friend, we only crawl along the outer shell of our country." To Henry Lee he wrote before the end of the same month upon the subject of making "a conquest of the finest country on the earth" through commodious internal navigation, similar in character but on a much more extended plan than that which he said had been "feebly and faintly attempted by a private company between the Mohawk and Lake Ontario."

The remarkable topography of New York became a favorite topic of conversation, and the practicability of the canal a fixed fact in the minds of many influential citizens as the years rolled on. Gouverneur Morris, Jesse Hawley, and James Geddes of Onondaga wrote frequently upon the subject for the press. In 1810 James Geddes reported to the surveyor-general, Simeon De Witt, the result of a survey made by himself, which was communicated to the Legislature. Jonas Platt at once proposed a resolution, which was promptly supported by De Witt Clinton and unanimously adopted, appointing Gouverneur Morris, Stephen Van Rensselaer, William North, Thomas Eddy, and Peter B. Porter, commissioners "to explore the whole route for inland navigation, from the Hudson River to Lake Ontario, and to Lake Erie." This was accomplished during the summer and autumn of the same year.

Their report, drawn up by Morris, who acted as president of the board, and signed by each of the commissioners, was published in the spring of

1811. De Witt Clinton immediately introduced a bill into the Legislature, which passed into a law April 8, 1811, investing the commissioners with "power to manage all matters relating to the navigation between the Hudson and the Lakes." This law, the first passed on the subject of the great canals, added Chancellor Livingston and Robert Fulton to the board of commissioners. It was authorized to apply to other States and to Congress for co-operation and aid; to ascertain if loans could be procured to the extent of five millions of dollars; and to treat with the Inland Lock Navigation Companies for a surrender of their rights and interests. The Legislature was induced to give the commissioners power to apply to Congress, because reliance was placed on the seeming promise of President Jefferson in his message of 1807, and on the report of Secretary Gallatin, who, although not having mentioned the Erie Canal, was supposed to be warmly in favor of enterprises of this nature; Gouverneur Morris and De Witt Clinton proceeded to Washington in order to promote by their presence the success of the application to the general government. But while the project was thought no less interesting to the nation than to the State in which it was to be executed, it met with little favor. It was not absolutely rejected. But the answer received was, that nothing could be done for New York that was not done for the other States; thus the matter was left for future action. Evidently Congress had the power to afford assistance, if it was its pleasure to do so; and the disappointment was severe when, in 1817, President Madison conceived that "the Constitution would not permit an appropriation of any part of the national funds or means to these purposes."

This disappointment was the greater since no objection was made by the President to acts of Congress appropriating very large sums for roads in Maryland, Virginia, Pennsylvania, and elsewhere. It was not well understood how the Constitution could allow an appropriation for roads and not permit a water highway.

New York was so fortunate as to be able in the end to complete her canals without any extraneous aid. The other States sent their best wishes — not one of them a dollar. "Happily for us," wrote Colden, "the objection of the executive prevailed so long as the State of New York needed the aid of the general government; and, most happily for every other State in the Union, these scruples have since entirely subsided, and we are gratified that in similar enterprises they will not only be aided by funds from the National Treasury, but will have the assistance of the distinguished foreigners and natives who are employed in the engineering departments of the general government."

When the Erie Canal was completed, as Colden said, "without the interference of Congress," a polite petition from New York for the privilege of enjoying it in the same manner was not out of place. Congress was requested "not to sanction any such pretension as of late made by some of its revenue officers, that our canal-boats, traversing our hills and valleys in an artificial channel made by ourselves, entirely within our own territory, hundreds of miles from the sea, and six or seven hundred feet above its level, were engaged in the coasting trade of the United States — and that they must, therefore, take custom-house licenses, and pay a tax to the general government."

But from the time of these movements in 1811 until the conclusion of the second war with Great Britain, little appears to have been done towards carrying into effect the scheme which the new law made practicable. The State was obliged to employ its funds on objects properly belonging to the general government; and the commissioners met with great opposition from those who would not believe that the hand of man could effect such a stupendous work.

Dr. Hugh Williamson published a series of newspaper articles on canal navigation, and an essay entitled *Observations on Navigable Canals*; also, *Observations on the Means of preserving the Commerce of New York*. His writings were argumentative, possessing an element of power that converted multitudes. He was an enthusiast, and proved a most able and effective advocate of the canal policy. Being a resident of the city, he was in intimate association with the magnates of the period; he was also connected with many of the medical, literary, and philanthropic institutions of New York, contributing generously to her material interests. His biography was subsequently written by Dr. Hosack, and his portrait was painted by Trumbull.

In all prominent movements connected with the arts, the drama, literature, medicine, city improvements, or State affairs Dr. Hosack bore a conspicuous part. For thirty or more years he was a leading practitioner in the city, and distinguished beyond all rivals in the art of healing. He is universally acknowledged, also, to have been the most eloquent and impressive teacher of scientific medicine and clinical practice this country had as yet produced. His manner was pleasing, and his descriptive powers and his diagnosis were the admiration of all. His efficiency in rearing the College of Physicians and Surgeons to a state of high consideration won for him the respect of the whole Republic; and his early efforts to establish a medical library in the New York Hospital, his co-operation with the numerous charities which glorify the metropolis, his primary formation of a mineralogical cabinet, his copious writings on fevers,

quarantines, and foreign pestilence, his biographical essays, prepared in a style of great elegance, and his adventurous outlay in establishing the Botanical Garden evinced the lofty aspirations which marked his whole career as a citizen. It was a frequent remark in New York during his lifetime that Clinton, Hosack, and Hobart were the tripod upon which the city stood. Through his fondness for society he exercised a strong



David Hosack, M.D., F.R.S.

(Portrait by J. A. Kneller)

personal influence. He gave Saturday evening parties, and, surrounded by his large and costly library and his works of art, there never was a more genial and captivating host. Great divines, jurists, statesmen, philosophers, philanthropists, physicians, merchants, scholars, authors, artists, editors, educated men in any specialty, and distinguished foreigners, were summoned to his entertainments, and charmed with his liberal hospi-

tality. Indeed, his house was the resort of the learned and enlightened from every part of the world. No European traveler rested satisfied without a personal interview with Dr. Hosack, who received many a deserved compliment in the foreign journals and books of travels; the Duke of Saxe-Weimer mentions in his diary the social prominence of the Hosack Saturday evenings.

Thomas Sully, who was keenly alive to the refined phases of life, was anxious to paint Dr. Hosack's portrait. He came to New York after having passed through a severe ordeal of privation and discouragement, and was introduced to some of the leading characters of the city by Robert Fulton. He was cordially welcomed by Dr. Hosack, who promptly consented to sit for his picture. Sully had an extremely dexterous method of crystallizing better moments, of fixing happy attitudes, and of seizing upon felicitous combinations. Thus we find the celebrated Botanical Garden founded by Dr. Hosack deftly introduced into the background of his portrait, with some of the volumes he had produced resting carelessly upon the table by his side. The value of the picture is greatly enhanced through this illustration of the peculiar aptitude of the gifted artist. The handsome, finely moulded features of Dr. Hosack, as revealed upon the canvas, express singular sweetness of character, and his graceful costume and air of high breeding are most effectively represented. Sully did not at any time reside permanently in New York, but he was employed on various occasions to delineate celebrated people, as, for instance, in painting the portrait of Commodore Decatur for the city. He thus became well known, and a universal favorite. He was unassuming, amiable, and intelligent, with a quick eye for whatever of grace was discernible in the whole range of literature and art. His association with such men as Mayor Clinton, Dr. Mitchill, Thomas Addis Emmet, who aided materially in giving immortality to Irish genius and private worth, Gouverneur Morris, Josiah Ogden Hoffman, Cadwallader D. Colden, Dr. Macneven, who in addition to his prominence as a physician and a surgeon was an accomplished scholar and writer, and Dr. Hosack, favored his ambitious tendencies. No American artist ever enjoyed more permanent social esteem and sympathy. His portraits are widely scattered, and may be found in all the principal cities of the United States. He spent the greater part of his life in Philadelphia.

Governor Tompkins, in his speech to the Legislature at the opening of the session in 1812, took occasion to protest in strong terms against the increase of a paper currency through the growing ten-^{1812.} dency to the multiplication of banks of issue. But he made no mention whatever of internal improvements. On the 14th of February commis-

sioners for the organization of a common-school system for the State of New York made an elaborate and able report, accompanied by a bill for that purpose, which subsequently became a law.

Early in the session a bill was introduced for the charter of the Bank of America in the city of New York, with a capital of six millions of dollars; four hundred thousand of which was to be paid over for the benefit of the common-school fund, one hundred thousand to the literature fund for the support of colleges and academies, one hundred thousand to the State treasury at the expiration of twenty years, provided no other bank should during that period receive a charter, one million to be loaned to the State for the construction of canals, and another million to farmers and others for the promotion of agriculture and manufactures throughout the State.

Governor Tompkins was vehemently opposed to this project. The winding up of the Bank of the United States, and the failure to procure a charter in Pennsylvania, had thrown back into the hands of the stockholders a large amount of uninvested cash capital. It was plainly to be seen at this juncture, however deluded the inhabitants of Philadelphia may have previously been, that the city of New York, and not Philadelphia, was destined to become the great commercial emporium of North America. Hence the capitalists and others interested in establishing a gigantic moneyed institution had turned their eyes towards the Island of Manhattan. They had also been courting the favor of politicians who wielded power in the Legislature of New York, that their application for a charter might not be in vain. De Witt Clinton declared himself opposed to the new bank, but thought the question of its charter ought not to be made a party test; whereupon he was charged fiercely with having his eye upon the Presidency of the nation, and with accepting the promise of support from the friends of the bank as the price of his neutrality. His enemies scouted the whole question of canals as visionary and absurd. A proposed railroad from the earth to the moon could not elicit more derision to-day than the idea of a canal from the Hudson River to Lake Erie did then—at least among the unsympathizing politicians. They pronounced the canal scheme a ridiculous hobby on which Clinton would ride into power if possible.

When the bill passed the House by a strong majority, all the Federalists and a part of the Republicans voting for it, and when its passage by the Senate was inevitable, Governor Tompkins resorted to an
March 27. extraordinary power—conferred indeed upon the governor by the constitution of New York as it then stood, but never exercised except in this single instance. He prorogued the Legislature for sixty days,

giving as a reason that attempts had been made to bribe the members.¹ The scene upon the reading of the governor's message was one of confusion and uproar, and for a few moments outrage and violence. The bank advocates charged Tompkins with having his own eye fixed upon the Presidency, and said his bold exercise of the remnant of royal prerogative, unsuitable to the genius of our government, was for the express purpose of preventing the nomination of Clinton. Intense excitement ensued. On the 21st of May the Legislature reassembled, and the bill for chartering the Bank of America almost immediately passed both Houses. Oliver Wolcott, late of the Merchants' Bank, and former Secretary of the Treasury, became its first president. A few days later De Witt Clinton received the nomination for President of the United States from the Republicans of the State of New York, not, however, without violent opposition from Morgan Lewis and from the old Burr party. A very large faction throughout the country, distrusting the energy of Madison, was favorably disposed towards Clinton, while several of the influential newspapers were filled with constant flings at the feebleness and irresolution of the administration.

The grave question of war at this moment occupied all minds. The friends of peace were in terrible consternation. A New York member of Congress wished to know what was the situation of our fortresses, and our preparations generally, and called attention to a letter from Judge Livingston, who stated that the forts at New York had neither cannon nor men. Henry Clay replied with angry vehemence that he did not want, on this subject, Brockholst Livingston's opinions, or those of anybody else. Gentlemen who said so much about want of preparations were really opposed to war. After the injuries we had received he should support war measures. Weak as we were said to be, we could fight France and England both if necessary. An Indian war was raging in the West, which he thought had been excited by the British. We had complete proof that Great Britain would do everything to destroy us, and resolution and spirit were our only security. Dr. Mitchill said the British were a proud, overbearing nation, who thought they had a right to

¹ At the September term of the Circuit Court, held in Chenango County, David Thomas, the State Treasurer, was indicted and tried before Judge William W. Van Ness for attempting to bribe Casper M. Rouse, one of the State senators, during the pendency of the bill for the charter of the Bank of America. No sufficient proof of the charge having been produced, Thomas was acquitted. Solomon Southwick, editor of the Albany Register, was also tried and acquitted during the same month of September before Chief Justice Kent, for an attempted bribery of Alexander Sheldon, Speaker of the Assembly. Thomas Addis Emmet, recently appointed attorney-general of New York in place of Matthias B. Hildreth, deceased, conducted these prosecutions on the part of the State.

despise us because we were not united enough to fight them. "With a population of seven millions, we should not be frightened by political screech-owls."

The relations existing between the United States and Great Britain had been for several years of an anomalous and unsettled character. While the two governments were not in a state of declared hostilities, the irritating discussions of many knotty questions of international and maritime law, with the collisions of antagonistic opinions and pretensions, had created and kept alive a vindictive feeling in both countries; and the criminations and recriminations which formed the burden of diplomatic correspondence, as well as the prominent topics of newspaper controversies, seemed to point with unerring certainty towards the field of battle. Great Britain took no special care to prevent war—incensed by the supposed leaning of the United States towards France—believing that in such an event she would quickly prove the vast superiority of her naval power in decisive victory, and in defeat and disgrace on the part of the United States.

Two parties opposed the war in America: the old Federalists on the ground that we had equal or greater cause for war with France than Great Britain; and the Clintonians and others, because the country was notoriously unprepared for the commencement of hostilities. A very large majority of the old Republican party were in favor of the war. For the time, war became the sole subject of disputation between the political parties which existed in the country.

Madison was averse to war in any shape; under the pressure of circumstances he was willing to sign a bill declaring hostilities, but wished to take no further responsibility. The leaders of the war party were inexorable. A committee headed by the imperious Clay waited upon the President with an intimation that he must consent to recommend a declaration of war, or he would not be supported for the next term of the Presidency. And it must be his war, not the war of a few hot-headed statesmen. The

President yielded finally to this hard condition. On the 20th of June, the same day that the New York Legislature adjourned, the edict went forth, and war was declared by the United States of America against Great Britain.



CHAPTER XV.

1812-1814.

THE WAR.

INSECURITY OF NEW YORK. — CONDITION OF ERIE. — HOSTILITY TO THE WAR. — NEW YORK PRIVATEERS. — PLAN OF THE CAMPAIGN. — OFFICERS OF THE ARMY. — HULL'S EXPEDITION TO DETROIT. — THE NEW YORK ARMY. — GENERAL VAN RENSSELAER. — ALEXANDER MACOMB. — DEATH OF VICE-PRESIDENT GEORGE CLINTON. — COLONEL SOLOMON VAN RENSSELAER. — THE NIAGARA FRONTIER IN 1812. — SURRENDER OF DETROIT. — MASSACRE OF CHICAGO. — SAVAGES COMING EAST. — CREATING AN INLAND NAVY. — CAPTAIN ISAAC CHANCY. — NEW YORK SHIPBUILDERS ON THE LAKES. — ERIE'S DARING EXPLOIT. — STORMING OF QUEENSTOWN. — DEFEAT OF THE AMERICANS. — ELECTION OF PRESIDENT. — COMMODORE HULL'S CAPTURE OF THE GUERRIERE. — JONES' CAPTURE OF THE FROLIC. — DECATUR'S CAPTURE OF THE MACEDONIAN. — THE VICTORY OF BAINBRIDGE. — BANQUET TO THE VICTORS. — PECULIAR SITUATION OF NEW YORK CITY. — SHOCKING MASSACRE AT FRENCHTOWN. — LAWRENCE'S CAPTURE OF THE PEACOCK. — CELEBRATION OF VICTORY IN NEW YORK. — COMBAT OF THE CHESAPEAKE AND SHANNON. — DEATH OF LAWRENCE. — EXPLOITS ON THE ST. LAWRENCE. — PERRY'S VICTORY ON LAKE ERIE. — RECOVERY OF DETROIT. — BATTLE OF THE THAMES. — TECUMSEH KILLED. — STORMING OF FORT GEORGE. — THE BLOCKADE OF NEW YORK CITY. — GARDINER'S ISLAND. — THE CREEK WAR. — THE EMBARGO.

NEVER was an offensive war voluntarily undertaken in the face of such untoward circumstances. The youngest nation in the world, with self-reliant audacity, had buckled on her armor to compel one of the oldest, haughtiest, and most powerful of nations to respect her maritime rights. Would she succeed? The plan, so far as any definite plan was matured, was to invade and conquer the contiguous British provinces in America. But no financial provisions were yet made adequate for the vigorous prosecution of hostilities, no army was in readiness, no commanders had received the needful training, no just conception of the nature and character of the coming conflict existed, and the entire naval force of the United States consisted of eight frigates and twelve sloops — with a few smaller vessels — while the proud mistress of the ocean gloried in a navy embracing one thousand and sixty sail. 1812.

New York was exposed on every side. Her Canadian frontier of many hundred miles, and her defenseless harbor, were regarded with dismay by her inhabitants. A war of invasion would doubtless invite a war of inva-

sion. What was to prevent Great Britain from sending her ships through the Narrows or Long Island Sound, and taking possession of the city?

The victorious Napoleon was at this moment pushing towards Moscow in his struggle for universal dominion. His good understanding with the Russian Emperor had not been destined to endure. Both nations were, for months prior to this date, making formidable preparations for war.

Five days after the United States declared war against Great Britain, Napoleon crossed the Niemen, with an immense and splendid army, to oppose three hundred thousand Russians, who retired step by step before the invaders. The French encountered tempests, rains, and famine as the summer rolled on, but they still advanced. At Borodino, on the morning of the 6th of September, a battle ensued in which upwards of two hundred and fifty thousand men were engaged, and when the curtain of night fell upon the scene ninety thousand were among the slain. It decided the fate of Moscow, and on the 15th Napoleon rode into the ancient capital in triumph; but suddenly, at midnight, the glare of a thousand flames shot into the sky, and the baffled French, enveloped in fire, fled to the desolate surrounding country for refuge.

Great Britain had united with Russia, Sweden, and Spain against France, Prussia, Italy, Austria, and Poland. The Duke of Wellington commanded the armies of Great Britain in the Spanish Peninsula, and exhibited a degree of military skill and activity which was holding the marshals of Napoleon firmly in check, and which courted the presence of the Grand Master of War himself. Affairs in Europe thus left Great Britain free to send as many ships as necessary against America.

The worst feature of the situation on this side of the Atlantic was the lack of unanimity and concord on the part of the American people in prosecuting the war. Several of the States from whence men and money must come disapproved of the action of the government. Constantly recurring disputes and discords among politicians proved serious obstacles in the way of raising an efficient army. Boston, so illustrious in the Revolutionary conflict, upon hearing the news of the declaration of the second war, denounced the President and the whole war-party, while the flags of her shipping were hoisted at half-mast in token of mourning and humiliation. All New England resounded with invectives of a style and violence without parallel elsewhere in history. Josiah Quincy opposed the measure in Congress to the last. His fluency of speech in debate, his withering sarcasm of tongue and pen, his sterling worth in private life, his family connections and influence, together with his handsome and commanding presence, had made him peerless as a leader. Yet he was in the minority. He was caricatured by one of the artists of the day as

a king—upon his head a crown, his coat scarlet, his knee-breeches light green, his stockings white silk, and two codfishes crossed upon his left breast; he held a scepter in his hand, proclaiming himself “Josiah the First, King of New England; Grand Master of the Noble Order of the Two Codfishes.” But no amount of ridicule could kill the force of his arguments, which were scattered broadcast, and repeated by every school-boy in his native State: “Is national honor a principle which thirsts after vengeance and is appeased only by blood? When we visit the peaceable, and, to us, innocent colonies of Canada with the horrors of war, can we be assured that our own coast will not be visited with like horrors? What are the United States to gain by this war? Will Canada compensate the Middle States for New York, or the Western States for New Orleans?”

The clergy, the State authorities, the merchants, the lawyers, the wealth and the talent of New England, declared, as with one voice, that the war had been instituted on the most frivolous and groundless pretenses. In the Middle and Southern States there was greater diversity of sentiment. Many were hostile to the war, but thought the time for discussion was ended. In the West the war-spirit prevailed over all opposition, and the bold pioneers were ready, almost without exception, to fight the British, whom they cordially hated.

New York was torn with conflicting opinions. A large portion of her substantial citizens believed “that the declaration of war was neither necessary, nor expedient, nor seasonable, but, having been constitutionally declared, should be supported in the manner prescribed by constitutional laws.” Great outrages were committed in Baltimore—upon law and humanity, as well as the liberty of the press—because of the persistent and scathing opposition to the war by one of the Federal newspapers, and several valuable lives were lost in the riot that ensued. But to the honor of New York be it spoken, few and unimportant were the audible murmurs after the news of the positive action of the government reached the city. An immense meeting in the Park, June 24, with Colonel Henry Rutgers president, and Colonel Marinus Willett secretary, unanimously resolved “to lay aside all animosity and private bickering, and aid the authorities in constructing fortifications”; also, to unite in arms on the first approach of the enemy, and defend the city to the last extremity.

The wealthy inhabitants contributed magnanimously from their private purses; military companies were organized and drilled; men of all trades and avocations offered to labor on the works of defense about the city; and through individual enterprise alone New York fitted out and sent

to sea from her port, within four months after the declaration of war, twenty-six privateers, carrying two hundred and twelve guns and two thousand two hundred and thirty-nine men.¹ Fortresses had been in slow process of erection in the harbor since 1808. Governor's Island possessed a regular inclosed work of masonry, with a brick magazine, a furnace for heating balls red-hot, barracks, and an inexhaustible well of good water. The neighboring islands were fortified, and one or two forts had been projected in the city itself. Two hundred and twenty-eight pieces of artillery were reported to Congress, December 17, 1811, as fit for use; and it was stated that "three thousand three hundred and two artillerists" would be required for their operation.² But it was none the less apparent that the city and harbor were but feebly prepared to resist an attack from a powerful foe, and men were employed without delay in erecting new forts and strengthening those already existing.

The plan of the campaign was formed at Washington. The buoyant, persuasive, imperious speaker, Clay, and the ambitious and intrepid Calhoun, then a member of Congress, and but thirty years of age, both aspiring to leadership, were inexhaustibly supplied with ingenious arguments in support of aggressive warfare. Madison first thought of appointing Clay commander-in-chief; but the brilliant Kentuckian was unacquainted with military science, and, moreover, was wanted at Washington. Of the Revolutionary officers but few survived. Henry Dearborn had distinguished himself under General Washington, been Secretary of War from 1801 to 1809, and since then collector of the port of Boston; he was sixty-one years of age, a large, portly man of commanding mien, undoubted ability, and unimpeachable integrity. He was placed at the head of the land forces of the Northwestern department. Thomas Pinckney, sixty-two years of age, was appointed second major-general, and placed in command of the Southern department. Joseph Bloomfield, the governor of New Jersey since 1801, a veteran of the Revolution, who was in New York City in charge of the fortifications in process of erection when the news reached him, was commissioned a brigadier-general; and William Hull, governor of the Territory of Michigan, James Winchester of Tennessee, and John Parker Boyd of Massachusetts were also made brigadiers.

The invasion of Canada at Detroit and Niagara had been determined upon and openly avowed by Congress, months before the declaration of

¹ *Hardie's Description of the City of New York* (1827), p. 131; *Miss Booth's History of the City of New York* (1863), p. 697.

² *Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York for 1868*, pp. 882, 883; *Dr. Mitchell's Description of the Fortifications*, 1808.

war. Thus the British government had ample time to put their menaced province in a state of complete defense, and supply regular troops from England. Governor Hull was in Washington during the spring, and heard the subject freely discussed in official circles. He protested against the attempt, without a fleet upon Lake Erie, where the British had full sway. Solomon Sibley, a distinguished citizen of Detroit, wrote an earnest and manly letter to Senator Thomas Worthington of Ohio, requesting him to explain to the President the need of a large force at Detroit. He said "a scheme had been long in agitation, and generally approved by the Indians, to clear the country north and west of the Ohio of every American, and in future establish that river as a boundary." He also expressed the opinion that the attack would be made by ¹⁸¹² the savages, whatever the result of pending negotiations with Great Britain, and that it was of the first importance to the government to send troops before May or June, lest the important post be sacrificed, and the whole line of frontier involved in ruin.¹

Objections were made to giving Governor Hull the control of the army in Ohio and Michigan. It was said that the people of the region had no confidence in him—that he was too old and broken in body and nerves to conduct the multifarious operations of such a command. He at first declined the proposed honor and service. The nomination was made on the ground of his valuable military experience. It was opposed, referred to a committee, reported upon favorably, and confirmed by the Senate. Return Jonathan Meigs, son of the heroic Colonel Meigs of Connecticut, was the governor of Ohio at this crisis; and in response to his call for troops to assemble at Dayton, in April, men flocked thither from every part of the State, ambitious for distinction and eager for action. Three regiments were organized, with their field-officers elected, when Hull arrived from Washington, May 25. Duncan McArthur was colonel of the first regiment, James Findlay of the second, and Lewis Cass, then thirty years of age, afterwards Secretary of State, of the third. General Wadsworth, commanding the fourth division of Ohio militia, obeyed with alacrity an order to raise three companies of volunteers. At Urbana the moving army was joined by a brave regiment of regulars under James Miller. The entire month of June was consumed by Hull and his troops in toiling through the almost unbroken wilderness towards the Maumee country. They must necessarily cut a road or pathway two hundred or more miles, and causeways of logs had to be constructed across morasses, and bridges thrown across considerable streams. Block-

¹ *Letter of Sibley to Worthington*, February 26, 1812; *Knapp's History of the Maumee Valley*, pp. 123-127; *Brown's French Revolution*, Vol. II, p. 368.

houses for the protection of the sick and of provision-trains were also indispensable. Meanwhile hostile Indians skulked behind the bushes and trees, watching every movement with malignant vigilance.

The news of the declaration of war reached Hull on the second day of July, a few hours after his army had moved from the foot of the Maumee Rapids towards Detroit. He had sent two small vessels from that point to convey the sick and the hospital stores to Detroit by water; he had also shipped his own baggage and that of most of his officers, together with intrenching tools and camp furniture. Captain Hull, the son and aid of the governor, executed the order of shipment, and unfortunately included a small trunk containing Hull's commission and instructions from the War Department, with the complete muster-rolls of the army about to invade Canada; and the wives of three of the officers, with thirty soldiers for their protection, were passengers. The messenger who conveyed the government despatch to Hull, which had been intrusted to the postmaster at Cleveland by the postmaster-general, was obliged to swim all the streams between Cleveland and Maumee; and thence pursued the army to its night encampment, which he reached about two o'clock in the morning, just as the moon was rising. Two hours later the troops were marching rapidly. In the mean time Hull despatched a party to the mouth of the Raisin to stop the vessels with their precious cargoes, but it was too late. The schooner had fallen into the hands of the British at Malden, who had been apprised of the declaration of war two days in advance of Hull, and the valuable information, as well as other treasures, was appropriated by the enemy. The smaller vessel with the sick passed up the more shallow channel on the west side of Bois Blanc Island, and reached Detroit in safety. On the 6th Colonel Cass was sent to Malden with a flag of truce to demand the baggage and prisoners taken from the schooner. On his approach he was blindfolded, and in this condition taken before Colonel St. George, and treated courteously. But the demand was refused.

The British were already erecting fortifications on the Canadian side of the river opposite Detroit, which would seriously menace the fort. Hull prepared with all possible expedition to drive them away. After great exertions in obtaining boats and canoes, and through a resort to strategy by which the British hastened to defend another point, he crossed over in the night to Canada, just above the present town of Windsor, hoisting the American flag on the bright and lovely Sabbath morning of July 12, and issuing a stirring proclamation to the inhabitants.

But Hull did not push immediately forward and attack the citadel of the British and Indians at Malden, as his impetuous young officers de-

sired. He had no means of learning the real strength of that fortified post, thirteen miles below, which, from its position on the Detroit River near its entrance into Lake Erie, effectually commanded the waters. Its possession would soon become necessary for self-preservation, as its warriors infested the road from Ohio over which provisions were to be transported on wagons or pack-horses for the army; and yet failure was probable unless he could first provide his men with battering cannon, and ladders of sufficient height and number to scale the walls. This gave the British ample time to strengthen their garrison. He afterwards confessed that he took every step under two sets of fears: he dared not act boldly lest his incompetent force be totally destroyed, or cease from acting lest his uneasy militia desert him altogether. While beseeching government for reinforcement, some of his energetic officers performed daring exploits in the vicinity. Four days after he encamped on the Canadian shore, Fort Mackinaw, the strongest American post in the country, situated upon an island in Lake Huron, fell into the hands of the British. Its garrison numbered only fifty-seven, and its commandant was first apprised of the declaration of war by the British officer, who at the head of one thousand men demanded its surrender. The disaster completely changed the whole face of affairs. The Indians who had been overawed by this northern fort became more deadly hostile, and influenced by the apparently victorious British were eager to march upon Detroit. Hull had been the governor of Michigan for nine years, and, perfectly aware of the danger and the brutal character of the savages, was appalled at the situation. He expected a promised attack upon the New York frontier at Niagara would create a diversion in his favor. But the British commander-in-chief, Sir George Prevost, and General Dearborn had already agreed to sign an armistice for a brief period, to take effect on the 13th of August, in which Hull was not included. And no notice of it was sent to Hull, otherwise Detroit might have been saved. Suspecting the whole force of the British was about to be directed against him, Hull on the 8th of August ingloriously retreated to Detroit. His officers of every grade were angered with disappointment, and upbraided him with imbecility and even treachery.

New York had by no means been idle during these summer days. While the little invading army at Detroit was fostering terrible suspicions concerning its commander-in-chief, the New York forces collected on the Niagara frontier were scattered along to guard a line of thirty-five miles. "We have eleven cannon for all our extensive territory," wrote Major John Lovett on the 14th of August; "and from Buffalo to Niagara, both inclusive, we have less than one thousand militia."

Confronting them on the Canadian shore was a well-appointed army, under the most exact discipline, and commanded by skillful and experienced officers. Every important eminence from Fort Erie to Fort George, on Lake Ontario, was crowned with a battery; and a commanding position on the heights of Queenstown was every day becoming more secure and formidable. All this, together with the mastery of the lakes, which gave

the British facilities for crossing the river at a moment's notice, rendered the outlook extremely dubious for aggressive warfare.

General Dearborn established himself in the beginning at Greenbush, opposite Albany, as Lake Champlain was the great military highway to the centre of the British province, and the American settlements at the foot of the lake were remote and exposed. But he delayed preparations for the proper conduct of the war in all directions through signing the



Alexander Macomb.
[Major General U. S. A.]

armistice, which he continued until the 29th of August. The Legislature of New York, quite as vigilant as the national government, had taken measures in the early part of April for enforcing the laws against smuggling on her frontiers. Small forces of infantry and some artillery were stationed at various points. By a general order issued from the War Department on the 21st of April, the detached militia of New York were arranged in two divisions and eight brigades. The governor of New York made herculean efforts to raise the quota of the State, which in defect of sufficient regular troops was needed at once on the Niagara frontier; and he appointed Stephen Van Rensselaer, the patroon, to the chief command. John Armstrong, having returned the year before from his

mission to France, was commissioned a brigadier by the general government in place of the distinguished Peter Gansevoort, who died, after a long and distressing illness, on the 2d of July. Morgan Lewis was appointed quartermaster-general, Alexander Smyth of Virginia, inspector-general, and Thomas H. Cushing of Massachusetts, adjutant-general. Alexander Macomb, of the artillery, was made a colonel, and Winfield Scott, then twenty-six years of age, Edmund Pendleton Gaines of Virginia, and Eleazer Wheelock Ripley, Speaker of the Massachusetts Legislature, each received a lieutenant-colonelcy.

Alexander Macomb, son of Alexander Macomb (or McComb as the name is frequently written, the member of the New York Legislature at the time of the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, who purchased upwards of three and one half million acres of land resting upon Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence River in 1792, and who had six sons in the War of 1812) was born in the British garrison at Detroit, in 1782, just at the close of hostilities between Great Britain and her colonies; he was brought by his parents to New York in infancy, and reared in the city. At a school in Newark, New Jersey, his military genius and taste first revealed itself in the organization and drilling of companies among his classmates. At twenty-three he was captain of a corps of engineers, and at twenty-six elevated to the rank of major. So highly were his attainments esteemed that he was employed at West Point by the government to compile a treatise on martial law. He was thirty when promoted to the colonelcy, on the outbreak of hostilities; and sixteen years later we shall find him general-in-chief of the army of the United States.

The death of Vice-President George Clinton at this juncture deprived New York of an able counselor. During the whole of the Revolutionary War he stood at the head of the government of the State, and sustained with unshaken firmness the rights of the people. No man was more familiar with the physical condition of New York, or better understood the difficulties to be avoided in attempting to defend her wild and unsettled frontiers. His judgment of men and motives was profound, as well as his knowledge of the human heart. He was to have been nominated for re-election, and would probably have served a third term of Vice-Presidency had his life been spared. He had already presided over the Senate for seven years with rare dignity and discretion. He died in office, at Washington, on the 20th of April, 1812, about nine o'clock in the morning. He was in the seventy-third year of his age. During his illness he was unremittingly attended by his son-in-law, General Pierre Van Cortlandt (son of the lieutenant-governor during Clinton's eighteen years' governor-

ship of New York), who had succeeded his brother, General Philip Van Cortlandt, as member of Congress. The funeral ceremonies were conducted from the Capitol on the afternoon of the 21st, the President and his Cabinet, Congress, and distinguished men of every profession, citizens and strangers, attending. The imposing procession, escorted by cavalry, moved at four o'clock to the Congressional Cemetery on the Eastern branch of the Potomac, where his remains were tenderly interred.¹

Van Cortlandt wrote to his brother Philip on the 23d censuring the President for having on the previous evening been so "disrespectful to the memory of a greater man than himself as to suffer Mrs. Madison to have her drawing-room as usual. It is spoken of in all places," he said. On the 26th he wrote again, criticising Madison in the severest terms for sending a message to Congress recommending two assistants to the Secretary of War "on the very day of the death of the Vice-President, and while both Houses were mourning the great loss of the nation. The message was not suffered to be read in either House." In the same letter he remarked: "Overtures were made to me to get Mr. De Witt Clinton to consent to be the Vice-President under Mr. Madison. This arrangement cannot nor will not take place."²

¹ Over the grave of Vice-president Clinton a monument of white marble was erected, upon which was inscribed the following epitaph: "To the memory of George Clinton, a soldier and statesman, a council, distinguished in war, in peace, in purity, and ability, those of governor of his native State, and of Vice-President of the United States. While he lived his virtue, wisdom, and security of his country; and when he died he left a name worthy of all imitation."

² General Pierre Van Cortlandt, April 26, 1812. Van Cortlandt at this period, threw much light upon the conduct of the seat of government to Madison, although one of the warmest friends of Jefferson. He married Catharine, daughter of Dr. Theodorick Romeyn Beck—known throughout the civilized world as the author and founder of medical jurisprudence, a science which he substantially created, and who ranks, wherever law and justice are administered, with Blackstone,



Clinton's Tomb

President Clinton a monument bearing the inscription, from the memory of George Clinton, of the Revolution, eminent in the memory of the people. He filled with unexampled usefulness among many other high offices, State and of Vice-President of the United States. He lived his virtue, wisdom, and security of his country an illustrious example of a well-merited fame."

landt to General Philip Van Cortlandt. The letters of General Pierre Van Cortlandt carefully preserved by the family, and motives of politeness. He was bitterly opposed to the warmest friends of Jefferson. He married Catharine, daughter of Dr. Theodorick Romeyn Beck—known throughout the civilized world as the author and founder of medical jurisprudence, a science which he substantially created, and who ranks, wherever law and justice are administered, with Blackstone, 100 (Vol. II.). Their only son,

It was a master-stroke of policy rather than the deliberate choice of a good military leader, when Stephen Van Rensselaer, a leading Federalist, and known to be greatly opposed to the war, was appointed to the major-generalship of the detached militia of New York. He was not a military man, but since his country was committed to the measure of war he nobly laid aside all party feeling and gave it his hearty support. It was thought the example of a man of such wealth and importance in the State would influence favorably the disaffected. He accepted the appointment only on condition that his cousin, Solomon Van Rensselaer, adjutant-general of New York, and well acquainted with military science, should accompany him as his aid and counselor. It was well understood that the latter would be the general, in a practical military point of view. He was some ten years younger than the patroon, the son of General Henry Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, who was wounded at the capture of Burgoyne. He was a born soldier. Before his twentieth birthday he raised a valiant little company of soldiers in his own county of Rensselaer, and, with the sacred commission of Washington in his pocket, led them through a dense Western wilderness of several hundred miles, and joined Anthony Wayne's expedition to the Maumee in 1794. He was promoted to the command of a troop and greatly admired and respected by his superior officers for his soldier-like deportment.¹

Bacon, and Grotius. Children of Colonel Pierre and Catharine Beck Van Cortlandt : 1. Catharine Theresa Romeyn, married Rev. John Rutherford Matthews ; 2. Pierre Van Cortlandt, died October 16, 1879 ; 3. Romeyn Beck, died March 1, 1843 ; 4. James Stevenson ; 5. Theodorick Romeyn, died August 11, 1880 ; 6. Anne Stevenson ; 7. Philip, died October 10, 1858. Maria, the youngest daughter of Vice-President Clinton, was with her father at the time of his death. She subsequently married Dr. Stephen Beekman, who was appointed a surgeon of the United States army under Dearborn, at Greenbush. He wrote to General Van Cortlandt, August 11, 1812 : " I am sickened with campaigning — living in tow-cloth houses ; and the mode of operating, sending soldiers off in small detachments, and not half found with clothing or ammunition, so that the Britishers may have no trouble in taking them and sending the officers home on parole of honor, disgusts me with the service, and I am determined to resign." *Parade Archers.*

¹ Colonel Solomon Van Rensselaer was a rigid disciplinarian. He was at one time parading his famous sorrel troop near the quarters of General Wilkinson on the Wabash River. It was just prior to a contemplated action with the Indians in 1794 ; he had been exercising his men upon every description of service, whether the land was cleared or wooded, broken or smooth, and they were taught to consider no obstacle impassable without a fair trial. General Wilkinson was looking on, and, wishing to test the metal of the youthful officer, cried out, just as the troop came to a halt, facing a stone wall which surrounded his fine garden, " Charge ! " In an instant the spurs touched Van Rensselaer's finely strung horse that stood with his neck proudly arched, and with a flying leap, the result of muscular energy that would have unseated a careless rider, he cleared the wall, followed by the whole troop, scampering over the vegetables and demolishing every growing thing in their progress. Having prompted this ruinous result to the fruits of a summer's industry and care by his own mandate, although he never supposed the cavalry would pass the high enclosure, Wilkinson

He married his cousin Harriet, daughter of Colonel Philip and Maria Sanders Van Rensselaer, in 1797. The mother of the bride refusing to sanction the marriage it was tinged with romance. One cold frosty afternoon in January, while the lady of the house was taking her customary nap on the sofa before a blazing fire in the family sitting-room, the young soldier, with the full consent of the bride's father was united to the beautiful Harriet in the bonds of matrimony by the venerable Dominie Van Vranken of Fishkill. After the ceremony the dominie and the bridegroom climbed out the back window, and the mother was none the wiser for some days. In April of the same year the young soldier wrote to his wife from Philadelphia: "Since I came here I have been sitting twice a day to have my miniature taken by Gilbert Stuart, a masterly artist. It was finished this evening. The price for painting was fifty dollars; although it is extravagant, yet with much satisfaction did I pay for it, as it was intended to give you pleasure. The likeness is not as striking a one as he took for President Washington and General Wilkinson, in my eyes." The exquisitely painted miniature, of which the accompanying sketch is a fac-simile, was executed on ivory, set in gold, and placed in a red morocco case lined with white satin.

John Lovett, a lawyer of Albany, afterwards member of Congress, was invited by the patroon to become his military secretary. "I am not a soldier!" was the quick response. "It is not your sword, but your pen, that I want," said Van Rensselaer. Whereupon Lovett accepted the prof-

stilled his regrets at the destruction of his garden, and with the gravity of a stoic brought the mischief-makers back. After a few more manoeuvres, and when the troop suddenly faced the river, the general again shouted, "Charge!" Away under full speed the dauntless young captain with his well-trained horsemen dashed down the steep bank, and headlong into the river, before the order could be countermanded. If the chagrin of the general had been great when his garden had been destroyed, his apprehension was greater now for the safety of the obedient and reckless troop. He watched their movements in silent agony. One of them, a cornet, he saw separated from his own steed, and, in imminent danger of being killed by the struggles of others, but grappled in time and taken in tow by the vigilant captain, whose cheering voice was heard above the uproar. The gallant fellows ascended the opposite bank in triumph, and Wilkinson, as he expressed himself, "felt as if released from the burden of Atlas." (*Legacy of Historical Gleanings*, by Mrs. Catharine V. R. Bonney.) In the notable battle at the foot of the Maunee Rapids in August, 1794, this boy of twenty signaled himself at the head of the same troop in one of the most brilliant and effective charges ever made against the savages of that region. He was wounded, it was supposed fatally, and a litter was brought to convey him from the victorious battle-field. He refused to be laid upon it. "You young dog! how then are you going?" exclaimed Wayne. "I am an officer of the cavalry, sir, and shall go on horseback," was the reply. "You will drop by the way," suggested Wayne. "If I do, just cover me up and let me lie there," was the quiet response. He was mounted upon his own charger as he desired, and one of his dragoons on either side supported him some five or six miles. The best surgeons in the army attended him, and each said after his recovery, that not one of a thousand ever survived such wounds.

ferred post. He was a man of genius, charming in conversation, full of anecdote, and an acknowledged wit. He wrote, upon his arrival at Ogdensburg: "If flying through air, water, mud, brush, over hills, dales, meadows, swamps, on wheels or horseback, and getting a man's ears gnawed off with mosquitoes and gallinippers, make a soldier, then I have seen service." He accompanied the two Van Rensselaers on a tour of inspection along the Niagara River from Lake Erie to Lake Ontario. He spoke of the one little brig *Oneida* at Sackett's Harbor, "which could be burned at any hour if the British chose," and of the reception given Van Rensselaer by its brave commander, Melancthon Taylor Woolsey, of New York. This vessel had recently been attacked by five British vessels larger than herself, but by landing part of her guns and establishing a battery on shore, where two hundred soldiers were stationed, she succeeded in beating them off. On one occasion the little inspecting party were compelled to seek shelter at midnight in a deserted house. Lovett said: "We placed our general on the table about four and a half feet long, crooked up his legs, borrowed a thick blanket of a soldier, and covered him up quite comfortably. The colonel then laid down upon two boards



Colonel Solomon Van Rensselaer.

in his great-coat; I selected a large Dutch-oven, as the thought struck me it would be the safest retreat from the vermin. But how to get in it I knew not. I finally took a wide board, placed an end in the mouth of the monstrous oven, laid myself on the board, and bade the sergeant of the guard raise up the other end and push me into the oven — and in I went like a pig on a wooden shovel; and there I staid and had one of the loveliest night's rest of my life."

Van Rensselaer decided to concentrate his forces at Lewiston Heights, opposite the British works at Queenstown, and had hardly established his new headquarters when intelligence of the armistice arrived. It thus became necessary to confer with the British general, Sheaffe, concerning the details of that agreement and the government of the armies on the Niagara River during its continuance. Colonel Solomon Van Rensselaer,

in full military costume, crossed into Canada with a flag of truce. He was courteously received at British headquarters. To the proposition that no troops should move from that district to join General Brock, who had gone to reinforce the British army opposite Detroit, Sheaffe readily assented. But when the audacious American colonel insisted upon the use of Lake Ontario as a public highway, in common with the British themselves, for purposes of transportation, the demand was unequivocally refused. Van Rensselaer said: "Then there can be no armistice, our negotiation is at an end. General Van Rensselaer will take the responsibility upon himself of preventing your detaching troops from this district." The officers all rose to their feet: "Sir, you take high ground!" said Sheaffe, with his hand upon the hilt of his sword. "I do, sir, and will maintain it," replied Van Rensselaer, striking the same hostile attitude; "but," addressing himself decidedly to Sheaffe, "you dare not detach the troops!" Not another word was uttered. After walking the room for a few moments the general said, "Be seated, and excuse me." He withdrew with his officers, but presently returned, and politely remarked, "Sir, from amicable considerations I grant you the use of the waters." Thus the interview closed.

This successful effort at diplomacy was of vital importance to the Americans. The roads were impassable, especially for heavy cannon, and the much needed supplies for the army collected at Oswego could be obtained only by water, thus were not likely to reach their destination so long as the highway of the lake was beset by a triumphant enemy. An express was quickly on the wing, and Colonel Fenwick at Oswego ordered forward with all possible haste; the cannon and military stores were shipped to Fort Niagara, and thence, without the knowledge of the enemy, deposited safely at the camping-ground. General Van Rensselaer was also enabled to use this advantage for another purpose of great consequence to the country. He sent an express to Ogdensburg for the immediate removal of nine schooners to Sackett's Harbor. These had been imprisoned at that place, and were desired for gunboats, into which they could be changed for active service as the most expeditious method of preparing a fleet of war to obtain command of the waters of Lake Ontario.

The brief exhilaration of the army over Van Rensselaer's triumph swiftly turned into the deepest gloom. News came of the capitulation of Hull at Detroit, a disaster which seemed likely to produce a general mutiny among the New York forces. Erelong, on the 26th of the same
Aug. 26. month, General Sir Isaac Brock, governor of Lower Canada, at the head of his troops, was seen on the opposite shore of the Niagara River, less than one fourth of a mile distant, parading Hull and his American soldiers

pompously along the heights of Queenstown, in full view of the American camp at Lewiston. On the following morning the prisoners were embarked for Montreal and Quebec to be made a public spectacle. "Seated in an old ragged, open carriage, Hull was drawn through the streets of Montreal, and thus exhibited as a rare show to the natives assembled."

"Why did Hull surrender?" was the question upon every lip. The war party of the country, mortified at this speedy termination of an attempt to make a conquest of Canada, and thus humiliate Great Britain, made the unhappy Hull the scapegoat of everybody's blunders, accusing him, as did his officers under him, of cowardice or treachery. But the difficulties of his position were very great, and it is extremely doubtful whether under any officer much Canadian ground could have been gained. Brock's vigilance had secured Fort Mackinaw before its commander had been apprised of the declaration of war; and taking advantage of the impolitic armistice in contemplation, the same British officer had withdrawn a large body of troops from Niagara and hastened to Detroit. The Indians of the whole region flocked to his standard; and the cunning Tecumseh and his savage warriors guarded the road from Ohio to intercept reinforcements and supplies. A detachment sent by Hull to the aid of Captain Brush at the river Raisin with men, flour, and cattle from Ohio for the army, fell into an ambuscade and was totally routed. The mail-bag was captured, and Brock by the means came into possession of the knowledge needful to overwhelm Detroit. He crossed the river, and demanded the unconditional surrender of the post. Hull doubted his ability to sustain a siege with his meager force, and supplies fast diminishing. The British were already in the town, advancing toward the fort in solid column, twelve deep. A dark and fiendish war-cloud hung upon every side, and the British general had significantly remarked in his note, "The Indians who have attached themselves to my troops will be beyond my control the moment the contest begins."

Hull shuddered at the prospect of consigning the innocent inhabitants of the town and country, who thronged the fort for protection, to barbarities from which the stoutest heart would turn with sickening horror. His daughter and her children were there, and the wives and children of some of the leading citizens of Detroit; also clergymen and non-combatants. Believing resistance would be in vain, it seemed criminal rather than brave to sacrifice so much human life. He was pacing the parade backward and forward in acute mental agony, when a cannon-ball bounded into the fort, killing instantly Captain Hancks of Fort Mackinaw, Lieutenant Sibley, and Dr. Reynolds, who had accompanied

Hull's sick from Maumee to Detroit — besides wounding several others. Women were bespattered with blood and quickly carried to the bomb-proof vault for safety. A moment later the white flag was raised.

The capitulation included the detachments of Cass and McArthur, the command and convoy under Brush at the Raisin, and indeed the whole territory of Michigan. Cass and McArthur, with three hundred men, had been sent to endeavor by a circuitous route to open communication with Brush; but getting entangled in a swamp, with nothing to eat for two days but a few potatoes and green pumpkins, they returned to Detroit just as affairs had reached the crisis. Their wrath may be better imagined than described. They were brave and capable officers, and unwilling to consider themselves beaten. The whole army was in a fury of disappointment, and the surrender was particularly hard on the fresh troops who had not yet come in sight of the smoke of the enemy's guns.

Immediately upon Hull's exchange he was tried by a court-martial for treason, cowardice, and neglect of duty; acquitted of the first, he was sentenced to be shot for the last two. He was pardoned, however, by the President, but dismissed the service.

While Hull stood doubting whether he should err on the side of humanity or valor, hemmed in by a foe of unknown strength upon all sides, the site of what is now Michigan Avenue in the wonderful city of Chicago, was the scene of a shocking massacre. Fort Dearborn, built by the United States Government in 1804 near the junction of the Chicago River and Lake Michigan, was garrisoned by fifty-four men under Captain Nathan Heald. It was a solitary post in the vast wilderness, far from the frontiers, and Hull ordered its evacuation as soon as he heard of the fate of Fort Mackinaw; the message was conveyed from Fort Wayne by a Pottawatomie chief who was on amicable terms with John Kinzie, the first white settler of Chicago.¹ The garrison were directed to march

¹ The Indians said "the first white man who settled here was a negro" — referring to Jean Baptist Point au Sable, a mulatto from St. Domingo, who built a little house on the north side of the Chicago River, opposite the fort, in 1796; the same dwelling which Mr. Kinzie subsequently enlarged and occupied for many years with his young family, enjoying the friendship, trade, and confidence of the Indians. He planted some fine Lombardy poplars in front, and cultivated a garden and orchard in the rear. John Kinzie was born in Quebec in 1763. He was the only offspring of his mother's second marriage. His father died while he was an infant, and his mother married a third time, and with her husband, Mr. Forsythe, removed to New York City. At ten years of age young Kinzie was placed in a school at Williamsburg; but he ran away after a short period, and reached Quebec. He became a trader, and established numerous trading-houses. In 1800 he married the widow of Colonel McKillup, a British officer killed at Fort Miami, on the Maumee River, at the time of Wayne's appearance there in 1794. Her daughter was the young wife of Lieutenant Helm. Three children were with her in the boat on the day of the massacre, John H. Kinzie, Robert A. Kinzie, and a daughter who became the wife of General David Hunter. — *Lossing*.

through the woods to Fort Wayne, and thence to Detroit. The friendly Indian messenger warned Captain Heald against the perilous undertaking. The savages all through the Western country were restless, sullen, and blood-thirsty. Mr. Kinzie remonstrated. The younger officers in the fort, Lieutenant Helm, son-in-law of Mrs. Kinzie, and Ensign Ronan, urged their commander to remain, strengthen the fort, and defy the Indians until relief could reach them. But Heald said he must obey orders. Thus arrangements were made for departure.

At nine o'clock on the same bright morning that Detroit was surrendered, the gate of the Chicago fort was thrown open, and a little mournful procession emerged, and slowly moved in an ^{Aug. 15.} easterly direction along the shore of Lake Michigan. The heroic Mrs. Heald rode a handsome horse by the side of her husband; Mrs. Helm and the other ladies were also mounted. Captain Wells, Mrs. Heald's uncle, who had married an Indian princess and been made a chief among the Miamis, galloped across the country with a few of his tribe to assist in defending the fort; but, finding himself too late, he could only place himself at the head of the doomed party to do all in his power to prevent slaughter. Mr. Kinzie was also present, hoping by his personal influence to soften, if he could not avert, the impending blow. His family were in a boat in charge of a friendly Indian. As the travelers neared the sand-hills between the prairie and the beach, their escort of treacherous Pottawatomies, under Blackbird, filed to the right and disappeared behind the little hillocks. In the next breath they commenced an assault. It was a hand-to-hand encounter, short and desperate, a life-and-death struggle—a battle in the open field—fifty-four soldiers, twelve civilians, and four or five women, fighting full five hundred Indian warriors. Captain Wells said to his niece, Mrs. Heald, as he saw the nature of the conflict, "We have not the slightest chance for life," and dashed forward to fight with the rest, while his cowardly Miamis fled over the prairies and away as if the evil spirit was at their heels. A fiendish young savage sprang into a wagon in which were twelve children, and tomahawked them all! Captain Wells saw the bloody deed, and was off towards the Indian encampment with the speed of a whirlwind, exclaiming, "If that is their game, butchering women and children, I'll kill too." Swift-footed warriors pursued and shot him.¹ Knowing the temper and practices of the savages well, he taunted them after he fell with the most insulting epithets in order to provoke them to kill him instantly, and thus to escape

¹ Mary, the daughter of Captain William Wells whose life was as romantic and heroic as its termination was tragic, married in 1821, Judge James Wolcott, a resident of Muncie City from 1826 until his death in 1873.

being reserved for the torture, in which he succeeded. A tomahawk was plunged into his head, his heart was cut out, and a portion of it eaten with exuberant delight. Mrs. Heald received seven bullet-wounds; but, although faint and bleeding, she managed to keep her saddle. The Indians wished to save her horse, and only aimed at the rider. Dr. Van Voorhees, a brilliant young New York surgeon from Fishkill, was among the slain; also the brave Ensign Ronan, who wielded his sword to the last. Mrs. Helm had a deadly strife with a stalwart savage who struck at her with a tomahawk. She sprang aside, receiving the blow in her shoulder; at the same instant she seized him about the neck and tried to grasp his scalping-knife, which hung in a sheath by his side. While thus struggling she was dragged from her antagonist by another savage, who bore her, despite her desperate resistance, to the margin of the lake and threw her in, but held her so that she could not drown. She presently perceived that she was supported by a friendly hand. It was a chief who had saved her. When the firing ceased he conducted her to the prairie, where she met her step-father, Mr. Kinzie, and heard that her husband was safe. The wife of one of the soldiers fought desperately, and supposing that all prisoners were reserved for torture, suffered herself to be literally cut in pieces. Mrs. Holt, whose husband was severely wounded in the beginning, received from him his sword, and used it so skillfully while a half-dozen warriors were all trying at once to dismount her and secure her high-spirited horse, that other Indians shouted, "Don't hurt her!" She suddenly wheeled her horse and rode furiously over the prairie, but was checked by the savages; and while three of them engaged her in front, a powerful fellow seized her by the neck and dragged her backward to the ground. She was carried into captivity, but afterwards ransomed. The wounded captives were nearly all scalped after Captain Heald went through the ceremony of a surrender. Mrs. Heald herself escaped scalping in this last horrible moment only through the intercession of Mrs. Kinzie, who sent a trusty Indian servant to offer a mule as a ransom, and the Indian increased the bribe with two bottles of whiskey. As this was more than her beautiful scalp would bring at Malden, she was released, and concealed in Mrs. Kinzie's boat from the avaricious eyes of other scalp-hunters. All the civilians were killed except Mr. Kinzie and his sons, all the officers except Captain Heald and Lieutenant Helm, two thirds or more of the soldiers, and twelve children. The prisoners were divided among their captors.¹

¹ Dr. John Cooper of New York, a native of Fishkill, was the immediate predecessor of Dr. Van Voorhees at Fort Dearborn. They were classmates, and when Dr. Cooper resigned, in 1811, Dr. Van Voorhees was appointed in his stead.

On the day after the massacre the fort was burned, and the site of Chicago left in desolation for the next four years. Blackbird and his savage horde pressed immediately towards Fort Wayne and Fort Harrison on the Wabash, encouraged by private emissaries from Tecumseh, who was strong in the hope of establishing a confederacy for the complete expulsion of the white inhabitants north and west of the Ohio River, the principal tribes of the region having already united. 1812.

It was a black day for New York when intelligence of these several disasters reached the city—Fort Mackinaw and Detroit surrendered, Chicago annihilated, and the remaining strongholds in Ohio beleaguered! The folly of the War Department in commencing hostile operations before obtaining control of the lakes was apparent. Regrets were of no use in the emergency. The mischief was to be remedied. New York must strain every nerve, or devastating war would cross her borders. The whole country was profoundly agitated. Sparsely settled Ohio heaved like a storm-smitten ocean in its wrath, and men of every class and condition in life flocked to the recruiting stations and offered their services. Before the 1st of October, Kentucky had more than seven thousand of her sons in the field. Gen. William Henry Harrison, governor of Indiana, was assigned to the chief command.

The great inland seas were of the first consequence. A navy must be created upon them. But how? Could ships be built in a newly settled country, where nothing could be supplied but timber? Everything else would have to be transported from Albany at vast expense, and much of the way through the original wilderness.

And how could war-vessels be launched upon waters controlled by the enemy? Colonel Solomon Van Rensselaer's masterly diplomacy enabled the government to begin the herculean enterprise. Captain Isaac Chauncey, at the head of the New York navy-yard, and one of the best



Captain Isaac Chauncey.

practical seamen of his time, was commissioned (August 31) to the chief command over the waters of the lakes, with directions to superintend the forming of a navy. He was admirably fitted for the post, energetic, fearless, industrious, and his experience as commander of the merchant-vessels of John Jacob Astor on several successful voyages to the East Indies, as well as his conspicuous gallantry in naval engagements off Tripoli, and elsewhere, inspired public confidence. Within a week he sent Henry Eckford, the famous New York ship-builder, with forty ship-carpenters to Lake Ontario. Others soon followed. Commander Woolsey was ordered to purchase for immediate use the merchant-schooners which had come from Ogdensburg, as before mentioned, and these were transformed into war-vessels with marvelous expedition and skill. On the 18th of September, one hundred officers and seamen, with guns and other munitions of war left New York for Sackett's Harbor. Chauncey arrived there in person on the 6th of October.¹

To create a fleet upon Lake Erie, separated from Lake Ontario by the impassable cataract of Niagara, vessels must be constructed on its
 Oct. 6. shores; and Chauncey sent Jesse Duncan Elliott, a young naval lieutenant of thirty, to choose a point for a dock-yard (with the advice of General Van Rensselaer) and to purchase any number of merchant-vessels or boats that might be converted into ships of war or gunboats, and build others. The work was going forward briskly at Black Rock, two miles below Buffalo, when, on the 8th of October, two British vessels, the *Detroit* and the *Caledonia*, appeared in front of Fort Erie, and Elliott resolved upon their capture. That very day a detachment of seamen for service under him had arrived from New York City. They were unarmed, but Lieuten-
 Oct. 9. ant-colonel Winfield Scott, who was stationed with the artillery at Black Rock, borrowed pistols, swords, and sabres for their use, and an expedition consisting of one hundred men divided equally in two boats, embarked in strict silence at midnight and passed into the gloom, returning three hours later, having in the interim surprised and captured both vessels. "In less than ten minutes," wrote Elliott, "I had the prisoners all seized, the topsails sheeted home, and the vessels under weigh." The *Detroit* was a prize captured by the British at Detroit when Hull surrendered. She was retaken by the boat conducted by Elliott in person, assisted by Isaac Roach, lieutenant of artillery; but grounding, was burned to prevent recapture. The *Caledonia*, of two guns, with a cargo of furs valued at two hundred thousand dollars, was captured by

¹ *Lossing's Field Book of the War*, p. 371; *Hildreth's United States*, Vol. VI. p. 356; *Randall's State of New York*, p. 173; *Cooper's Naval History of the United States*; *Brown's French Revolution*; *Thompson's History of the Second War*; *Eastman's New York*.

the second boat under Sailing-master Watts, assisted by Captain Nathan Towson, and was brought off in triumph. This vessel became the nucleus of the American naval force on Lake Erie. Several of the residents of Buffalo were engaged in the brilliant exploit. The display of lights to illuminate the return of the victors, together with the shouts of the citizens, called every British officer and soldier to his post.

Meanwhile the soldiers stationed along the St. Lawrence River were reinforced largely from the New York militia; and they were not idle, although no very important service was performed in that quarter during the remainder of 1812. Bloomfield guarded the approaches into New York through Lake Champlain, with a command of regulars. Smyth, also of the regular army, and at that time inspector-general, was in the vicinity of Buffalo. Van Rensselaer had been charged with the invasion of Canada; but he had not hitherto been provided with sufficient support to justify courting a battle. He endeavored in vain to counsel with Smyth, who, being an aspirant for the chief command, did not relish obedience to a militia general. Van Rensselaer thought Smyth's conduct engendered a spirit of insubordination fatal to the harmony and concert of military movements. But his army clamored to be led against the enemy, and he was, moreover, satisfied that the proper time for invading Canada had arrived. On the 10th of October he made arrangements to Oct. 10. assail Queenstown at three o'clock the next morning. The command of the expedition was assigned to Colonel Solomon Van Rensselaer, which gave umbrage to some of the officers of the regular army. During the evening thirteen large boats were brought down from Gill's Creek, two miles above Niagara Falls, and placed in the river at Lewiston landing, under cover of intense darkness. In the midst of a furious storm of wind and rain, six hundred troops stood at the place of embarkation with Solomon Van Rensselaer at their head. Lieutenant Sims, who had been selected to command the flotilla, entered the foremost boat and disappeared. He had taken nearly all the oars with him, thus the other boats could not follow! They waited for him to discover his mistake and return, but in vain. He moored his boat upon the other side, and fled.

The storm had no sooner ceased than preparations were made for the second attempt at invasion. The boats remained two days in full Oct. 12. view of the British, who supposed their appearance a feint, and that they were intended to carry an armament down the river against Fort George.

To render success more certain, Smyth agreed to furnish an additional number of boats, and to cross the river himself with seven hundred regu-

lars, and attack Fort George at a preconcerted moment.¹ The embarkation took place just after midnight, but Smyth failed to perform either promise. The thirteen boats were not able to carry more than about one half of the troops, and three of the thirteen missed their destination. The watchful enemy discovered the approach of the Americans by the sound of their oars, and opened a fire upon them from the top of the bank. Lovett, Van Rensselaer's secretary, was in charge of the eighteen-gun battery on the heights of Lewiston, the balls of which were to pass over the heads of the assaulting party, and he promptly answered the first volley of musketry, which caused the enemy to turn. It being dark, he stooped close to the gun to observe his aim, and when it was suddenly discharged the concussion so injured his ears that he never recovered his hearing. Colonel Van Rensselaer was the first man to spring ashore, on a large rock at the foot of the rapids, and as soon as his troops had landed, the boats were sent back for the remainder of the six hundred and forty men detailed for the battle.

"Two hundred and twenty-five men," wrote General Wilkinson to the Secretary of War, "formed under a very warm fire, climbed the bank and routed the enemy at the point of the bayonet without firing a gun." Within a few moments after the landing, Colonel Van Rensselaer was riddled with balls and disabled, but with great presence of mind he ordered John Ellis Wool, then a young captain of twenty-four, already wounded and bleeding but eager for action, to pursue the enemy with all possible speed and storm the fort, explaining to him by what route he could avoid the fire of the British artillery. The daring object was gallantly accomplished, and the enemy driven down the hill in every direction; with the rising of the sun, the American flag was planted on the British works. In this remarkable combat not a single officer was engaged of higher rank than a captain. Chrystie, of the regular army, the second in command of the expedition, was in one of three boats that, missing their way on the river, were drifted by the eddies back to the New York shore and he had not yet arrived upon the field. Fenwick, commander of the flying artillery, was wounded on the passage. The valiant Lieutenants, Gansevoort and Randolph of the artillery, led the way up the mountain, and Major Stephen Lush, Van Rensselaer's aid, brought up the rear, with orders to shoot down the first man who offered to give way.

Sir Isaac Brock, at Fort George, was wakened by the cannonading, and, calling for his favorite horse, rode to Queenstown at full speed, performing the journey of seven miles in little more than half an hour. He was just in time to see the stars and stripes unfurled over his fallen fortress!

¹ *Mrs. Bunney's Legend of Historical Gleanings*, p. 252.

He quickly rallied his demoralized troops and led them in person, six hundred strong, to retake what they had lost. The battle was long, obstinate, and one of the most thrilling on record. Deeds of heroism and valor were displayed by young officers and men never before exposed to fire, which would have done everlasting honor to veterans in military science. Had the little band of heroes on the heights been promptly supported, according to the programme mapped out with consummate generalship by Solomon Van Rensselaer, who had full knowledge of the position of the British through his several official visits to their headquarters during the summer and had provided for every contingency, the result would undoubtedly have been a decisive victory. Captain Wool sent forward one hundred and fifty men to check the approach of Brock. They were driven back, then reinforced and charged a second time, again pushed backward to the verge of the precipice which overlooked the deep chasm of the swift-flowing river, and in this critical position Captain Ogilvie raised a white handkerchief on the point of a bayonet in token of surrender; but Wool, springing forward, snatched it away indignantly with his own hand, then waving his sword led his comrades once more into the desperate and doubtful contest with a greatly superior force commanded by the ablest general in the British service; and with such impetuosity that the enemy broke and fled down the hill in dire dismay. Sir Isaac was amazed and chagrined. He shouted to his favorite grenadiers, "This is the first time I have seen the Forty-ninth turn their backs!" In attempting to rally them he received his death-wound, and fell from his horse at the foot of the slope. McDonnell, the brilliant and promising young attorney-general of Upper Canada, assumed command, and charged up the hill with fresh troops. He too was killed. After three distinct and bloody battles within the space of five hours, both parties fighting with marvelous bravery, the British fell back a mile in some confusion, leaving the intrepid Americans in possession of the heights.¹

Meanwhile reinforcements and supplies were crossing the river slowly

¹ John Ellis Wool, born at Newburgh, Orange County, New York, in 1788, was the son of one of the brave soldiers of the Revolution who went up the hill with Wayne at the storming of Stony Point in 1779. He had raised a company in Troy during the summer of 1812, and in September his regiment, under Lieutenant-colonel Chrystie, was ordered to the Niagara frontier. His gallant conduct at the storming of Queenstown led to his promotion, and he subsequently arose to great distinction. Among the noble young officers who participated in the morning battles, were Henry B. Armstrong, son of General John and Alida Livingston Armstrong, Richard M. Malcolm, Peter Ogilvie, and Stephen Watts Kearny, grandson of Hon. John and Anne De Lancey Watts of New York City, afterwards conqueror and governor of California, to whom Chrystie presented his sword upon the field for coolness and gallantry. Lieutenant Rathbone, Ensign Robert Morris, and Lieutenant Vallean of New York were killed. Nearly all of the men led to the first assault were native New-Yorkers.

and with much difficulty — owing to the constant fire of the enemy upon the boats. General Wadsworth, and shortly after him Lieutenant-colonel Winfield Scott, appeared upon the scene, the latter having hurried from his post to offer himself as a volunteer — and received permission from General Van Rensselaer to assume chief command in place of Colonel Van Rensselaer, who had been carried bleeding to Lewiston. Meeting Wadsworth unexpectedly, Scott proposed to limit his own command to the regulars, but the high-minded brigadier objected; “You, sir, know professionally what ought to be done,” he said; “I am here for the honor of my country and that of the New York militia.”¹ Chrystie also arrived about the same time and ordered Wool across the river to have his wounds dressed. An effort was made to fortify the position under the direction of Lieutenant Totten of the engineers. But the time was flying, and before much could be done, a cloud of dusky warriors swept along the brow of the mountain with a furious war-whoop; Scott, with the form of a giant and the voice of a trumpet, inspired his men to raise a shout and fall upon them and with such fury that they fled in terror. Chief John Brant, a young, lithe, graceful son of the great Mohawk warrior, only eighteen, dressed, painted, and plumed in Indian style from head to foot, led the forest warriors, who were soon rallied and returned to the assault, but were again driven down the heights. All at once the roads as far as the eye could reach were aglow with scarlet. General Sheaffe, succeeding Brock in command, was coming from Fort George with extensive reinforcements. The patrol was himself upon Queenstown heights at this juncture, but hastened over the river accompanied by Major Lovett, to urge forward his own reinforcements. To his surprise and deep mortification the militia, who had been so brave in speech and clamorous to be led against the enemy, refused to embark. They quailed before the sight of the wounded brought across the river, the groans of the dying, the fewness of the boats (several of the original thirteen having been lost), together with the new danger approaching; and rather than be killed, or made cripples for life, they determined to forego their chances of military honors. They fell back upon their constitutional rights, denying Van Rensselaer’s authority to march them out of their own State into Canada. He rode up and down among them in great excitement, alternately threatening and pleading; Lieutenant-colonel Henry Bloom who had returned wounded, mounted his horse and ex-

¹ General William Wadsworth was a large land-owner on the Genesee River, in joint ownership with his brother, James Wadsworth; the latter originated the first Normal School in New York in 1811. They were both natives of Durham, Connecticut, purchasing these wild lands in New York in 1790. James Wadsworth founded and endowed a library and institution for scientific lectures at Genesee. His philanthropic gifts to the cause of education in New York exceeded ninety thousand dollars.

horted, swore and prayed — still the troops would not move; Judge Peck happening to be at Lewiston, “appeared,” wrote Lovett, “from whence I know not, wearing a large cocked hat and long sword with a broad white belt, and preached and prayed, but all in vain.” The men were positive in their refusal. At this moment many of the boatmen fled panic-stricken, and the remaining boats were dispersed. The battle opened at four o’clock and raged for half an hour with terrible effect. Scott was in full dress uniform, and being taller and more conspicuous than any officer present the Indians fired at him incessantly and wondered that they could not hit him. Without succor from any source, and ammunition failing, the Americans were finally compelled to surrender. Nearly a thousand prisoners were taken by the enemy, two thirds of whom were found concealed on British soil among the rocks and bushes below the banks, not having been in the action at all.

All Canada mourned for General Sir Isaac Brock. An armistice of three days enabled the belligerent commanders to exchange humane courtesies. At the conclusion of the ceremonies at the funeral of Canada’s beloved governor and commander, minute guns were fired by order of General Van Rensselaer from the American batteries at Lewiston, as a mark of respect to a brave enemy.

Governor Tompkins, accompanied by Robert Macomb and John W. Livingston, arrived at headquarters just after the battle, and General Van Rensselaer, disgusted with the jealousies of some of the officers and the recent conduct of the militia, solicited and obtained permission to leave the service. He was succeeded in the command of the Niagara frontier by General Smyth, who promised so much and performed so little that he became the target for satire and ridicule by all parties. Little was heard along the frontier for the next month except the sonorous cadences of his proclamations. He was going to invade Canada and conquer the whole British empire. He prepared with much noise, but it all came to nothing. General Peter B. Porter of the New York militia accused him of cowardice and a duel ensued. These two officers exchanged shots at twelve paces distance and both escaped unhurt, after which they were reconciled by their seconds. Smyth was soon dismissed from the service. Colonel Solomon Van Rensselaer’s life was in extreme peril for five days after the battle; a cot was finally rigged with cross-bars and side-poles, upon which he was carried to Buffalo by a party of riflemen who, indeed, expressed their readiness to bear him on their shoulders from Buffalo to Albany. When late in November he reached his home near Albany, he was met in the suburbs by a cavalcade of citizens, and received with the honors of a victor.

In the month of September a convention of Federalists from all parts of the country assembled in New York City to decide upon the course the party should pursue in the coming Presidential election.

1812. They met privately with closed doors, and three days were consumed in spirited debates. It was agreed that New York, whose capital and frontiers were alike threatened by the enemy, deserved a President in whom she could trust, and one who would be able by his executive talents to make up for the want of forecast and capacity hitherto exhibited in the conduct of the war. Various speakers dwelt upon the impropriety of congressional nominations resulting, as they always did, in the selection of a Virginian for the highest office in the gift of the nation. De Witt Clinton, one of New York's most distinguished sons, was a candidate for the Presidency, and he was an advocate of peace, the door of which now stood open in the repeal of the British orders in council. It was finally resolved to adopt Clinton as the Federal candidate. Jared Ingersoll, attorney-general of Pennsylvania, son of Jared Ingersoll of Connecticut and Stamp Act fame, became the candidate for Vice-President. Thus the Presidential election, so disastrously utilized to bring on the war, promised an unusual amount of bitter wrangling.

The governors of Massachusetts and Connecticut, Caleb Strong and Roger Griswold,¹ positively refused to accede to the President's call (in

¹ Roger Griswold, governor of Connecticut in 1812 — born at Old Lyme in 1762 — was the son of Governor Matthew Griswold, grandson of Governor Roger Wolcott, nephew of the first Governor Oliver Wolcott, and first cousin of the second Oliver Wolcott, Secretary of the Treasury, and necticut. The mother the famous Ursula Wolcott note on page 593; thus surrounded army, judicial luminaries, he was more lit-breeding a statesman, his time in the country. Griswold, the first mag-colony, descended from of Malvern Hall, near Coming to this country of the British noblemen found the great city of mouth of the Connecticut-Wolcott, daughter of Wolcott; then son, fled upon the fief or Griswolds, ever since known as Black Hall, and was one of the founders of Old Lyme in 1666. He had eleven children; one daughter married Edmund Dorr, and among her descend-



Griswold Arms.

also governor of Connecticut, mentioned in the 358 (see also Vol. I. p. with a gubernatorial ries, and scholarly relations, and scholarlly by birth and than any other man of His ancestor, Matthew istrate of the Saybrook Sir Matthew Griswold Lyme Regis, England. in 1639, in the interests who were scheming to the New World at the cut, he married Anna the pioneer, Henry Matthew Griswold, set-feudal grant to the

June) for detachments of militia to do garrison duty along the seaboard, in place of those drawn off for the invasion of Canada. They denied the constitutional validity of the articles of war enacted by Congress; and complained of the irregularities attending the requisition of detached companies and battalions, without the regular quota of field officers. They denounced the punishment of a people three thousand miles away, over the innocent heads of our immediate neighbors in Canada of whom many were bound to us by ties of blood, but expressed entire willingness to adopt any measure which the safety of their own States might demand. Governor Strong had been one of the immortal number who framed the Constitution, and knew well the difficulties which arose about the partition between the States and the general government as to authority over the militia. He claimed to be a joint judge with the President whether the emergency existed which would justify him in making a call. Governor Griswold was no less decided in his views and even more influential. He was a leading Federalist; when called at the age of thirty-two from a valuable law practice into the national councils, he was pronounced one of the most finished scholars at the seat of government. He was in Congress ten years, and in 1801 declined the office of Secretary of State. Since 1807 he had been a judge of the Superior Court of Connecticut; also lieutenant-governor a part of that period. He was

ants was the famous Rev. Dr. Edward Dorr Griffin; of his sons, John, the father of Governor Matthew Griswold, was a judge of considerable renown, and George—who married Hannah Lynde—was the revered pastor of the church at East Lyme for thirty-six years. The two grandsons of Rev. George Griswold were the great New York merchants, George Griswold and Nathaniel Lynde Griswold, brothers, who founded a mercantile house in New York City prior to the beginning of the present century, sending their numerous and costly ships all over the world. They were among the most prominent and public-spirited citizens of the growing metropolis—worthy representatives of a race grandly developed, physically and morally as well as intellectually. George Griswold was made a director, in 1812, of the Bank of America, and his name appears among those of the founders and benefactors of scores of humane and other institutions in New York. The Griswolds of New York have intermarried with many of the leading families—the daughter of one of the great merchants married Peter Lorillard; and another daughter married Hon. Frederick Frelinghuysen of New Jersey. The mother of Robert H. McCurdy, the well-known New York importing merchant, was Ursula Wolcott Griswold, daughter of Judge John Griswold of Old Lyme, the brother of the governor. The children of Governor Roger Griswold were nine: 1. Harry, married in England; 2. Charles, married Ellen, daughter of Judge Elias Perkins of New London; 3. Frances, married her cousin, Chief Justice Ebenezer Lane of Ohio; 4. Matthew, married Phebe Ely, and resided in the mansion built by the governor at Black Hall; 5. Roger, married Juliette Griswold; 6. Elizabeth, married the philanthropist, Henry Boalt of Ohio, and among her children were Judge John Henry Boalt of California, and Mrs. J. O. Moss of Sandusky, Ohio; 7. Mary Anne, married Thomas S. Perkins, son of Judge Elias Perkins; 8. William, married Sarah Noyes; 9. Captain Robert, married Helen Powers, of the same family as the celebrated Hiram Powers.

personally one of the handsomest men of his time, with a bright, keen, flashing black eye; and his gifts and graces in conversation, and elegant manners were the delight of all who knew him. He was justly regarded as one of the first men in the nation for talents, political knowledge, force of eloquence, integrity, and profound legal ability. One of the earliest to propose that the Federalists should concentrate their strength upon the election of De Witt Clinton, in order effectually to defeat the spirit and policy of an administration which it was claimed had been under French influence and dictation for twelve years, Griswold exerted a singular power over the minds of those who naturally rebelled against voting for a Republican candidate. He said the leading object of the war advocates was to perpetuate power in the hands of a narrow Virginia clique, to the exclusion from office and influence of talented men of their own party not connected with that clique. Griswold's death occurred in October in the midst of the stormy scenes attending the re-election of Madison, and few men of America have been more deeply lamented.

New York City was electrified one morning in midsummer with the newspaper announcement of Aaron Burr's presence in the city, and that he was about to resume the practice of law. He had escaped from Europe, returning as he went, with an empty pocket and a borrowed name; and after concealment until assured that neither government nor creditors would molest him, he had finally nailed a small tin sign over a door in Nassau Street, and commenced business. The times were disjointed, so to speak, and nearly every member of the community was involved in some legal controversy; hence clients swarmed about the man who never lost a case. During the first twelve days he received for opinions and retaining fees the sum of two thousand dollars. He was politically dead, however, and took no part in trying to prevent the election to the Presidency of his triumphant rival, De Witt Clinton. Presently he was bowed down with the sharpest anguish his soul had ever known. A letter came from his son-in-law, Governor Allston, bringing tidings of the death of Theodosia's eleven-year-old son, of whom Burr was passionately fond. The bereaved Theodosia longed to see her father; and after drooping in her home at the South for some months, took passage for New York on the privateer *Patriot*, sailing from Charleston on the last day but one of December, 1812. Alas! the vessel was never seen nor heard of more! For days and weeks and months two grief-stricken men watched, agonized, conjectured, hoped and despaired. But the beautiful Theodosia had perished with all on board.

The pride of the war party was severely humbled by repeated failures and disasters, and its strength was fast diminishing under the stinging

ridicule of the Federal newspapers, when relief came through a series of unexpected naval achievements. Commodore Isaac Hull, of the frigate *Constitution*, encountered and chased the "tyrant of our coast," England's "famous *Guerriere*," one of the best frigates in the British navy, and in a close conflict of one half-hour's duration disabled and captured her. This thrilling event occurred August 19, off the mouth of the St. Lawrence River, just three days after the surrender of Detroit by the uncle of the heroic commodore. Within fifteen minutes after the fire was opened, the *Guerriere* had lost her mizzen-mast, her mainyard was in the slings, and her hull, rigging, and sails were torn in pieces — and then her foremast fell, leaving her wallowing in the trough of the sea a helpless wreck. A jack which had been kept flying on the stump of her mizzen-mast was suddenly lowered. Whereupon, Hull sent his third lieutenant, George Campbell Read, afterwards rear-admiral, to receive the sword of the captain of the prize. "Commodore Hull's compliments," said the young officer bowing, "and wishes



Commodore Isaac Hull.

to know if you have struck your flag?" Captain Dacres, looking up and down, dryly remarked, "Well, I don't know; our mizzen-mast is gone, and upon the whole, you may say we *have* struck our flag."

Read then inquired if a surgeon or surgeon's mate was needed upon the captive frigate. "I should suppose you had on board your own ship, business enough for all your medical officers," replied Dacres. "Oh, no," said Read, "we have but seven killed and seven wounded." The killed and wounded on the *Guerriere* numbered seventy-nine; among the crew were ten impressed American seamen, who, declining to fight, were humanely sent below. It was discovered that the injured vessel was in danger of sinking, and as soon as the prisoners and their effects were transferred to the *Constitution*, the wreck was set on fire and blown up.

A breakfast-plate of unique design from the decorated dinner service of the *Guerriere* was preserved by Commodore Hull, and is now in the possession of Mrs. Professor Edward E. Salisbury of New Haven.

Six days before the capture of the *Guerriere*, the *Essex* under Commodore David Porter was attacked by the *Alert*, a British sloop of twenty guns, and an action of eight minutes terminated in the surrender of the *Alert* with seven feet of water in her hold. This was the first ship of war taken in the contest. The news reached Boston almost simultaneously with the return of the *Constitution*.

The whole country was in a wild tumult of delight. No such successes were supposed possible. For centuries the ocean had been the center of British triumph. Navy after navy had fallen before the disciplined valor of British seamen. The Americans had no confidence in their own little navy, and believed in the absolute omnipotence of that of the enemy. The newspapers teemed with tributes to British glory; indeed, England was credited with every species of superiority, whether physical or moral, which she claimed for herself. The administration at one time seriously contemplated an order for all the war-vessels to remain in New York harbor, and form a part of its defense — as a precautionary movement to secure them from destruction. Two naval officers, Bainbridge and Stewart, were at the seat of government when the subject was under discussion, and remonstrated with such vigor against the narrow scheme that the President convened the Cabinet, which was finally induced to change its policy, “on the ground that our ships would soon be taken, and that the country would thus be rid of the cost of maintaining them, and at more liberty to direct its energies to the army.”¹

The merchants of New York had studied the movements of their cruisers with observant eyes, and knew they were as well built, sailed as fast, and were worked as well, as those of England. The officers of the navy had enjoyed means of comparison denied the mass of their fellow-citizens, and were willing to contend with that superiority which the nation feared. In the short period of six months from the declaration of war, three hundred and nineteen British vessels, three of them frigates of the first class, others ships of war of a smaller size, were either destroyed at sea or brought into port by our public and private vessels; and it was estimated that the damage done to British commerce exceeded twelve million dollars.²

These facts were not yet known when the *Constitution* rode proudly into port a conqueror — the very frigate which had been held up to the derision of Europe as “a bunch of pine boards” — an occurrence of mo-

¹ *Cooper's Naval History*, II. pp. 168, 169.

² *Harbo's Description of New York City*, p. 131.

mentous bearing upon the future of the war.¹ It was found that Commodore Hull had evinced great skill and seamanship in one of the most remarkable naval retreats on record, only a short time prior to his conflict with the *Guerriere*. The *Constitution* was chased by a British squadron, and escaped in such a manner as to extort unqualified admiration from her pursuers. And the engagement with the *Guerriere* was characterized by features which became identified with nearly all the subsequent naval battles of the war, showing that they were intimately connected with the discipline and system of the American marine. There was nothing hap-hazard in the style in which the *Constitution* had been handled; she had been carried earnestly and deliberately into battle. Hull with admirable coolness received the enemy's fire without returning it until quite close. His crew, though burning with impatience, silently awaited his orders. His sailing-master seconded his views with admirable skill, bringing the vessel exactly to the station intended, within half pistol-shot of her adversary; the orders were to fire broadside after broadside, from guns double-shotted with round and grape, in rapid succession. The crew instantly comprehended the plan, and entered into it with spirit. For fifteen minutes the roar and the vivid lightning of the *Constitution's* guns were without intermission. The British commander fought gallantly, and submitted when further resistance would have been as culpable as it was impossible. The *Guerriere's* batteries were not equal to the mode of fighting introduced by her antagonist — and which, in fact, was the commencement of a new era in combats between single ships upon the ocean.

Men of all ranks and political creeds hastened to pay homage to Commodore Hull. Boston received him with a triumphal procession and a splendid banquet. The citizens of New York subscribed money to buy gifts of swords for him and his officers; the corporation ordered a richly embossed gold box, with a representation of the battle between the *Constitution* and the *Guerriere*, at the same time requesting the conqueror to sit for his portrait — which now graces the wall of the governor's room in the City Hall. Congress voted him a gold medal, and distributed fifty thousand dollars among his officers and men. From many other sources came beautiful and costly testimonials.

The public mind was greatly agitated in both hemispheres, and men competent to form intelligent opinions on such subjects, in Europe as well as America, predicted many future conquests of a similar character. And they came in swift succession. A squadron sailed from Boston on a cruise, October 8, consisting of the *President*, under Commodore Rodgers,

¹ *Cropper's Naval History*, II. p. 171; *Lossing: Dawson: Hubbard: Schaffner: Thompson*.

the *United States*, the *Congress*, and the *Argus*. Five days later they parted company in a gale of wind, soon after which the *President* and the *Congress* captured the British packet *Swallow*, with two hundred thousand dollars on board, and brought her proudly into Boston on the 30th of December. The *Argus* about the same time returned to New York with prizes valued at two hundred thousand dollars. The *United States*, under Commodore Decatur met the British war-frigate *Macedonian* on the 25th of October, and captured her after an action of two hours. The American



Stephen Decatur.

(From the painting by Sully)

gunnery in this affair, like that of the *Constitution* with the *Guerriere*, was remarkable for rapidity and effect. Its perpetual blaze led the enemy to suppose at one time the *United States* was on fire. The mizzen-mast and main and foretop-mast of the *Macedonian* were shot away, and her colors disappeared. She received no less than one hundred round shot in her hull alone, and all her boats were rendered useless but one.

Her killed and

wounded numbered one hundred and four, while the loss of Decatur was only five killed and seven wounded. Carden, the British commander, fought with consummate skill; when after the surrender he came upon the *United States* and offered his sword to Decatur, the latter generously exclaimed, "Sir, I cannot receive the sword of a man who has so bravely defended his ship, but I will receive your hand," and suiting the action

to the word grasped that of the gallant Carden and led him to the cabin where refreshments were bountifully served.

While these events were taking place the *Wasp*, under Commodore Jacob Jones, encountered the *Frolic*, a British war-vessel of superior force, and after a bloody conflict of forty-three minutes ^{Oct. 18.} made the latter captive; thirty were killed and fifty wounded upon her decks, while upon the *Wasp* five only were killed and five wounded. But the victors were not able to take their prize into port, as a large man-of-war bore immediately down upon them necessitating their surrender. The officers of the *Wasp* were taken to Bermuda, paroled and sent home. In November the lakes began to assume a warlike aspect. Commodore Chauncey's preparation had progressed with such rapidity that he considered himself able to contend with the whole British fleet. Thus the waves of our inland waters were soon to be lighted with all the sublimity of naval combat.

The year 1812 closed with still another brilliant affair upon the ocean. Commodore Hull, content with the glories already won, went to Saybrook, Connecticut, to be married,¹ and was succeeded in command of the *Constitution* by Commodore William Bainbridge, a real naval hero, who sailed from Boston October 26, accompanied by the *Hornet*, also under his command. Upon the South American coast the *Hornet* was left to blockade a British sloop-of-war which had a large amount of specie on board. The *Constitution*, cruising near the Brazils, encountered the *Java*, a large British frigate bound for the East Indies, and preparations were quickly made on both sides for battle. The fire of the *Constitution* was directed with so much precision that the *Java* was soon disabled in her spars and rigging; within two hours she surrendered, but was too badly injured to be preserved as a trophy, and was blown up. The loss of the *Java* was a severe blow to the British, and her brave commander, Lambert, was killed.

On the very same day of this victory of Bainbridge, and at the very same afternoon hour, a magnificent banquet in honor of Hull, Decatur, and Jones, was in progress in New York City. ^{Dec. 26} Five hundred gentlemen were seated at the tables. The banqueting hall, in the City Hotel just above Trinity Church in Broadway, had the effect of

¹ Commodore Isaac Hull married Anna McCurdy Hart, one of seven sisters who were reputed the most beautiful and brilliant women in America. She was the daughter of Captain Elisha and Jennette McCurdy Hart of Saybrook, Connecticut; her father being the son of the old Saybrook minister, and her mother, the daughter of John McCurdy of Old Lyme, of Revolutionary renown (see Vol. I. 719; Vol. II. 70). One of Mrs. Hull's sisters married the Rev. Dr. Samuel Farmer Jarvis, another, Hon. Heman Allen of Vermont, U. S. Minister to Chili in 1823-8, and a third, Commodore Joseph Hull, nephew of Commodore Isaac Hull.

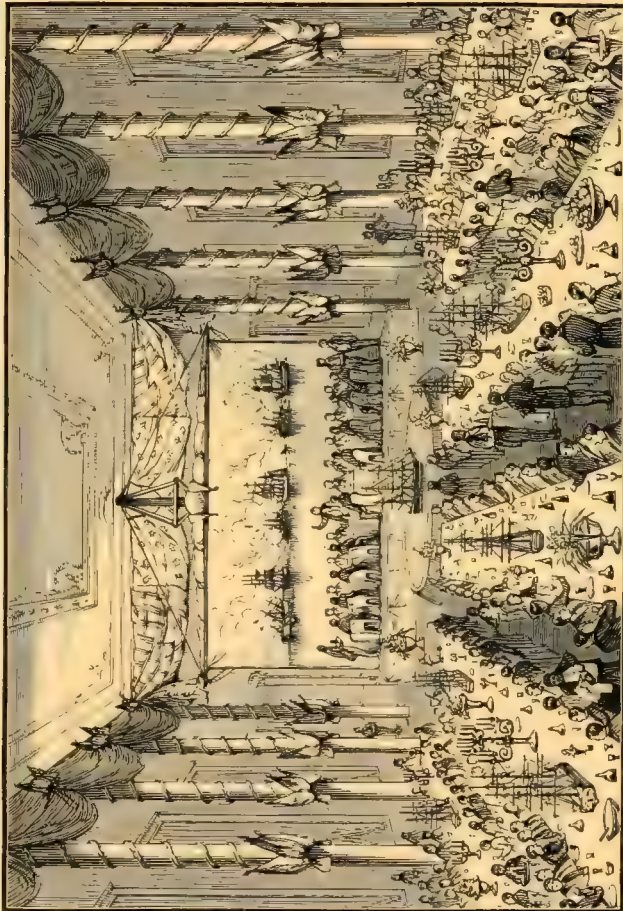
a great marine palace. The genius and taste as well as the money of New York had been lavishly expended upon its adornment. "It was colonnaded round with the masts of ships, entwined with laurels, and bearing the flags of all the world." Upon each individual table was a ship in miniature with the American flag displayed. At the head of the room, one long table, elevated some three feet above the others, was graced by Mayor De Witt Clinton, the president of the feast, with Decatur upon his right, and Hull upon his left hand. In front of this, appeared in the midst of a grassy area, a real lake of water upon which floated a miniature frigate. And back of all hung the mainsail of a ship, thirty-three by sixteen feet. At the moment of the utterance of the third toast, "Our Navy," this great mainsail was furled, revealing an immense transparent painting representing the three naval battles in which Hull, Decatur, and Jones had been respectively engaged.¹

Other surprises of the most novel and charming character enraptured the assemblage. The poets of the land, catching inspiration from the shouts of triumph that filled the air, had written a score or more of stirring banquet-songs, several of which were rendered on this occasion with great effect, alternating with happy speeches, and deafening cheers.

Decatur's victory, following so closely upon that of Hull, produced a perfect delirium of ecstasy. He brought the victorious *United States* and the conquered *Macedonian* safely through the Sound and East River into New York harbor about the middle of December; and the noise and tumult of wild enthusiasm which greeted his arrival exceeded anything New York had ever before witnessed. An occasional blockade of what was to the enemy "the troublesome port of New York" had all along been maintained by the British cruisers, and at this juncture, astounded at the heavy and ominous blows dealt at her supremacy of the seas, Great Britain determined to cripple New York by compelling her to keep her private-armed cruisers at home. One or two large war-vessels could already be seen off Sandy Hook, precursors of a formidable British fleet which took possession of Gardiner's Bay and the surrounding waters early in the following April, and kept New York under strict blockade for a year and ten months. Decatur was overwhelmed with compliments and testimonials, banquets, and balls; and such honors were attended with genuine appreciation of his distinguished services. In New York, among other public gifts he received the freedom of the city in a gold box; and he was requested to sit for his portrait.

Decatur's gallant crew were complimented with a banquet at the City Hotel, January 7, 1813, the room being decorated as at the imposing en-

¹ *The War*, I. 119. Jones was not able to be present at this banquet.



"While celebratory reunions that enveloped the little American navy upon the ocean in a blaze of glory, and with fleets in readiness to dispute the sovereignty of New York, New York shuddered at the war cry of the savages in the wilds of Ohio as they made their eastern way in the bloody work of extermination begun at Chicago, and turned oceanward only to find egrets from New Harbor effectually closed by the great war ships of the haughty foe." Page 251

tainment given to the heroic commanders. At the table the sailors were addressed by Alderman John Vanderbilt. In the evening they were conducted to Park Theater by invitation of the manager. The whole pit was reserved for their accommodation. The drop-curtain in the form of a transparency, bore a representation of the fight between the *United States* and the *Macedonian*. Children danced on the stage, carrying large letters of the alphabet in their hands, which being joined in the course of the dance produced in transparency the names of Hull, Decatur, and Jones; and an Irish clown sang a comic song of seven stanzas, written for the occasion, beginning:—

"No more of your blathering nonsense
'Bout Nelsons of old Johnny Bull;
I'll sing you a song, by my conscience,
'Bout Jones and Decatur and Hull."

It was on Christmas, 1812, the day before the banquet, that the ceremony of presentation to Hull occurred in the council chamber of City Hall. A committee, consisting of Colonel Nicholas Fish, General Jacob Morton, and Peter Mesier, introduced him to the common council, when Mayor De Witt Clinton arose and addressed him in the most felicitous manner, presenting a diploma superbly executed in vellum, and the exquisite gold box containing the freedom of the city, which had been prepared for his acceptance.

The situation of New York at this crisis was peculiar. The war menaced the great commercial capital of the continent on every side. Nobly had she sent forth her blood and treasure towards the several points of the compass to grapple with the enemy. Now the pride and the energy of Great Britain were thoroughly aroused. On one of the last days of the year 1812 it was determined in British council to send out a land and naval force sufficient to chastise the Americans; in short, to blockade and desolate the coasts of the United States, and destroy the centers of American commercial and naval power.

While celebrating victories that enveloped the little American navy upon the ocean in a blaze of glory, and with fleets in readiness to dispute the sovereignty of her lakes, New York shuddered at the war-cry of the savages in the wilds of Ohio as they made their easterly way in the bloody work of extermination begun at Chicago, and turned oceanward only to find egress from her harbor effectually closed by the great war-ships of the haughty foe.

The *Constitution* reached Boston on the 15th of February, 1813, and Commodore Bainbridge immediately despatched Lieutenant Ludlow with a letter to the Secretary of the Navy, giving an account

1813.

of the capture of the *Java*. The popular honors accorded to the hero of this fourth brilliant naval triumph, exceeded, if possible, all others. Processions, receptions, banquets, and testimonials attended him wherever



Bainbridge Urn.

he went. Men of all political parties united in giving proofs of their gratitude to one who had so signally benefited his country. The discipline and bravery of American seamen were not only rendered conspicuous, but also their generosity and humanity to their captives, of which the British officers bore strong testimony in their official letters. New York and Albany each presented Bainbridge with a gold box containing the freedom of the city, and Philadelphia gave him an elegant service of silver plate, the most remarkable piece of which was a massive and costly urn, eighteen inches in height, upon

which was elegantly wrought the wrecked *Java* and the triumphant *Constitution*. The corporation of New York invited him to sit for his portrait, which was painted by John Wesley Jarvis.

In the mean time, news reached the city of the defeat of a detachment of General Harrison's army in Ohio, sent forward through the midwinter snows to disperse a party of British and Indians quartered at Frenchtown, now Monroe, in Michigan, only eighteen miles across the river from Malden. They performed the service gallantly. The enemy was routed and driven two miles on the 18th of January; but on the cold night of the 22d returned three thousand strong in profound silence — the savages led by Roundhead and the British by Proctor — and at daylight attacked the Americans with such terrible vigor that the latter surrendered. Scarcely had they laid down their arms, under promise of protection from the British commander, when they found themselves deserted, left to the mercy of the Indians — in other words, reserved to be butchered in cold blood. Five hundred were slain. The scene was one of the most horrible on record. The tomahawk was employed to fell the strongest; and at the same time the knife was severing scalps from the heads of both the dead and the living. Men lay weltering in their blood, suffering most excruciating agonies, when the fiends in human shape, having secured their plunder and scalps, set fire to the houses and consumed the dying and the dead. The atrocious barbarities attending this massacre thrilled the American heart with unspeakable indignation.

Congress assembled in November, and legislation was speedily directed towards the increase of the army and navy. To provide for defraying the

augmented expense the President was authorized to borrow a sum of money not exceeding sixteen millions, and to issue treasury notes to the amount of five millions. In the heat of the exciting debates over these various bills, the results of the election were disclosed. New York, New Jersey, and all the New England States except Vermont, had voted for De Witt Clinton; but Madison was re-elected, and Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts became Vice-President. The election for members of Congress resulted in favor of the administration; but there was a powerful opposition to the war candidates in the New England, or ship-owning States, and the Federal side of the House was stronger and abler than it had been for many sessions. Quincy declining re-election, his place was well supplied by Artemas Ward, son of the Revolutionary General, and by the aged Pickering from the Salem district. Cyrus King of Massachusetts, a half-brother of Rufus King who had been chosen to the Senate, was also among the new members, and Daniel Webster of New ^{1813.} Hampshire. Judge Egbert Benson and Thomas P. Grosvenor were the leading representatives from New York, and Grosvenor soon proved himself the readiest debater in the House.

In the State, contrary to general expectation, Tompkins was re-elected governor by a considerable majority over Stephen Van Rensselaer, the Federal candidate, and John Tayler became lieutenant-governor. De Witt Clinton was reappointed mayor of New York; and General Armstrong was made Secretary of War by the President.

On the 25th of March, the city was in proud, joyful commotion over the arrival of the *Hornet*, under Captain James Lawrence, who had added one more naval victory to those already recorded. He had attacked the British frigate *Peacock* off the South American coast on the 22d of February, and with such a blaze of fire that in fourteen minutes she not only struck her colors, but raised a signal of distress. Her commander was slain, a great portion of her crew had fallen, and with six feet of water in her hold she was verily in a sinking condition. Only one American was killed in the action and two wounded. So severely riddled was the *Peacock* that it was impossible to keep her afloat until all the prisoners were removed, although the most strenuous exertions were made. The vessel filled with water rapidly, and nine of her crew and three from the *Hornet* in the act of saving them, went down with her and perished.

Captain Lawrence was thirty-two, tall, splendidly developed, with much personal beauty and captivating manners — one of the chivalrous, fiery-souled heroes who went forth singly to do or die for the honor of his country. He was quick and impetuous in his feelings, greatly beloved, and inspired all about him with ardor; but in all critical situa-

tions his coolness was remarkable. Decatur said, "He always knew the best thing to be done, he knew the best way to execute it, and he had no more dodge in him than the mainmast."

Intelligence of the exploit of the *Hornet* produced a profound sensation in both countries. "The Americans are a dead nip," said a British news-



James Lawrence.

[From the painting by Stuart.]

paper. "It will never do for our vessels to fight theirs single-handed." The mortified Britons investigated causes, and exerted themselves to the utmost in the selection of crews and in their discipline and practice of manœuvres, to render them more fit to cope with the American vessels. President Madison, in his message to Congress at its special session in May, spoke of the brilliant achievement of Captain Lawrence and his brave companions, as one "gained with a celerity so unexampled, and with a slaughter so disproportionate to the loss in the

Hornet as to claim for the conqueror the highest praise."

The corporation of New York presented Lawrence with a gold box containing the freedom of the city, and with a piece of plate bearing unique devices and inscriptions; also tendered him a dinner, the invitations being headed with a wood-cut by Anderson, representing a naval battle. The corporation committee, Augustus H. Lawrence, Elisha W. King, and Peter Mesier, made the arrangements for the banquet, which took place on the 4th of May at Washington Hall, then occupying the site of Stewart's wholesale store. In the evening the officers and seamen of the *Hornet* were treated to an entertainment at the Park Theater. When Lawrence entered, accompanied by General Van Rensselaer, General Jacob Morton, and other official characters, the house rang with the wildest huzzas. Everywhere throughout the land the name of Lawrence was honored.

Before the end of the month Lawrence was in Boston, assigned to the

command of the *Chesapeake*. At that moment blockading ships hovered like hawks along the New England coast. The *Shannon* appeared alone off Boston Harbor, in the attitude of a challenger, on the very day the *Chesapeake* was ready for sea; and before evening her commander, Philip Vere Broke, wrote to Lawrence, "As the *Chesapeake* ap-
June 1.
 pears now ready for sea, I request you will do me the favor to meet the *Shannon* with her, ship to ship, to try the fortunes of our respective flags." In a long appendix the challenger designated the place of combat, and promised to send all other ships beyond the power of interfering.

Unfortunately, the challenge never reached Lawrence or he might have made preparations more conformable to those of his antagonist. The *Chesapeake's* contemplated cruise was to the northward and eastward, with a view to intercept the store-ships and troop-ships steering for the St. Lawrence. A collision with the *Shannon* was inevitable. It is known that Lawrence went into the combat with reluctance, because of his lack of experienced officers and the peculiar condition of his crew, and also on account of a prejudice against the *Chesapeake* itself.¹ His first lieutenant was ill on shore and died soon after; the acting first lieutenant, Augustus C. Ludlow of New York, though an officer of merit, was scarcely twenty-one. There was but one other commissioned sea-officer upon the ship—and midshipmen performed the duties of third and fourth lieutenants for the first time.

It was five o'clock in the afternoon when the two vessels met. The *Chesapeake* was silent until her commander had brought her so near that all her guns bore upon the *Shannon*. Then her broadside was delivered with terrific vigor and terrible execution; for six or eight minutes the cannonading was incessant, and to all appearances the Americans had the best of the action; but suddenly the *Chesapeake's* rigging became entangled with the *Shannon's* fore-chains, and at the same moment Lawrence fell mortally wounded. As he was carried dying below, he cried, "Tell the men to fire faster—don't give up the ship—fight her till she sinks!"

Alas! a ship without a commander is like a man without a soul. Ludlow was also wounded and dying, William Augustus White lay dead, and James Broome, Edward J. Ballard, and Peter Adams were in the agonies of death; the second and third lieutenants, Budd and Cox, were wounded; and Samuel Livermore, who from personal attachment to Lawrence had accompanied him as chaplain, was weltering in blood. Broke boarded the *Chesapeake*, but was quickly and severely wounded; his first lieutenant hauled down the American colors and hoisted the British flag, and

¹ Letter of Captain Lawrence to Captain Biddle of the *Hornet*, May 27, 1813.

was slain in the act by one of the *Shannon's* guns. The British victory was dearly purchased; their loss was twenty-three killed and fifty-six wounded. The battle lasted, altogether, not more than fifteen minutes, and yet "both ships were charnel-houses." Of the Americans forty-eight were killed and ninety-eight wounded.

Thus terminated one of the most extraordinary combats of the age. The capture of a single ship of war probably never produced a greater effect upon the contending parties. The joy in England was only equaled by the depression in America. Public speeches in and out of Parliament, the Tower guns, bonfires, illuminations, presentations, and compliments in showers from every quarter, greeted the conqueror, who was knighted by the Prince Regent. A gorgeous piece of silver plate, forty-four inches in diameter, and enriched with emblematical devices, was presented him by the inhabitants of Suffolk, his native county. Lawrence died on the

June 6 6th, and his body wrapped in the flag of the *Chesapeake* lay upon the quarter-deck, as the two ships entered the harbor of Halifax on the 7th. A whole nation mourned his loss, and the enemy contended with his countrymen as to who should most honor his remains. Funeral obsequies were performed at Halifax with every mark of respect for the hero. In August, by permission of the British authorities, the remains of both Lawrence and Ludlow were brought to New York, and received public funeral honors for the third time, and were interred in Trinity churchyard. Their resting-place is marked by a mausoleum of brown freestone, around which are placed eight trophy cannon, with chains attached, forming an appropriate enclosure.

The manner in which Lawrence carried his vessel into action was eulogized by enemies as well as friends, and all agreed that the disaster was owing to a concurrence of circumstances not likely to happen again. His dying words, "*Don't give up the ship!*" became the battle-cry of the American navy during the whole war. It was the motto upon the banner borne by Perry's flag-ship into battle three months later, and is still a proverbial phrase to all who are struggling in life's various battles.

The year 1813 was one not soon to be forgotten by the inhabitants of New York. The war raged along her extensive borders with varied success. The St. Lawrence was a dividing line between small bodies of hostile troops who were constantly projecting forays, plundering and capturing private persons, and destroying public property wherever it could be found. On the cold night of February 6, Major Forsyth, in command at Ogdensburg, crossed the river upon the ice to Brockville with a party of two hundred, riflemen and volunteers, aided by Colonel Benedict of the

New York militia, his purpose being to rescue some American prisoners confined in the jail of that town. He surprised the post, captured the commander, five subordinate officers, forty-six men, and a large quantity of military stores, besides securing the key of the jail and releasing the prisoners. He returned to Ogdensburg before daylight, without the loss of a man. In retaliation, a large British force came over on the ice from Prescott, attacking Ogdensburg on the morning of the 22d, and after a sharp contest drove the troops off and sacked the town, entering every house but three, and destroyed a large amount of private property. They retired with their booty to Canada on the same day.

The invasion of Canada was the principal feature in the programme of the campaign of 1813. Dearborn joined Commodore Chauncey at Sackett's Harbor, and by the middle of April a joint land and naval expedition was matured against York, now Toronto, the capital of Upper Canada. The squadron under Chauncey conveyed the troops across Lake Ontario, and on the 27th of April, after a sharp engagement the post was captured, and the stars and stripes floated triumphantly over the fort. But the town had no natural defenses, and being of little value to the Americans, was abandoned.

Just one month later, May 27th, an expedition against Fort George, on the western shore of the Niagara River, resulted in the capture of that British stronghold. In this masterly achievement, Oliver Hazard Perry, Winfield Scott, and Alexander Macomb bore a prominent part. The specific duty of landing the troops was intrusted to Perry. Scott led the advance up a precipitous bank in the face of a formidable force of eight hundred men, well posted on its summit. The conduct of Perry was remarkable. Unmindful of personal danger he went from vessel to vessel in an open boat, giving directions concerning the landing, and, finally, leaped with Scott into the water and swam ashore through the surf. Scott, in his first attempt to ascend the bank, was hurled backward to the beach, but rallying instantly, he pushed forward with such destructive energy that in twenty minutes he had accomplished the undertaking, and the enemy were flying in confusion towards Queenstown. At noon Fort George and its dependencies, with the village of Newark, were in the quiet possession of the Americans; the attack and conquest having occupied only three hours.

The same evening a British squadron, which had been confined all winter in the harbor of Kingston through the audacious operations of Chauncey upon Lake Ontario, spread its sails, and at midday on the 28th appeared off Sackett's Harbor. It was commanded by Sir James Lucas Yeo, in person, who was accompanied by Sir George Prevost, the governor-

general of Canada. These two British officers thought to capture Sackett's Harbor, with all its valuable public property, during the absence of the expedition to Fort George. The assault was made on the 29th, but through the skill, courage, and nerve of General Jacob Brown,¹ assisted by the gallant Colonel Backus of New York, who fell in the engagement, and Lieutenant-colonel Aspinwall, Lieutenant Ketchum, Lieutenant Talman, Lieutenant Wolcott Chauncey, and others of equal spirit, the British and Indians were driven in disorder to their vessels. No event of the war was of more importance to the Republic. The loss of the post would have inflicted a terrible injury upon the American cause; and its intrepid defense under the most appalling difficulties and against a greatly superior force won universal praise and gratitude. No further attempts were made by the enemy to capture Sackett's Harbor, and it remained, as it had been from the beginning, the most important place of deposit for the army and navy stores of the Americans on the New York frontier.

Dearborn remained at Fort George; the discomfited enemy, gathering strength in the vicinity, abandoned Fort Erie, which the Americans immediately occupied; and, finally, a rumor came that Proctor was marching from the Detroit frontier to assist in recovering Fort George. Detachments were immediately sent to dislodge the British commander at Burlington Heights, but they were ensnared at Stony Creek on the 6th of June in a confused and disastrous night-battle, and Generals Chandler and Winder were both captured. In the mean time the British squadron hovered along the lake coast and interfered greatly with the supplies for the American camp; on the 12th of June it captured two American vessels laden with valuable hospital stores; on the 15th it made a descent upon the village of Charlotte, on the Genesee River, and carried off a large quantity of stores; and on the 18th, landed a party of one hundred fully armed men at Sodus Point for the purpose of destroying American stores known to be deposited there, and, when arrested and driven back, burned the public store-houses, five dwellings, and one hotel — destroying property to the amount of twenty-five thousand dollars.

¹ The public career of General Jacob Brown forms an important part of the history of the times. In 1798, at the age of twenty-three, he was a school-teacher in the city of New York, and commenced the study of law, but it was distasteful to him, and he purchased a large estate on the Black River and founded the settlement of Brownsville. He was commissioned a brigadier-general of militia by Tompkins in the beginning of the war, and having finished the term of service for which he was called, retired to his home at Brownsville, but a few miles distant from Sackett's Harbor. He had been requested by Dearborn, and urged by Macomb, to assume chief command in that region, and had signified his willingness to do so in case of an actual invasion. Colonel Electus Backus of New York, who was left in command of the post, sent an express to General Brown, as soon as the enemy were discovered off the harbor, May 28, 1813.

On the 23d Dearborn detached a party of six hundred under Colonel Boerstler to disperse a body of the enemy at Beaver Dams, seventeen miles from Fort George, and was assailed on the route in the woods by a force of British and Indians who compelled his surrender. In addition to all this, several tragedies occurred in the immediate neighborhood of the fort. The continual tidings of misfortune irritated Congress, and Dearborn was superseded by Wilkinson in the early part of July.

Meanwhile Harrison — charged with the defense of the isolated posts in Ohio, the recovery of Detroit, and the invasion of Canada from that point — had fortified Fort Meigs opposite the present city of Maumee, immediately after the massacre at Frenchtown. The ice had no sooner passed from the rivers than Proctor and Tecumseh, with a large force of British and Indians, encamped on the left bank of the Maumee about two miles below, near old Fort Miami, and on the 28th of April commenced a vigorous bombardment of Fort Meigs. The siege was maintained until the 9th of May, during which period some of the most tragic scenes in human history were enacted. But brighter days were dawning. On the 4th Proctor sent an officer to demand the surrender of the post. "Tell General Proctor," responded Harrison promptly, "that if he shall take the fort it will be under circumstances that will do him more honor than a thousand surrenders." All efforts proving unsuccessful, the enemy finally retired in disgust. Tecumseh's emissaries at once hurried westward, for savage recruits, even to the Mississippi, making desolated Chicago the grand rendezvous, and three thousand warriors speedily tramped through the woods of Michigan and joined the British at Detroit. In the latter part of July they made a second attempt to capture "Fort Meigs," which ended as before in disappointment and exasperation. They proceeded thence to assault Fort Stephenson, at Sandusky, which was so gallantly defended by only one hundred and sixty men under George Croghan of Kentucky, a young major of twenty-one, that they were obliged to abandon the undertaking.

All eyes were now turned towards the movements on Lake Erie. Oliver Hazard Perry, twenty-seven years of age, was about to perform the most important naval service of the campaign and of the war. When the year commenced, he was in command of a flotilla of gunboats at Newport, but desired a wider field of action. In February, Chauncey wrote to him, "You are the very person I want for a particular service." Within twenty-four hours young Perry was seated in a sleigh on his way to New York, accompanied by Alexander, his little brother of thirteen. He proceeded at once to Erie to hasten the preparation of a squadron. Noah Brown, a shipwright from New York had already done

much of the preliminary work. Captain Henry Brevoort of New York, who, while with Hull's army at Detroit, was appointed commander of such government vessels as might be placed upon the lakes at that period, was detailed with two hundred seamen to accompany Perry from Fort George to Erie, after the abandonment of the entire line of the Niagara River by the British, in July. This party succeeded in taking five war-vessels from that stream to the harbor of Erie after six days of almost incredible labor. Brevoort performed another service of great moment ;



Oliver Hazard Perry.

He communicated the exact size and character of each British vessel in the harbor at Malden. This he was enabled to do through the aid of his family, who had resided in Detroit ever since its surrender. Perry's fleet consisted of ten vessels, and each one was assigned to a special antagonist, which it was to engage in close action. A large square battle-flag of blue with words in white, "Don't give up the ship," had been privately prepared under his direction at Erie ; when hoisted to the main-royal mast-head of the flag-ship *Lawrence*, it was to be the signal for going into battle.

Perry sailed in quest of the enemy on the 1st of September, but the British commander was not quite ready to respond to the challenge. On the morning of the 10th a sail was descried in the direction of Malden, and the whole British
 Sept. 10. squadron was presently in full view. The battle was commenced by the Americans, the gallant Stephen Champlin in command of the *Scorpion* firing the first shot. He was first cousin to Commodore Perry, and but twenty-four years of age. It was a terrible contest, and a complete victory. In the midst of the carnage Perry left his disabled flag-ship, and in a little open row-boat with four seamen passed to the unharmed *Niagara*. The perilous voyage occupied fifteen minutes, during which Perry stood erect, tall, graceful, a man of remarkable symmetry of figure, with the pennant and banner half folded about him, unmindful of danger, while the enemy seeing the bold movement hurled a steady shower of cannon-ball, grape, canister, and musket-shot towards his frail bark. It was only when the oarsmen threatened to cease labor if he remained standing, that he seated

himself. He was no sooner upon the *Nagara* than, with his pennant and banner flying, he bore down and broke the enemy's line, and made such havoc with his guns, that the entire squadron surrendered — not one vessel being left to bear the tidings of defeat.

It was a proud moment for Perry and his companions; it was a proud moment for America. Never before in history had a whole British fleet or squadron been captured! The conqueror, even before the blue vapor of battle was borne away by the breeze, wrote in pencil on the back of an old letter the remarkable despatch to General Harrison which has been so often quoted, "We have met the enemy and they are ours: two ships, two brigs, one schooner, and one sloop."

At that very hour two armies, one on the north and one on the south side of the warring ships, were waiting for the result most anxiously. Should the day be gained by the British, Proctor and Tecumseh were ready to rush into Ohio and lay waste the whole frontier. Should the day be gained by the Americans, Harrison was prepared to press forward for the recovery of Detroit, and the invasion of Canada.

This success upon Lake Erie destroyed the Indian confederacy. The British could no longer hope to hold Detroit and Malden, and therefore evacuated both places. Perry converted some of the captured vessels into transports and conveyed Harrison's troops to the Canada shore. Malden was garrisoned, Detroit was reoccupied, and Lewis Cass appointed governor of the recovered Territory of Michigan. Harrison soon started in pursuit of Proctor and Tecumseh, and, after traversing eighty miles, found their main army upon the Thames and fought the famous battle in which the great Tecumseh was killed. It was a complete and decisive victory for the Americans; the coast was cleared of the British, and the various tribes of Indians sued for peace. On the same day that Proctor was defeated at the Thames, Chauncey captured six British schooners on Lake Ontario. These repeated losses induced Sir George Prevost to withdraw his troops from the investment of Fort George. Harrison on the 20th embarked with his regulars for Buffalo to aid in carrying the war into the neighborhood of the St. Lawrence River.

As these events were following each other in rapid succession, the glad tidings of Perry's victory were being conveyed from town to town through the country by messengers on horseback, or on foot, as the case might be. "Oh, for a canal — the vehicle for the quick and safe transmission or important intelligence!" exclaimed one of the New York enthusiasts upon that subject. From Albany to New York the news came by steamboat. A riot of exultation took possession of the land; the popular joy expressed itself in shouts and bonfires, in artillery, bells, and orations.

New York was gorgeously illuminated, every building in Broadway, and in all the other principal streets, being lighted from foundation to Oct. 23. roof. The City Hall was like a sea of fire. A fine band discoursed music in the gallery of the portico, and transparencies were displayed showing naval battles; also, the words of Lawrence, "Don't give up the ship," and those of Perry's despatch to Harrison, "We have met the enemy and they are ours." Similar transparencies were exhibited at the theater, and were carried by processions through the streets during the evening. The whole community participated in the demonstrations of delight.

But the storm was not yet spent for New York. The war-cloud settled darker and more portentous than ever over her northern frontier. Lake Champlain was ere long to become the scene of another terrible struggle for supremacy between the two nations. And in the interim a series of attempts and failures, of partial triumphs and disasters, of consolations and disappointments, were to keep New York in one continual ferment of agitation from center to circumference; while a fearful array of retaliatory barbarities were perpetrated upon defenseless and unoffending citizens dwelling near the borders of the State to the north and west.

Another portion of New York was sorely distressed by the blockade. The eastern end of Long Island, with its well-stocked, and rich, highly-cultivated farms was unprotected. The people were terror-stricken when Commodore Sir Thomas Hardy anchored his flag-ship *Ramillies* in Gardiner's Bay early in April. The frigate *Orpheus*, Captain Sir Hugh Pigott, with several ships of the line, and a number of smaller vessels, made this little retreat headquarters. As Admiral Cockburn was just then engaged in the pastime of plundering and desolating the coasts south of the Delaware, it was supposed Long Island would share the same fate. But Hardy was a gentleman, not a marauder. His troops, however, must be fed, and he immediately took measures to obtain fresh provisions.

Gardiner's Island, the oldest feudal estate in New York, had outgrown all traces of Revolutionary wastes, and was once more a garden of beauty. Its fields of oats, wheat, and other grains, prospered under the well-directed care of eighty or more dependents; some two thousand loads of hay were yearly stored in its barns; three hundred head of cattle grazed its green pastures; its dairy produced immense quantities of butter and an average of one hundred and twenty pounds of cheese per day; two thousand sheep yielded annually some sixteen thousand pounds of wool; one hundred or more hogs were raised; and the lord of the isle rarely stabled less than sixty or seventy horses, the finest in the country. Deer roamed at will, and wild turkeys coming to the yards were daily fed with the tame fowls.

John Lyon Gardiner, the seventh manorial lord in the direct descent, reigned over the island. His wife was the granddaughter of Governor Matthew and Ursula Wolcott Griswold, and the niece of Governor Roger Griswold who had so recently died. Despite the democratic sentiment of America, the proprietor of this old manor-property retained his title of lord among his associates and neighbors. He was addressed as Lord Gardiner to the end of his life. He was educated at Princeton, New Jersey, and in 1803, a refined, scholarly bachelor of thirty-four, was residing in princely solitude on his water-bound estate. The even tenor of his life was suddenly changed by a freak of the elements. A sailing party from Old Lyme, Connecticut, was becalmed one afternoon on the Sound within sight of Gardiner's Island. As night approached, a breeze



Lord and Lady Gardiner.

Illustration by J. H. Johnson.

sprung up and so did a storm. They steered their little bark towards the nearest landing, and hurried to the manor-house for shelter. They were received by an old housekeeper; but presently the handsome young lord made his appearance and, learning who his visitors were, extended cordial hospitalities. An elaborate supper was served, and music and dancing followed. The next morning the delighted refugees bade their charming host adieu. But the island sovereign soon after entered his barge, and with numerous attendants and much stately ceremony proceeded to Black Hall, the seat of the Griswolds in Old Lyme, and ere many months elapsed bore the beautiful Sarah, a bride, to the manor-island whither she had been drifted in such a romantic manner by the breeze of destiny.

Commodore Hardy prefaced his requisitions for produce from the island with courteous words and promises of payment. And he endeavored to restrain his seamen from showing disrespect to the proprietor and his family. But they were perpetually coming ashore and taking whatever they pleased; oxen were often shot at the plough and carried to the vessels. The steward, or overseer of the island, Lewis Edwards, claimed and received the market price for what was taken with his knowledge. His hatred of the British was very great and he tried to outwit them, not infrequently by sorting out the poorest cattle and sheep and placing them where detachments coming ashore would see them first. Gardiner, discovering that the little garrison at Sag Harbor was about to be attacked, sent a trusty colored servant thither with a note of information, directing him to keep a stone tied to the missive while crossing the bay, and if overhauled by the British picket-boats to drop it into the water. The negro accomplished his mission in safety, and when over a hundred assaulters, in one launch and two barges from the squadron, approached that village at midnight they were met by the militia and driven to their vessels in disorder.

Charles Paget, a senior officer of the squadron, suspecting that all was not friendly, wrote to Gardiner, warning him that "the peaceable situation of the island was wholly through sufferance," and that the most trivial instance of hostility practised upon any boat or individual belonging to the British squadron would be visited with serious consequences upon himself, his people, and his property. This did not deter the resolute proprietor, however, from promptly refusing to accede to certain unreasonable demands made by Sir Hugh Pigott, when early one June morning that officer appeared with a number of subordinates before the manor-house. Threats of firing into the dwelling only resulted in Gardiner's sending his family and servants into the cellar, while he remained facing the intruders, firm as adamant. Pigott finally went away in a rage without doing any harm. When the party had nearly reached the shore one of the officers stepped back and intimated to Gardiner that Pigott would be reported to the Commodore. The next day Sir Thomas Hardy wrote a polite letter of apology and regret for the occurrence to the lord of the manor.¹

¹ The purchase and settlement of the manor of Gardiner's Island in 1639, was one of the most romantic incidents in the history of New York, or of America. Lion Gardiner landed at Boston in the autumn of 1635, accompanied by his wife and one maid-servant, having crossed the ocean in a Norsey bark of twenty-five tons burden. *Mass. Hist. Coll.* Vol. III. Third Series, pp. 131 - 161; Vol. III., Third Series, p. 271; Vol. X. Third Series, pp. 173 - 185. He was expected and hospitably welcomed by the little Boston community, composed chiefly of governors — Dudley, Sir Henry Vane, Endicott, Bellingham, Ludlow, and the two Winthrops being already there. He was destined for Saybrook, but Boston had no fort, and

On the 1st of June Commodore Decatur, anxious to leave New York, resolved to run the blockade. The *Poictiers* and a number of other vessels were carefully guarding the passage beyond the Narrows, hence he passed through the Sound, accompanied by the *Macedonian* (which had been repaired at the New York navy-yard and placed under the command of the gallant Captain Jones) and the *Hornet* under Captain Biddle — hoping to slip out upon the ocean between Montauk Point and Block Island. They were discovered, however, by three or four of the large British vessels, and all chased into New London harbor and blockaded there for the next twenty months.

A boat's crew of Decatur's men managed soon after to elude the vigilance of the enemy and landed on Gardiner's Island. They concealed themselves in the woods until a party from one of the British ships, among whom were several officers, came ashore and strolled up to the manor-house, then coming suddenly into view made them all prisoners. The astonished captives were violently enraged, but helpless, and were quickly and quietly conveyed across the water into Connecticut. Barges were at once ordered by the enemy to patrol the waters about Gardiner's Island, and troops were sent for the arrest of the proprietor, who was supposed instrumental in betraying the British into the trap, but who was

as he was the first professional engineer who had landed in New England he remained long enough to design and build one (which continued in use until after the Revolution) before proceeding to Saybrook where he commanded in person throughout the Pequot War. His signature and seal as attached to a letter written from Saybrook to Governor Winthrop,



November 6, 1636, are given above. *Mass. Hist. Coll.* Vol. VII. Fourth Series, pp. 52-64; (see fac-similes of signatures and seals in Appendix). Becoming dissatisfied with the management of affairs on both sides of the Atlantic, he coveted an empire of his own and purchased the island which bears his name, nine miles long by one and a half wide, containing thirty-three hundred acres, four miles from the eastern extremity of Long Island and full thirty miles from the nearest European settlement at the time. (See Vol. I. pp. 93, 238, 262, 442, 570; Vol. II. pp. 40, 199, 243.) He built a house to which he took his wife and two children, the youngest, Mary, subsequently becoming the wife of Jeremiah Conckling, ancestor of the notable New York family of Concklings. The island was constituted "an entirely separate and independent plantation," in no wise depending upon either New England or New York, and was in reality an isolated miniature principality. Forty-four years afterward it was erected into a lordship and manor, with all the privileges accorded to such institutions in England. The influence of the founder of this domain over the Indians was remarkable; and it is an interesting fact worthy of preservation, that no conspiracy, even of a single tribe, was ever formed by the Long Island Indians against intruding civilization.

really as much surprised as themselves, and entirely ignorant of the presence of the Americans until the skirmish occurred in his own door-yard.

Gardiner escaped captivity through the presence of mind and ingenuity of his wife.¹ He went to bed in the "green room," feigning sickness, and being a delicate man the reflection of the green curtains of the bedstead and windows gave him a sickly look. A little round table was placed by his bedside with medicines, glasses, and spoons. When the officers appeared and insisted upon seeing their victim, Mrs. Gardiner came forward, tearfully and whisperingly asking them to make as little noise as possible, and admitted them to her husband's room. They were

¹ John Lyon Gardiner, eldest son of David, the sixth lord of the manor, (born November, 1770, died November 22, 1816) received Gardiner's Island by entail, and married March 4, 1803, Sarah, daughter of John Griswold, of Old Lyme, Connecticut, granddaughter of Governor Matthew Griswold and Ursula Wolcott. Mrs. Gardiner was the sister of John and Charles C. Griswold, New York merchants who owned the London line of packets, important rivals of their merchant cousins, George and Nathaniel Lynde Griswold. (See pp. 612, 613.) In this connection it is interesting to note the hereditary influence of old Italian genius and temperament. The mother of Lady Gardiner was Sarah Diodati, daughter of Rev. Stephen and Elizabeth Diodati Johnson, the descendant through a long line of nobility from Cornelio Diodati, who settled in Lucca in 1300. In possession of the Diodati family in Geneva is a superb folio bound in crimson vellum, with the imperial hanging from it in a gilt box, of the Diodati family in magnificence the title of Count of the Empire, occupied with a fine illumination being placed on the imperial in possession of the New York In 1541, Emperor Charles V. the Diodatis, together with an insignia of diamonds, and a arms. Royal grants from other ized the use of the imperial the family. One of the Diodati General, to Charles III. of Spain — who reigned from 1759 to 1788. Another was the Rev. John Diodati of Geneva, born in 1576, who produced before he had completed his twenty-seventh year an Italian version of the Bible, and whose fame and influence as a theologian and author extended all over Europe; it was his father who built the Diodati villa a little way up Lake Lemman from Geneva, occupied by Lord Byron, and which is still in the family. — *Family Archives. Professor Edward E. Salisbury's Discourse* — to which is appended a genealogical chart with all the ramifications of the Diodati family.



Diodati Arms.

velvet, of fourteen pages in seal of Joseph II. (1765 1790) which recites the dignities nificent terms, and confirms to pire. One of the pages is oc- of the family-arms, the shield eagle. A copy of this folio is descendants of the Diodatis. gave his own name to one of the lordship of two counties, quartering from the imperial European sovereigns author- double eagle by any branch of datis was *Praefectus Militum*,

The children of John and Sarah Diodati Griswold were: 1. Diodati J. a young divine of great promise who died at the age of twenty-eight; 2. Ursula W. who married Richard McCurdy, and was the mother of Judge Charles Johnson McCurdy, lieutenant-governor of Connecticut, minister to Austria, etc., etc., and of Robert H. McCurdy the distinguished merchant of New York; 3. Elizabeth, married Jacob B. Gurley; 4. Sarah, married John Lyon Gardiner; 5. John, married first, Elizabeth M. Huntington, second, Louisa Wilson of Newark, New Jersey; 6. Mary Ann, married Levi H. Clark; 7. Charles C. married his

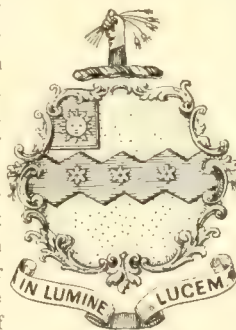
completely deceived, and not wishing to be encumbered with a sick man on board ship, turned away, but demanded his oldest son, David, as hostage, a little boy of ten years — who was fortunately away at school.

It was soon after made clear to the mind of Commodore Hardy that Gardiner was in no way responsible for what had occurred. On the 31st of July he wrote to him, "As it is probable that the government of the United States may call you to account for permitting refreshments to be taken by the British squadron from your place, I think it necessary for your satisfaction, and to prevent your experiencing the censure of your govern-

cousin, Elizabeth Griswold. Of the two daughters of Charles C. and Elizabeth Griswold Griswold, Elizabeth Diodati married Judge William B. Lane, son of Chief Justice Lane of Ohio; and Sarah J., married Lorillard Spencer of New York, whose daughter, Eleonora, married Virginio Cenci, Prince of Vicovaro, the grand chamberlain to the king of Italy.

John Lyon and Sarah Griswold Gardiner's children were: 1. David Johnson, died unmarried in 1829; 2. Sarah Diodati, married David Thompson of New York City; 3. Mary Brainard, died unmarried in 1833; 4. John Griswold, died unmarried; 5. Samuel Buell, married Mary Gardiner Thompson, and their children were: 1. Mary, married William R. Sands; 2. David J.; 3. John Lyon, married Coralie Livingston Jones; 4. Sarah G. married her cousin John Alexander Tyler. The children of David and Sarah Diodati Gardiner Thompson, 1. Sarah G. married her cousin David Lion Gardiner; 2. Elizabeth; 3. Gardiner; 4. David G.; 5. Charles G.; 6. Mary G.; 7. Frederick Diodati.

The Thompsons, who have in several generations intermarried with the Gardiners, descended from Rev. William Thompson of Lancashire, England. John Thompson (born 1597, died 1666), one of the fifty-five original proprietors of the town of Brookhaven, was graduated from Oxford in 1619, and removed to Long Island in 1634. He married Hannah Brewster, sister of Rev. Nathaniel Brewster of Setauket; their youngest son, Samuel, married Hannah, daughter of Rev. Nathaniel Brewster (whose wife was the daughter of the "Worshipful Roger Ludlow," deputy governor of Massachusetts), and settled upon the valuable estate of his father. One of his daughters married Thomas Strong, and was the mother of the notable Judge Selah Strong; the eldest son, Jonathan Thompson, married Mary Woodhull (first cousin of General Woodhull of justice of the peace forty or Judge Isaac Thompson, born in daughter of Colonel Abraham two sons of the latter, Jonathan merchants and citizens of New beth Havens of Shelter Island, ducted a heavy West India im- pointed Collector at New York by Monroe, and again by John dren, of whom, Mary Gardiner diner, as mentioned above, the Island: and David, cashier of Fulton Bank and Bank of Amer- trusts, married Sarah Diodati Gardiner, the sister of Hon. Samuel Buell Gardiner of Gardiner's Island.



Thompson Arms.

the Revolution), and served as more years; he was the father of 1743, who married in 1772, Mary, Gardiner of Easthampton. The and Abraham, became prominent York. Jonathan married Eliza- and with Nathaniel Gardiner con- porting business; he was ap- by Madison in 1813, reappointed Quincy Adams. He had six chil- married Hon. Samuel Buell Gar- present proprietor of Gardiner's the Custom House, and of the ica, holding also other important

Of the numerous descendants of Colonel Abraham Gardiner of Easthampton, one grand- daughter, Mary, became the wife of Philip G. Van Wyck (see p. 409, Vol. II.) and a great- granddaughter, Julia Gardiner, married John Tyler, President of the United States.

ment, for me to assure you, that had you not complied with my wishes as you have done, I should certainly have made use of force, and the consequences would have been the destruction of your property, yourself a prisoner-of-war, and whatever was in the possession of your dependents taken without payment. But it is not my wish to distress individuals on the coast of the United States who may be in the power of the British squadron."

Experiments with torpedoes in the New York waters induced the utmost caution on the part of the British. Several attempts were made to blow up the *Ramillies*; and Hardy was rendered so uncomfortable that he not only kept his ship in motion, but caused her bottom to be swept with cable every two hours night and day. Boats of every description were sharply watched. Those of Gardiner were always manned by negroes, that the British guards might know instantly to whom they belonged and allow them to pass and repass without question.

At this time the *Essex* was in far distant seas, making one of the most remarkable cruises on record. Commodore Porter's first prize was a

1813. British packet with fifty-five thousand dollars on board. Reaching the Pacific, he captured every British whale-ship known to be off the coasts of Peru and Chili, depriving the enemy of property to the amount of some two and a half millions, and found himself, eight months after, sailing from the Delaware, in command of a squadron of nine armed vessels ready for formidable action. The *President*, Commodore Rodgers, was cruising through the summer in the Northern Atlantic; he made the complete circuit of Ireland, kept more than twenty British vessels in search of him for weeks, and reached Newport late in the autumn, having captured eleven merchantmen and the British armed schooner *Highflyer*. His prisoners had been nearly all paroled and sent home in captured vessels. He sailed again, December 5, in the direction of the Barbadoes, captured four British merchantmen, and suddenly dashed through the vigilant squadron of blockaders off Sandy Hook, entering New York harbor triumphantly on the evening of February 18, 1814. A little more than a month later (March 28), the *Essex* was captured after a severe fight in the neutral waters of Valparaiso, by the two British vessels, *Phæbe* and *Cherub*.

The brig *Enterprise*, Captain Burrows, captured the British gun-brig *Boxer* off the coast of Maine, on the 5th of September, after a spirited combat in which both commanders were mortally wounded. But in connection with the cheering news came that of the loss of the *Asp* off the Chesapeake, and of the *Argus* in St. George's Channel; hence darkness prevailed rather than light. The *Argus*, commander Allen,

had managed to slip out of New York in June, with the Hon. William H. Crawford on board (Minister to France in place of Joel Barlow, deceased), and after landing him safely on French soil about the middle of July, spread consternation through commercial England by a series of audacious exploits in the British and Irish channels; destroying, within thirty days, twenty-one British merchant-ships valued at two million dollars. So many were burned off the Irish coast that the inhabitants said the water was on fire. But on the 13th of August the British sloop *Pelican* attacked and captured the *Argus*, and Allen was killed.

The new year dawned cheerlessly for New York in the midst of a blinding storm of snow and sleet. Rumors had reached the city of great disasters to Napoleon at Leipsic on the 18th of October. His downfall was unquestionably near at hand, an event that would ^{1814.} give Great Britain opportunity to send immense forces against the United States. Russia's proffered mediation, which had induced the sending of Albert Gallatin and James A. Bayard to St. Petersburg to act with John Quincy Adams in treating for peace, was refused by Great Britain; she seemed less inclined than ever to recede from her assumptions concerning the right of search and impressment.

To add to the general gloom, a courier, thirty-one days on the road from the region of the Indian war in Georgia and Alabama, instigated the year before by Tecumseh, reported British fleets in the Gulf of Mexico, New Orleans menaced, and Mobile and St. Augustine in imminent danger. General Andrew Jackson had responded to the fearful cry for help in the South, when the Creek savages, like demons, fell at noon, August 20, 1813, upon Fort Mims, a frontier post in Alabama, massacring three hundred and thirty men, women, and children, in a manner so horrible that history recoils from the recital. Jackson had, in turn, fallen upon the Indian villages with destructive fury, and fought many bloody battles. But when the year went out he was in want of means and forces, and uncertain of the future. It was not until the 27th of March, 1814, that the last great struggle of the Creeks occurred at the bend of the Tallapoosa, where six hundred of their warriors were left slain upon the field; and the residue of the wasted nation sued for peace.

New York at the same moment was painfully agitated over the Embargo Act of Congress, which, in accordance with the confidential advice of Madison, passed into a law on the 17th of December. It was fiercely opposed everywhere by the Federalists. It was aimed at the New England people, who, it was alleged, sold supplies to the British vessels, and thereby saved their coast from devastation. The provisions of this act were excessively stringent; nothing whatever, in the way of goods, live-stock, or specie,

could be carried from one point to another upon water-craft of any description. Thus the sea-board towns were suddenly deprived, in the heart of winter, of fuel and other necessities, which they had been in the habit of obtaining from the coasters.

And while men long out of employment were driven to madness by this oppressive enactment, New England threatened to negotiate peace with Great Britain for herself alone, and let the country beyond the Hudson fight until satisfied. In short, open defiance was hurled at the national government, and the cause, origin, conduct, and probable results of the war, discussed with rancorous bitterness. Madison seriously apprehended the secession of the New England States. Their doctors of divinity advocated a war for peace, so to speak, from the pulpit. One minister said: "If the rich men persist in furnishing money, war will continue till the mountains are melted with blood — till every field in America is white with the bones of the people;" while another exclaimed: "Let no man who wishes to continue the war by active means, by vote or lending money, dare to prostrate himself at the altar, for such are actually as much partakers in the war as the soldier who thrusts his bayonet, and the judgment of God will await them." Finally the clamor for the repeal of the Embargo Act became so general that the President on the 19th of January issued a recommendation to that effect, which was hailed with delight through the length and breadth of the country. The act of Congress for the repeal of the measure became a law April 14; the event was celebrated with bonfires and speeches, and all the rhymers rhymed; in the *New York Evening Post* appeared a cartoon, designed by John Wesley Jarvis, and engraved on wood by Anderson, representing the "Death of the Terrapin, or the Embargo," of which the sketch is a copy, accompanied with some humorous lines, beginning thus:

"Reflect, my friend, as you pass by,
As you are now, so once was I;
As I am now, so you may be —
Laid on your back to die like me!"



"Death of the Terrapin, or the Embargo."

CHAPTER XVI.

1814, 1815.

THE FINAL STRUGGLE.

PEACE COMMISSIONERS. — THE BATTLE OF CHIPPewa. — BATTLE OF LUNDY'S LANE. — SORTIE FROM FORT ERIE. — HONORS TO THE HEROIC COMMANDERS. — THE CITY OF NEW YORK IN ALARM. — CITIZENS WORKING ON THE FORTIFICATIONS. — CADWALLADER DAVID GOLDEN. — BURNING OF THE CITY OF WASHINGTON. — NEW YORK CITY CURRENCY. — FINANCIAL AFFAIRS. — THE SEPTEMBER OF BLOOD. — THE TEMPER OF NEW YORK. — BALTIMORE ASSAILED. — INVASION OF NEW YORK THROUGH LAKE CHAMPLAIN. — GREAT VICTORY OF MACDONOUGH AND MACOMB. — PRIVATEERS. — CAPTAIN SAMUEL CHESTER REID. — THRILLING DEFENSE OF THE GENERAL ARMSTRONG. JACKSON'S DEFENSE OF NEW ORLEANS. — THE FORTIFICATIONS OF NEW YORK CITY. — NEW ENGLAND'S OPPOSITION TO THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT. — NAVAL AFFAIRS. — MILITARY PARADE IN NEW YORK CITY. — DARKNESS AND GLOOM. — THE TREATY OF PEACE. — THE SABBATH OF THANKSGIVING.

THE pulse of New York beat irregularly as the spring opened. Apprehension alternated with uncertainty, dread with a sense of insecurity, hope with despair. Every event of the war affected her affairs. Every calamity drew upon her resources. No other city stood in the same relation to the North and the South, and none other was so much the object of British enterprise and ambition. 1814.

Matters seemed approaching an awful crisis: the outlook from every point of view had been altered by the unexpected turn of the wheel of fortune in Europe. Napoleon had fallen. He abdicated the throne of France on the 11th of April, and a prince of the house of Bourbon reigned in his stead. April 11. Thus, large bodies of veteran troops were idle, and Great Britain proceeded without delay to ship them to America. The intimations, in early winter, that commissioners from the United States, to treat directly with Great Britain for peace, would receive respectful attention, resulted in the appointment of the three gentlemen already in Russia, and of Henry Clay, and Jonathan Russell, to form such a commission. Albert Gallatin and James A. Bayard spent two months in London endeavoring to pave the way for peace. Ghent, in Holland, was finally agreed upon as the place of negotiation. But the British government appeared in no hurry to appoint negotiators.

There was a war-party in England, furious and passionate, which had

suddenly become formidable. "Let us make Madison resign and follow Bonaparte to some transatlantic Elba," it cried, in prophetic arrogance. Prominent statesmen of the realm, who had never seen America except on the maps, thought it extremely easy to surround and conquer the nation whose insolence, encouraged by naval successes, was no longer to be tolerated. "Distress the coasts all the way from Maine to New Orleans, invade New York through Lake Champlain and Lake Ontario, and strike New York City by approaches from the sea," was the outline of their proposed plan of operations. The war, they said, must assume a new character—that of offense. In short, the British war-party, with the *London Times* at its head, demanded the signal punishment of a pusillanimous and unnatural nation of Democrats, who had seized the moment of her greatest pressure to force a war upon England.

Congress, meanwhile, labored to increase the army and raise money for its support. Wilkinson was relieved of his command, and the brigadiers, Jacob Brown and George Izard, commissioned major-generals. The latter was the son of Ralph and Alice De Lancey Izard, and the great-grandson of Lieutenant-governor Colden of New York memory. He possessed the military spirit which characterized his Van Cortlandt, Schuyler, and De Lancey ancestors, and, having received a military edu-

May. cation in Europe, much was hoped when he was placed in command of the main column at Plattsburg. Alexander Macomb, Winfield Scott, Edmund Pendleton Gaines, Colonel Ripley, Daniel Bissell, and Thomas A. Smith were made brigadiers. Scott was sent to command in the vicinity of the desolated Niagara frontier. The naval commander, Thomas Macdonough, was employed at Otter Creek, superintending the construction of war-vessels with which to drive the British from Lake Champlain. Chauncey, at Sackett's Harbor, was confident of securing the mastery of Lake Ontario; he had four new ships on the stocks, two of which were heavy frigates; but the transportation of the guns and equipments from New York to Oswego, and thence by the lake shore to Sackett's Harbor, was a slow and hazardous matter, resulting in several sharp conflicts with the enemy. Oswego was attacked unexpectedly on the 6th of May, and the fort captured; after destroying the military stores, the British returned to Canada.

The reader, for a just estimate of the situation, must bear constantly in mind that there was then no telegraph for the quick transmission of startling news, nor railways over which soldiers might be borne in a night to the relief of the distressed. The greater portion of the frontier was a wilderness, roads were little more than openings, toilsome marches through swamps and forests were chiefly on foot, and the troops were com-

pelled to lift horses and cannon out of the mire at any moment. The topography and geography of the country were almost as imperfectly known at Washington as in London, hence orders were often amusing enigmas to the officers by whom they were to be executed. General Brown marched from Sackett's Harbor to Geneva, and from Geneva to Sackett's Harbor, then again from Sackett's Harbor to Batavia, where he remained four weeks, before his ambiguous instructions were rendered sufficiently intelligible for him to venture to invade Canada — which he was impatient to do before the British should invade New York. An order received by Commodore Woolsey ran thus: "Take the *Lady of the Lake* and proceed to Onondaga, and take in at Nicholas Mickle's furnace a load of ball and shot, and proceed at once to Buffalo." The perplexed officer's interpretation was, "Go over Oswego Falls, and up the river to Onondaga Lake, thence ten miles into the country by land to the furnace, and returning to Oswego, proceed to the Niagara, and up and over Niagara Falls to Buffalo!"

Before the end of June Brown was in Buffalo, which was already rising again from its ashes, and, crossing the river in the night, appeared in sight of Fort Erie on the morning of the 3d of July. The post ^{July 3} was so wanting in the means of defense that its British commander surrendered without firing a gun, and the garrison was marched into the interior of New York as prisoners of war.

The next day the Americans advanced into Canada, Scott taking the lead with his brigade. On the 5th, they met the British veterans on the plains of Chippewa, and a decisive battle was fought and gallantly won in the open field. The British were driven off in disorder. ^{July 5.}

Brown wrote to the Secretary of War: "I am indebted to Scott more than to any other man for this victory; he is entitled to the highest praise our country can bestow. His brigade has covered itself with glory." Scott, in turn, spoke in the warmest terms of the essential services rendered by three young New York officers, members of his military family, who were conspicuous in the field — Gerard D. Smith, George Watts, and William Jenkins Worth — and they were each brevetted. Scott made special mention of Watts, not only in public correspondence, but in private conversation, saying, "he was bravery itself, and by remarkable coolness and courage saved my life at a moment in the beginning of the battle when the Indians were striving to obtain my scalp." Both Watts and Worth greatly distinguished themselves "at critical moments by aiding the commandants of corps in forming the troops, under circumstances which precluded the voice from being heard, and their conduct was handsomely acknowledged by all the officers of the line." George Watts was the son of Hon. John Watts, grandson of Counselor John

Watts of colonial memory, and doubly descended, through his mother and grandmother, from the New York De Lanceys. He was the first cousin of Major-general Izard, and also of Stephen Watts Kearny. Worth was then only twenty years of age. He was subsequently in the military service of the United States for a period covering some thirty-six years, including the war with the Florida Indians of 1840–1842, and the great Mexican struggle of 1846–1848. The city of New York erected a granite monument to his memory in the little triangle at the junction of Fifth Avenue and Broadway, fronting Madison Square; and the name of Anthony Street was changed to Worth Street in his honor.

Neither Ripley, nor General Peter B. Porter with his militia, participated in the action, but their gallantry in other directions elicited the warmest praise from Brown. The victory was important in its results, as it gave an impetus to enlistments throughout the country, and won genuine respect from the enemy. Not over three thousand men were believed to have been engaged — seventeen hundred British, and thirteen hundred Americans; the former lost six hundred and four, and the latter three hundred and thirty-eight.¹

The British commander fell back to Fort George, with also a fortified post upon strong ground some twelve miles up Lake Ontario. Brown was confident of being able to cripple British power in Upper Canada if he could have the co-operation of the fleet, and sent a messenger to Chauncey in hot haste, who returned on the 23d with a letter from Gaines, in command of Sackett's Harbor, stating that Chauncey was sick with fever, and his fleet blockaded. Scott immediately sought permission to lead his brigade in search of the enemy, and was vexed when

Brown, although anxious to draw on a conflict, declined to divide
July 25. his forces. News came the next day that the British were reinforced and about to strike for the American supplies at Lewiston. Scott was ordered with some thirteen hundred men to hasten down the road towards the Falls and create a diversion. Late in the afternoon while passing a narrow strip of woods, he was suddenly confronted by the main body of the enemy, whom he supposed to be in quite another locality. Scott saw the situation at a glance; to advance was impossible, to retreat was extremely hazardous. He instantly decide to attack, and impress the enemy with the conviction that the whole American army was at hand. Then followed that sanguinary battle of Lundy's Lane, which has few parallels in history in its wealth of gallant deeds.² It was fought be-

¹ *Niles Register*, VI. 389; *Lossing*, 810; *Holmes Annals*, II. 464.

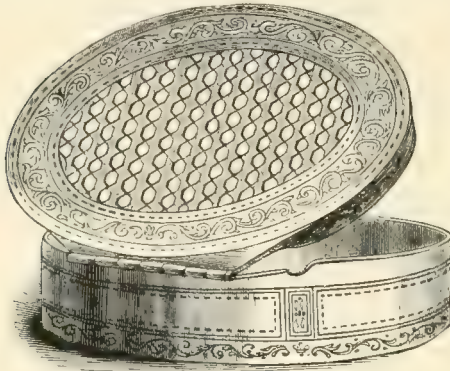
² This battle, fought near the great Falls of Niagara, is sometimes called the battle of Niagara; the sharpest of the struggle occurred in Lundy's Lane, hence the name which has attained the widest celebrity. It is also called the battle of Bridgewater.

tween sunset and midnight, in the darkness — its smoke mingling with the spray of the cataract, and its musketry and artillery blending with the ceaseless roar of the mighty Niagara. Scott sent a messenger to Brown, that he was about to engage the whole British army, and reinforcements came swiftly. It was perceived that the key of the enemy's position was a battery upon an eminence, and Brown, turning to the gallant Colonel James Miller, ordered him to storm and capture it. The reply has passed into history "I'll try, sir." It was one of the most perilous charges ever attempted, but Miller and his brave band calmly marched up to the mouth of the blazing cannon, and took them. The exploit elicited universal admiration: "It was the most desperate thing we ever saw or heard of," said the British officers who were made prisoners. "You have immortalized yourself!" exclaimed Brown the moment he met Miller afterward. "My dear fellow, my heart ached for you when I gave you the order, but I knew that it was the only thing that would save us." Brown was twice severely wounded, but he kept his saddle until the victory was won; his gallant aid, Ambrose Spencer of New York, was killed. Scott was exposed to death in every part of the field, and had two horses shot under him. He was spared until the final struggle, when he received a severe wound. He was subsequently carried on the shoulders of gentlemen from town to town to the house of a friend in Geneva, where he remained until able to journey to his home in the east.

The Americans fell back on Fort Erie and strengthened the position. During the month of August the British prosecuted a siege with determined vigor. Gaines was ordered to the chief command, and with Ripley, Porter, Towson, and other brave officers, made a handsome defense. A shell falling through the roof finally disabled Gaines, and Brown hastened from Batavia, with shattered health and unhealed wounds, to resume command. He presently planned a sortie from the fort, which for boldness of conception, and the ability with which it was conducted, has ^{Sept 17} never been excelled by any event on the same scale in military history. It accomplished its design; the British advanced works were captured and destroyed, and Fort Erie saved, with Buffalo and the public stores on the frontiers — and possibly all Western New York. The British loss, in killed and wounded and prisoners, was about one thousand; they finally fled in the utmost confusion. The heroes were all honored, individually and collectively, and medals with suitable devices were given to each of the general officers by Congress. Governor Tompkins, in the name of the State of New York presented General Brown with an elegant sword. Mayor De Witt Clinton, at the head of the corporation of the city, presented him the honorary privilege of the free-

dom of the city, in a gold box, requested his portrait for the gallery in the City Hall, and tendered the thanks of New York City to the officers and men under his command.

During those same hot August days while Fort Erie was besieged, New York City was in a fearful excitement on her own account. It was well known that her defenses were feeble; and her young and able-bodied men had gone to the frontiers in such large numbers that few were left for service at home. Secret intelligence suddenly came of a premeditated



General Brown's Gold Box.

attack upon the city, and, as if to confirm the story, a powerful British force appeared in the Chesapeake. Mayor De Witt Clinton issued a stirring appeal

Aug. 2. to the citizens on the 2d of

August, calling upon them to offer their personal services and means to aid in the completion of the unfinished fortifications. On

Aug. 9. the 9th, in response to a call signed by Henry Rutgers

and Oliver Wolcott, an immense

throng assembled in the City Hall Park, and chose from the Common Council, Colonel Nicholas Fish, Gideon Tucker, Peter Mesier, George Buckmaster, and John Nitchie, a Committee of Defense, clothed with ample power to direct the efforts of the inhabitants at this critical moment in the business of protection. The work commenced on the heights around Brooklyn the same day, under the direction of General Joseph

Aug. 13. G. Swift. Only four days after the meeting in the Park, the Com-

mittee of Defense reported three thousand persons laboring with pickaxes, shovels and spades. Masonic and other societies went in bodies to the task; the Washington Benevolent Society, an organization opposed to the war, went over with their banner bearing the portrait of Washing-

Aug. 15. ton, each man with a handkerchief containing a supply of food for the day; on the 15th the city newspapers were suspended

that all hands might work on the fortifications; two hundred journeymen printers went over together; two hundred weavers; a large procession of butchers bearing the flag used by them in the great Federal procession of 1789—on which was an ox prepared for slaughter; numerous manufacturing companies with all their men; and the colored people in crowds. On

Aug. 20. the 20th five hundred men went to Harlem Heights to work upon intrenchments there; and, at the same time, fifteen hundred Irish-

men crossed into Brooklyn for the same purpose; school-teachers and their pupils went together to give their aid; and little boys, too small to handle a spade or pickaxe, carried earth on shingles. It was a scene never to be forgotten. One morning the people of Bushwick, Long Island, appeared, accompanied by their pastor, Rev. John Bassett, who opened the operations with prayer, and remained all day distributing refreshments and encouraging the laborers. Citizens from neighboring towns and from New Jersey proffered their services.

The air was thick with alarms. Every day brought fresh accounts of invasions, and depredations committed along the New England coasts. The eastern portion of Maine was taken by the British, and eight hundred troops left to hold the conquered region. Stonington, Connecticut, was the theater of a most distressing bombardment for three days. Massachusetts was menaced, and her authorities instituted active measures for defense. In Boston every class of citizens, as in New York, volunteered to work on the fortifications. "I remember," said an eyewitness, "the venerable Dr. Lathrop with the deacons and elders of his church each shouldering his shovel and doing yeomen's service in digging, shoveling, and carrying sods in wheelbarrows." So far from finding the New-Englanders attached to the British cause, the marauding parties were amazed at the spirit and execution of the militia who met and drove them from their borders.

Tidings of a portentous character reached the city on the 27th. Washington, the capital of the nation, had been captured by the British, and the torch applied to its public buildings, many of its private dwell-
ings, the navy-yard, national shipping, and the great bridge over Aug 27
the Potomac. With the unfinished Capitol was destroyed the valuable private library of Congress; the walls of the edifice stood firm, however, and were used in rebuilding. The shell of the President's house likewise stood, like a monument of the Middle Ages, to mark the track of the barbarian. Mrs. Madison packed as many cabinet papers into trunks as would fill one carriage, and secured some silver plate. A message reached her to fly to a place of safety; but she insisted upon waiting to take down the large portrait of Washington, by Stuart, and when the process of unscrewing it from the wall was found too slow, she ordered the frame to be broken and the canvas taken out and rolled up. Two gentlemen from New York, Mr. De Peyster and Mr. Jacob Barber, entering at the moment, she consigned the picture to their care. The accumulated documents of the State Department were packed into carts by their custodian, and hastily conveyed across the Potomac some twenty or more miles into the woods of Virginia, where they were safely lodged under a farmer's

roof. Rome in the worst days of Europe had never experienced any such fate as our national capital, and the effect was instantaneous. Thousands upon thousands who had previously withheld their services henceforward gave the war their firm and steady support. The outrage upon taste and the arts and humanity, instead of crushing or dividing the American people, served to unite all parties against the common enemy. The blow aimed by the British government recoiled upon itself.

The city of New York and its suburbs became one vast camp, animated by indomitable determination to uphold the national honor, and preserve

at all hazards the beautiful commercial metropolis. On the 29th Aug. 29. a requisition was made for twenty thousand militia from New York and New Jersey to be concentrated in and about the city, and the

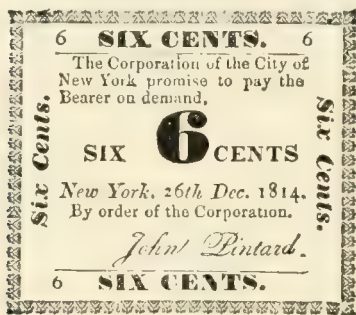
corporation raised the funds to meet the necessary expenses, under a pledge of reimbursement by the general government.

The scarcity of specie and the drains made on the banks caused

a suspension of specie payments, which continued un-

Aug. 31. til the first Monday in July, 1817. The want of small change for a

circulating medium induced the corporation to issue a substitute in small paper bills, signed by John Pintard, to the amount of one hundred thousand dollars, which passed current in all payments and facilitated business. There were further issues from time to time. The total amount of



The above has the following cut on the back:



these small bills was two hundred and forty-five thousand three hundred and fifty-six dollars.

The derangement of financial affairs was such at this juncture that many thought it impossible for the government to maintain its army and navy. In March a twenty-five million loan had been authorized, in addition to former loans; but less than half that amount had been raised as yet, owing to the exorbitant terms demanded by the money-lenders. The pressure for funds was so great that the Secretary of the Treasury issued stock as well as treasury notes with which to borrow currency, but the banks of New York refused to loan their bills without additional

security. It was understood, however, that if treasury notes endorsed by Governor Tompkins were deposited, the money would be forthcoming. Rufus King immediately waited upon the governor and acquainted him with the fact. "I should be obliged to act on my own responsibility, and should be ruined," replied Tompkins. "Then ruin yourself, if it become necessary to save the country, and I pledge you my honor that I will support you in whatever you do," exclaimed King. Oliver Wolcott, president of the Bank of America, and other prominent Federalists, uttered similar sentiments. Tompkins endorsed the notes on his own personal and official security, and a half million was promptly loaned.

Nor was this all. In the bankrupt condition of the treasury, Tompkins was obliged to advance money to keep the cadets at West Point from starving, to sustain the recruiting service in Connecticut, and to pay workmen employed in the manufactory of arms at Springfield.¹ He also issued a stirring call to the inhabitants of New York to send arms of every description to the State arsenal, for which they should receive cash. And through his active exertions forty thousand militia were in the field in an incredibly short space of time, not for the defense of New York City only, but of Plattsburg, Sackett's Harbor, and Buffalo. Between six and ten thousand were mustered into actual service in New York City September 2, under Major-generals Morgan Lewis, and Ebenezer Stevens of Revolutionary distinction. Cadwallader David Colden ^{Sept. 2.} was appointed to the command of all the uniformed militia companies of the city and county. He was the grandson of Lieutenant-governor Colden, a man of exceptional learning, and a commercial lawyer, who stood at the head of his profession. He was born in 1769, and his education, begun in Jamaica, Long Island, during the stormy scenes of the Revolution, was completed in London, in 1785. He was as remarkable for energy and strength of character as his illustrious grandfather — alert in every fiber and alive in every sense; and he also possessed that rare combination of the scholar and the man of affairs which distinguished the Lieutenant-governor through the whole of his long and chequered career.

Each company had its parade-ground, where the citizens who quartered at home were drilled for three and four hours each morning and afternoon. Men of all ages and callings filled the ranks — the old merchant and the young boot-black, the gentleman of leisure and his butcher and baker, the white-haired doctor and the college student, the man of wealth and the industrious mechanic. Nobody stopped to argue about the right or wrong of the "wicked war." A mighty community of soldiers seemed suddenly to have sprung into existence.

¹ *Hildreth*, VI. 519; *Hammond*, I. 378; *Lossing*, 10, 19; *Randall*, 195.

Washington Irving offered his services, and was made the aid and secretary of Governor Tompkins, with the rank of colonel. His name first appears attached to a general order on the 2d, the day of the muster. An incident on a Hudson River steamboat, in which he figured, illustrates the spirit of the hour. A passenger came on board at Poughkeepsie about midnight, and in the darkness of the cabin proclaimed the news of



Cadwallader David Colden.
[Elected Mayor of New York City in 1785.]

the fall of Washington City, with a detailed account of the distressing scenes. Some one lifted his head from a pillow, and in a tone of complacent disdain, wondered what Jimmy Madison would say now? Irving responded with emphasis: "Let me tell you, sir, it is not a question about 'Jimmy Madison,' or 'Johnny Armstrong.' The pride and honor of the nation are wounded; the country is insulted and disgraced by this barbarous success, and every loyal citizen should feel the ignominy, and be ear-

nest to avenge it." In relating the circumstance, Irving said, "I could not see the fellow, but I let fly at him in the dark."

Two of the sons of Rufus King were in the army — James Gore King serving as adjutant-general, and John Alsop King, afterwards governor of the State, as lieutenant of a troop of horse. The latter is described in his military capacity as a remarkable disciplinarian. He commanded as fine a troop as ever paraded the streets of New York, composed almost exclusively of young men from the leading families. Robert Watts, reputed by his contemporaries as the handsomest man in the city, was a major under King; he was the son of Hon. John Watts, and brother of George Watts, who so recently distinguished himself at Niagara — another representative of that soldierly Huguenot race, the De Lanceys. While parading in Park Place one morning the horse of Major Watts ran away, and, to prevent accident, he reined him in the direction of the high fence

around City Hall Park, carried him over, subdued him, and returned to his duty — a feat of horsemanship which his superior officer always recalled in after years with wonder and admiration.

The work on the fortifications was prosecuted with redoubled vigor. Hundreds of men worked at night by the light of the moon. The number of days' labor performed by the citizens of New York ^{1814.} alone was computed at one hundred thousand. Commodore Decatur was placed in command of the harbor with a force of picked men ready for action by sea or land.

There was no mistaking the temper of New York. While amid the blackened ruins of the city of Washington the heads of the general government railed at each other, and the country was beleaguered upon every side by an enemy of overpowering strength, with the avowed purpose of trampling upon the usages of civilized warfare, New York calmly and cheerfully bore every burden of every kind demanded for the honor and safety of the nation. Of peace there seemed no prospect. The American commissioners were at Ghent, but nobody came, at latest accounts, from Great Britain to treat with them. The destruction of the Capitol being accredited to the mismanagement of Secretary Armstrong, he retired from the War Department in disgust. The President invited Governor Tompkins to accept the office of Secretary of State in the emergency, which he declined on the ground that he could serve the nation better as governor of New York; therefore Monroe remained in that office, and also officiated as Secretary of War until the next March. Postmaster-general Gideon Granger, who had during his twelve years in the cabinet greatly improved the postal affairs of America, was superseded by Return Jonathan Meigs, governor of Ohio. Granger took up his abode in New York, and soon gave one thousand acres of land for the benefit of the Erie Canal.

It will be observed that the British government had distributed its enormous wealth of men and money, on land and water, in such a manner as to invade the United States at points far distant from each other simultaneously. September was marked with blood. Between the 12th and 15th of the month the British attempted to seize Mobile, but, ^{Sept. 15.} through the sleepless sagacity of Jackson, met with a mortifying repulse. On these very same September days Baltimore was assailed, and Fort McHenry bombarded by Ross and Cockburn; it was during this exciting cannonade, between midnight and dawn of the morning of the 14th, that "The Star Spangled Banner," our national lyric, was written ^{Sept. 14.} by Francis Scott Key, while anxiously pacing the deck of one of the British vessels, whither he had gone under a flag of truce to solicit the release of certain prisoners, and where he was detained pending

the attack. Baltimore was successfully defended, which was another humiliating blow to the enemy.

Preparations to invade New York by the way of Lake Champlain were in the mean time conducted with great secrecy and address ; it was believed in London that Sir George Prevost would presently shake hands with Ross and Cockburn in the valley of the Hudson, and that the besiegers of Fort Erie would be present at the meeting. A powerful army of fourteen thousand men, commanded by the most experienced officers in the British service, made gradual approaches towards Plattsburg, from Montreal,

between the 1st and 5th of September. On the 6th these veterans
Sept. 6. marched upon Plattsburg and were severely checked in their plans, after fighting desperately all day ; from the 7th to the 11th they were employed in bringing up batteries, trains, and supplies. The final battles,

by land and by water, occurred on the 11th. General Alexander
Sept. 11. Macomb commanded the American land forces, General Izard having been ordered, much against his wishes and his judgment, to Sackett's Harbor, and thence to the relief of General Brown at Fort Erie. Commodore Macdonough's squadron lay at anchor in Plattsburg Bay, well prepared for battle ; it carried eighty-six guns, and about eight hundred men. At an early hour on the 11th the British squadron, mounting ninety-five guns, with one thousand men, was seen advancing. As the deck of Macdonough's flag-ship *Saratoga* was cleared for action, her commander fell upon his knees, with officers and men around him, and offered an earnest and solemn prayer. It was a few minutes past nine when the enemy's flag-ship *Confiance* anchored abreast of the *Saratoga* at a distance of three hundred yards ; and the other vessels took their stations opposite those of the Americans. The engagement then commenced. For two hours the thunder of cannon, the hiss of rockets, the scream of bombs, and the rattle of musketry echoed from shore to shore. Both flag-ships were crippled ; but Macdonough displayed a masterpiece of seamanship by winding the *Saratoga* round and opening a fresh fire from her larboard quarter guns. The *Confiance*, being unable to effect the same operation, soon surrendered. The British brig and two sloops struck their colors within fifteen minutes. The British galleys, seeing the colors of the larger vessels go down, dropped their ensigns. At a little past noon not one of the sixteen British flags, so proudly floating over Lake Champlain when the sun rose, could be seen.

It was a glorious and substantial victory. The loss of the Americans was one hundred and ten, of whom fifty-two were killed. The total British loss was upwards of two hundred. Macdonough, with a more than royal courtesy, declined the swords of the commanders of his prizes.

The land-battle was commenced at the same moment with that upon the water, and was conducted by Sir George Prevost in person. Repeated efforts under cover of shot and shell to force a passage of the Saranac River were repulsed by the heroic New-Yorkers under Macomb. Suddenly joyful shouts pierced the air and iterated and reiterated along the American lines. Thus was announced to Sir George Prevost the surrender of the squadron; and he withdrew his troops at once from the contest. At two o'clock the next morning the whole British army took its flight ^{Sept. 2.} towards Canada, leaving its sick and wounded with munitions of war and army stores worth nearly a thousand pounds sterling. Sir George Prevost had lost twenty-five hundred men since entering the territory of New York, including deserters and prisoners. Three days after the battle, when it was ascertained that the British were making their way to the St. Lawrence, Macomb disbanded the New York and Vermont militia, who had nobly hurried to his aid. The expedition so boastfully projected cost Great Britain some two and a half million dollars: and its complete failure influenced the British government to think seriously of making peace.

Macomb and Macdonough had won unfading laurels, and they received the plaudits and the homage of all America. In the intense joy with which the news of their success was received, the recent disaster at Washington was for the moment forgotten. Congress voted them the thanks of the nation and gold medals. Their officers of all ranks were individually honored; every man in the naval conflict, and in the battle upon land, distinguished himself by daring intrepidity so far as he had opportunity. Governor Tompkins, in the name of the State of New York, presented Macomb with a superb sword; and Mayor De Witt Clinton, in the name of the corporation, presented him with the freedom of the city in a gold box similar in character to that given to General Brown. Macomb's portrait was painted by Sully at the request of the city, and placed in the gallery of distinguished men. New York gave Macdonough two thousand acres of land; Vermont presented him two hundred acres on the borders of Plattsburg Bay; and the cities of New York and Albany each gave him a valuable lot. His portrait was painted for the city by John Wesley Jarvis.

As before recorded, the sortie from Fort Erie was on the 17th; General Izard, with his troops from Plattsburg, reached that post soon afterwards, but no further military movements of importance occurred ^{Sept. 17.} on the Niagara frontier. Commodore Chauncey had remained blockaded at Sackett's Harbor until his flag-ship *Superior* was completed—about the middle of June—when Sir James Yeo prudently withdrew his blockading

vessels. In July Chauncey's squadron crossed Lake Ontario, and from the 9th of August for six weeks blockaded Sir James Yeo in Kingston Harbor, vainly manœuvering to draw him out for combat. Finally a British frigate, pierced for one hundred and twelve guns, was completed at Kingston, and Chauncey retired to Sackett's Harbor to prepare for an attack, which the enemy never attempted.

Simultaneously with these important events in New York, a powerful expedition was preparing to move upon New Orleans. It was only a few years since the vast territory of the Lower Mississippi had been purchased from France, and its chief city was assailable from so many points that it seemed impossible to secure it by ordinary fortifications against a hostile attack. While General Jackson was defending Mobile, Edward Livingston of New York was stirring New Orleans into action. His knowledge of the people and of the situation was complete, his judgment cool, and his influence electrical. At a meeting of the citizens on the 15th his polished oratory excited the mixed, indolent population of the city to a high pitch of loyalty to America, and a series of resolutions which he offered were adopted by acclamation. There was no other man upon the spot at all qualified for the comprehensive work to be performed; he furnished Jackson with information and maps during the interval until he could come from Mobile with troops, and, henceforward, was his interpreter of the French language, his military secretary, and his confidential adviser upon all subjects.

Information that Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane was approaching with thirteen ships of the line and transports bearing ten thousand troops hastened Jackson's march to defenseless New Orleans. His journey, however, was not a feat to be performed with celerity, and the enemy would have arrived and entered the city without opposition before him, but for a singular and unexpected detention of ten days at Fayal.

It has been observed, that naval operations upon the ocean were by no means confined to national vessels. Privateers harassed the commerce of Great Britain and carried into every quarter of the globe proofs of American skill and seamanship. The terror they inspired was intense. Their achievements were marvelous. They were swift-sailing vessels, rarely captured by the adversary; and, being authorized and encouraged by government, their services were conspicuous. Their owners secured large fortunes, and the contest terminated much sooner because of their exploits. The New-Yorkers sent out one splendid privateer of seventeen guns and one hundred and fifty men, which, during a single cruise, was chased by no less than seventeen armed British ships and escaped them all; and she brought into port goods valued at three hundred thousand dollars, with a

large amount of specie. Another successful private-armed cruiser was the *General Armstrong*, of only seven guns, built by Rensselaer Havens, Thomas Farmer, Thomas Jenkins, and other New York merchants; she sustained a fierce battle off the coast of South America in the spring of 1813 with the British sloop of war *Coquette*, mounting twenty-seven guns, and her commander, Guy R. Champlin, was voted a handsome sword by the stockholders for his gallantry. The romantic career of the *General Armstrong* would form a chapter of itself. But the thrilling event with which her history closed was of great moment to two nations, as it saved the city of New Orleans from capture. This vessel was commanded, in 1814, by Captain Samuel Chester Reid, then only thirty years of age—a young naval officer of merit who served as midshipman under Commodore Thomas Truxton. He was the idol of his men, generous to a fault, but vigorous as a ruler; and in all emergencies preserved their confidence through his quickness of perception, maturity of judgment, and coolness in action. He was tall, remarkably well formed, with much personal beauty, and manners captivating and courtly. He had recently married in New York City the accomplished daughter of Nathan Jennings, of Fairfield, Connecticut, who shared the hardships and glory of Trenton under Washington. He parted from his bride on the 9th of September, little dreaming of the brilliant part he was within three weeks to perform in the great drama of war.



Captain Samuel Chester Reid.

The *General Armstrong* prepared for sea in the early part of that exciting month—September—when the city of New York was like a vast beehive, with its workmen on the fortifications, and was manned by ninety men including officers. The first lieutenant of Captain Reid was Frederick A. Worth, brother of the famous General Worth; the second lieutenant was Alexander O. Williams, also of New York, and a most promising young officer; the third lieutenant was Robert Johnson, and the quartermaster was Bazilla Hammond. At nine o'clock on the evening of the 9th the vessel spread her sails and glided from Sandy Hook, Sept. 9. effectually running the blockade. Nothing of moment occurred

until she reached Fayal, one of the Azores, belonging to Portugal, where about noon of the 26th she anchored for the purpose of obtaining water.

Sept. 26. Captain Reid dined with John B. Dabney, the American consul, who politely ordered the water sent to the vessel at once, as she was to proceed on her voyage in the morning. Just before sunset Reid, accompanied by the consul and some other gentlemen, returned to the *General Armstrong*, and, as they stood talking upon the deck, a British sail appeared; before dark six war-vessels, the squadron of Commodore Lloyd, anchored in the roads. The flag-ship *Plantagenet*, the frigate *Rota*, and the brig *Carnation* together mounted one hundred and thirty-six guns. Not much chance apparently for the little New York brigantine of seven guns. The British force numbered over two thousand men, who, it would seem, might easily overpower ninety. The British vessels were so placed that Reid could not escape from the port; but the consul told him there was not the slightest danger of his being molested as long as he remained at anchor in neutral waters. Commodore Lloyd, however, in defiance of neutrality laws and the usages of civilized nations, no sooner discovered the saucy *General Armstrong* than he resolved upon her capture; as he was on his way with reinforcements for the conquest of New Orleans, to join Admiral Cochrane awaiting him at Jamaica, he very naturally thought the swift-sailing privateer would be extremely useful to the expedition.

The light of the full moon enabled Reid to see the movements of the fleet distinctly, and when boats were launched and arms passed into them, he suspected the truth and advised his visitors to go on shore. He then gave secret orders to clear his deck for action, without noise or commotion, while he moved his vessel a little nearer to the castle. About eight o'clock four boats containing one hundred and sixty men were seen approaching rapidly, as if sure of their game. Reid hailed them three or four times, receiving no answer. As they came alongside and attempted to board the *General Armstrong* he gave the word to his marines to fire, and a fierce and desperate struggle ensued, followed by the shrieks and groans of the wounded and dying; in a few moments the enemy staggered back appalled, and cried for quarter, and the boats pulled off in a sinking condition, with great loss.

It was presently apparent that the squadron was preparing for a more formidable attack. The governor of Fayal sent a message to Commodore Lloyd forbidding any further hostilities, as the *General Armstrong* was under the guns of the castle, and entitled to Portuguese protection. But the answer came, that if any attempt was made to shield the vessel the guns of the fleet would be turned upon the town. The inhabitants were

intensely excited, and crowded the shore in breathless anxiety. Three hours passed. There lay the little privateer, with her tall tapering spars, resting on the moonlit waters as quiet and as peaceful as an over-wearied child. Not a movement was to be seen, nor a sound heard upon her decks. She seemed deserted. And yet she was entirely ready to receive the enemy, and her men were lying concealed. At midnight fourteen boats, with about five hundred men, took their stations under covert of a small reef of rocks from which they approached in solid column in a direct line. Captain Reid hailed the boats as before, and receiving no answer, opened a destructive fire from which they recoiled for the moment, then rallied and with cheers returned the fire, and quickly reached the *General Armstrong*; the attempt to board her was made upon every side at the same instant, the men led on by the officers with a shout of "No quarters!" which could be distinctly heard above the oaths and cries and the din of musketry by the people of Fayal, who were spectators of the frightful midnight scene. The defense was without parallel for gallantry in ancient or modern history. With the skill and might of knights of old, Reid and his well-disciplined men drove back England's best and bravest troops with terrible slaughter. The action lasted forty minutes. The enemy made frequent and repeated attempts to gain the decks, but were repulsed every time at every point. Reid lost the services of all his lieutenants about the middle of the action; Williams was killed and Worth and Johnson wounded; but by his own cool and intrepid conduct a most remarkable victory was secured. He was left-handed, and fought with both hands — using his right to fire pistols which the powder-boys handed him, and his left in keeping off assaulters with a cutlass. The termination was a total defeat of the British. Three of their boats were sunk. But one poor, solitary officer escaped death, in a boat that contained fifty souls. Some of the boats were left without a single man to row them; others with only three or four. The most that any one returned with was ten. Four boats floated ashore full of dead bodies. The water of the bay was crimsoned with blood; and the deck of the *General Armstrong* was slippery with human gore. The British had lost over three hundred in killed and wounded. "But to the surprise of mankind," wrote an English officer, "the Americans had but two killed and seven wounded!"

The statement seems almost incredible, but such was the fact. "God deliver us from our enemies, if this is the way they fight," continued the same writer, who was an eyewitness of the battle. At daybreak the *Carnation* opened a heavy fire upon the *General Armstrong*,^{Sept 27.} which was promptly returned, and with such severity that the British

brig retired for repairs. The town of Fayal was in peril, several of the inhabitants having been wounded by the guns of the *Carnation*, and a number of houses damaged. Captain Reid, seeing no hope of saving his vessel, scuttled her and went ashore. The British completed her destruction by setting her on fire. Commodore Lloyd then ordered the governor of Fayal to deliver up the Americans as prisoners, and met with an unqualified refusal. He threatened to land five hundred troops and take them by force. Reid and his men retired to an old Gothic convent, knocked away the adjoining drawbridge, and determined to defend themselves to the last.

But the British commander wisely abstained from an attempt to carry his threat into execution. He had lost the flower of his officers and men, and numbers of the injured were dying from hour to hour. "For three days after the action we were employed in burying the dead that washed on shore in the surf," wrote an Englishman. Two British sloops of war, the *Thais* and *Calypso*, coming into port, were sent to convey fifty of the wounded to England, but were not permitted to take a single letter from any person. The fleet was detained for burials and repairs ten days, and, upon reaching Jamaica, Lloyd was severely censured for his folly by the Admiral. Nothing had been gained, and the extent of the injury to the British cause was incalculable.

The spirited defense of the *General Armstrong* produced a great sensation throughout America, and was mentioned in England with wonder and admiration, as the "essence of heroism." Probably no one conflict of the war placed the American character in so proud a view. In addition to the glory won by the skill and bravery of the resistance, Reid and his gallant associates were properly accredited with the salvation of New Orleans.¹ When the powerful and well-appointed British fleet completed its preparation at Jamaica, it sailed for the great emporium of the wealth and treasure of the Southwest. An easy conquest of Louisiana was expected. Sixty sail appeared near the mouth of the Mississippi early in December. But Jackson had already reached and fortified New Orleans, to the great disappointment of the British, and his clanging proclamations were bringing together all classes of the mixed population to repel the invaders. A short and decisive campaign followed. The host of veteran soldiers, fresh from the battle-fields of Europe, struggled an entire month in vain to fulfill their errand. The 8th of January, 1815, will

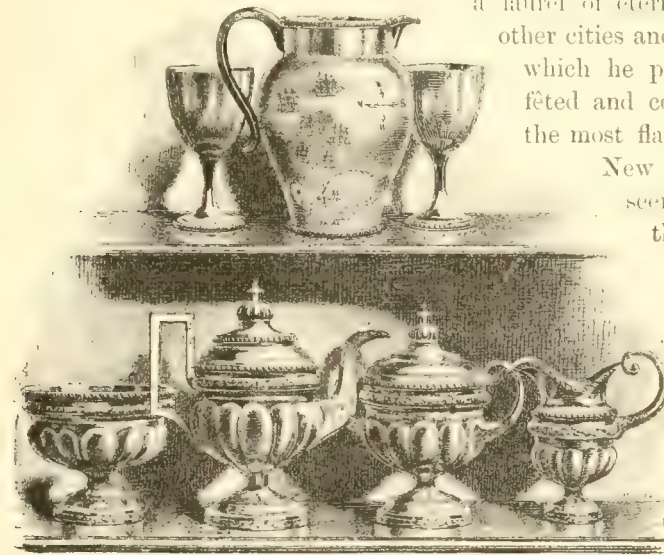
¹ *Schaffner's History of America*, Div. IV., Chap. XXIII., p. 378; *Coggshall's History of American Privateers*, p. 370; *American State Papers*, XIV. : *Naval Affairs*, p. 493; *Letter from Consul Dabney to Secretary of State*, October 5, 1814; *Letter to William Cobbett, Esq.*, containing an English account of the battle; *Cobbett's Weekly Register*, December 10, 1814; *Lossing's Field Book of the War of 1812*, p. 1004.

long be memorable in the annals of America. It was the day of Jackson's great victory over the immense British army; and with a loss of only seven killed and six wounded.¹ The British suffered in every way. They were obliged to fight upon an open level plain, while the Americans were thoroughly protected by breastworks. Seven hundred perished, including their commander-in-chief, and the most experienced and bravest of their officers. Their loss altogether was upwards of three thousand.

Captain Reid returned to New York in December, traveling by land from Savannah, and was everywhere greeted with enthusiasm and showered with flattering honors. At Richmond he was tendered a public dinner by the most brilliant men of Virginia; the Speaker of the House of Burgesses presided, and William Wirt was vice-president. The governor graced the festive scene with his presence; and the toast and song passed from lip to lip like an electric fire. When the hero retired the president gave the sentiment—"Captain Reid—his valor has shed a blaze of renown upon the character of our seamen, and won for himself

a laurel of eternal bloom." In other cities and towns through which he passed Reid was fêted and complimented in the most flattering manner.

New York especially seemed touched to the heart, his officers and men being nearly all from among her own people, and on his return home he was welcomed with every demonstration of gratitude and affection. The legis-



Silverware presented to Captain Reid by the Citizens of New York.

lature voted him the thanks of the State and an elegant sword, which Governor Tompkins presented with an appropriate address, in which he said: "Such heroic conduct confounds the mind with admiration, and the fame of it has resounded to every country. The whole civilized

¹ *Hill's Life of Edward Livingston*, pp. 201-205; *Bénoist's History of the French Revolution*, Vol. II p. 409; *Thompson's Second War*, p. 184.

world has awarded to it the meed of praise." The citizens of New York City gave him a handsome service of plate with suitable inscriptions, consisting of a large solid silver pitcher bearing an emblematical engraving of the action at Fayal, two silver tumblers, a teapot, sugar-bowl, milk-ewer, and bowl.¹

As the autumn waned New York City bristled with fortifications. The heights around Brooklyn were covered with military works, completely isolating the town. The heights overlooking Harlem were fortified at all points. Fort Richmond was built at the Narrows with other strongholds, and guarded by a brigade of two thousand militia from August to December. The works on Governor's and Bedloe's Islands

¹ Samuel Chester Reid was born at Norwich, Connecticut, August 25, 1783, died in New York City, January 28, 1861. He was the only surviving son of a British officer of the Revolution, who married Rebecca Chester, only daughter of John Chester, of Groton, Connecticut, a direct descendant of the Earl of Chester. Reid was married in New York City in 1813 to the daughter of Captain Nathan Jennings, of Fairfield, Connecticut, a lady distinguished for beauty and talent. Their children were : 1. John Chester Reid, a graduate at West Point, and aid to General Gaines, died unmarried in 1845 ; 2. Anna Johnson Reid, married George N. Sanders ; 3. Washington Reid, an officer of the U. S. Navy, died in Brazil in 1850 ; 4. Samuel C. Reid, a lawyer of distinction, married Josephine, daughter of the Hon. Mr. Rowan, minister to Naples under President Polk, and granddaughter of the celebrated Judge John Rowan, Senator from Kentucky and commissioner to Mexico ; 5. Franklin Reid, died young ; 6. Aaron Bertrand Reid, married Emma, daughter of S. D. Gardner, of Haverstraw ; 7. Mary Isabel Reid, married General Count Louis Palma Di Cesnola ; 8. Louisa Gouverneur Reid, married the editor and poet, Dr. John Savage ; 9. William J. Reid, married Lillie, daughter of the poet, William Henry Burleigh ; 10. George Henry, died young. Captain Reid was subsequently offered a post-captaincy in the navy, which he declined. He was many years port-warden of New York, and he invented and erected the signal-telegraph at the Battery and the Narrows, communicating with Sandy Hook. He was president of the Marine Society, and rendered a great service to our harbor and shipping by the regulation of marine laws. He was also distinguished as the designer of the present arrangement of our national flag. He was the chosen social companion of most of the great men of the period. At his death his remains were escorted to Greenwood Cemetery with every mark of respect and homage which the public could bestow. One of the journals of the day describing the funeral obsequies, and dwelling upon the details of Reid's long and eventful career, said : "They are, aside from the romantic personal interest which hangs about them, among the most important events in the history of our nation. Reid was, indeed, a man of rare combinations, — the courage of a lion, the venturesome spirit of a crusader, the taste of a poet, and the tenderness of a woman ; he belonged to that old school of patriots of whom Paul Jones was the first and himself the last. In the lives of these men are found the most dauntless intrepidity, the most manly generosity, and the purest chivalry. The sea, not as we see it, calm and beautiful, but as it is seen dashing against the clouds rent by thunder and pierced by lightning, the sea, not the blue, the ever free, but the bellowing, bold, bounding ocean, is pictured in such men as Reid. And as the vast procession followed his remains to their final repose in Greenwood, the scenes of our country's triumph passed before each vision. The flags, waving at half-mast, told of the victories on sea and land, and the guns which boomed from the battery recited over again the terrific fight of the *General Armstrong* against the midnight attack, in a neutral port, of the British assassin."

were enlarged and strengthened. Castle Garden was erected at the foot of Broadway; Fort Gansevoort was built at the bend of the Hudson, foot of Gansevoort Street; Fort Stevens at Hallet's Point near Hell Gate, with a stone tower on Lawrence Hill in its rear—the Long Island shore opposite was at the same time defended by fortifications at Benson's Point—and in the middle of the East River, Mill Rock was crowned with a block-house and battery; Forts Clinton and Fish were erected to protect McGowan's Pass on the road to Harlem, and Fort Lighthouse on the eminence overlooking Manhattanville. On the bank of the Hudson, near the residence of Viscount Courtenay, afterward Earl of Devon, was a strong stone tower, connected by a line of intrenchments with Fort Lighthouse. Although the city could be approached from several directions, its attitude was so defiant that the prospect was not at all encouraging to the enemy.

October brought no relief. Congress quarreled over a project for the removal of the seat of government, and talked about amending the Constitution; while various proposals to raise the prostrate credit of the United States engaged attention. 1814. George W. Campbell, Secretary of the Treasury since Gallatin's departure for Europe in February, resigned immediately after reporting the deplorable condition of the national finances; he was succeeded on the 6th by Alexander Oct. 6. James Dallas, who entered upon the uncertain duties of the important office with courage and vigor. Monroe, as Secretary of War, proposed a conscription system to increase the regular army. This was denounced by Connecticut as unconstitutional, intolerably barbarous and oppressive, and the governor of the State was authorized to call a special Oct. 14. session of the legislature to provide for the protection of the citizens should such a bill pass into a law. Discontent all through New England occasioned great alarm at Washington. News came that Massachusetts had appropriated a million of dollars toward the support of a State army of ten thousand men, to relieve the militia in service, and to be under the exclusive State control. Next followed a mysterious communication to the State Department from a pretended representative of the royal family of the Stuarts, having certain claims to the soil of New York, which revealed the existence of a treasonable committee in Boston preparing to establish the kingdom of New England, with the Duke of Kent, the British Prince Regent's brother, at its head!

Madison lived in terror. William Wirt, who called upon him on the 16th, wrote: "He looks miserably shattered and woe-begone. In Oct. 16 short, he looks heart-broken. His mind is full of the New England sedition. I denied its probability, or even its possibility." Re-

searches in Boston failed to exhume any such committee or plot. But the maturing plan of a convention at Hartford was supposed to be a sign that New England seriously contemplated withdrawal from the Union. Intelligence from Ghent came also of a disheartening character. On the 6th of August Lord Gambier, Henry Goulburn, and William Adams had finally appeared for Great Britain; but their propositions were such that the American diplomatists promptly declined to consider them. It seemed for a time as if all efforts to negotiate a treaty would be fruitless.

Oct. 22. The legislature of New York resolved unanimously that the terms proposed by Great Britain were "extravagant and disgraceful," and voted to furnish a local force of twelve thousand men.

At the expiration of the three months' term of service of the New York militia, a grand muster and review of all the troops that Nov. 30. could be spared from duty took place in the city, and was described as the finest military spectacle witnessed since the Revolution. The line was formed in Broadway, the right in Franklin Street, and reached out beyond the junction of the Bowery. The column marched through the principal streets headed by Governor Tompkins and a numerous staff.¹ One of the young officers in the company of riflemen who paraded in the procession was Samuel Hanson Cox, afterwards the celebrated pulpit orator and theologian. The statesman and scholar, Theodore Frelinghuysen, was the captain of a company. Almost every New York family was represented in the army. George Wyllys Benedict, son of Rev. Joel Tyler Benedict, and elder brother of the present Chancellor of the University of the State of New York, was among the soldiers. He was subsequently professor in the University of Vermont, and distinguished as a naturalist and a jurist.²

¹ *Goodrich's Chronological History of New York*, p. 105. On the 6th of November the Committee of defense made out a report to the Corporation giving a detailed account of the work accomplished. They made special mention of the valuable services of General Swift, who received the thanks of the city, with a request for his portrait. Goodrich says: "As a final close to the transaction, soon after, the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States remitted to the comptroller of the city, in full for the *one million of dollars* advanced during the war by the Corporation for the defense of this port, stock of the six per cents at the market value, \$1,100,009.87; which, after adding other claims, in all \$1,204,326.25, of the city to the principal loan, which the government did not immediately allow, still left a gain to the city treasury of about *one hundred and fifty thousand dollars*, in the advanced price of the stock afterwards. Several years subsequently the debt was fully liquidated."

² Prof. George Wyllys Benedict was descended from Thomas Benedict, mentioned in note, page 202, Vol. I.; his four sons all became men of eminence. 1. Charles Linnæus Benedict, LL.D., appointed by President Lincoln United States Judge of the Eastern District of New York, and who has been called upon to decide many interesting, novel, and important cases; 2. George Greenville Benedict, A. M., editor of the *Burlington Free Press*; 3. Robert Dewey Benedict, A. M., a prominent lawyer of New York City; 4. Benjamin Lincoln Benedict, A. M., well known as a journalist.

Monroe's scheme for a standing army of conscripts fell to the ground. Dallas made little progress in trying to establish a non-specie-paying government bank. The recruiting service came to a complete standstill as winter opened for want of funds. Every department of the government was behindhand in its payments. Tompkins sustained the garrison at New York by his own private credit, but it was an exceptional instance among the States. The treasury, to meet the pressure upon its resources, could only issue new treasury notes, reluctantly accepted by the most necessitous of the government creditors, and passing, in private transactions, at a discount of twenty-two per cent. New tax-bills were introduced into Congress, and opposed with angry vehemence; several passed into laws about the middle of December. The year was drawing to a close with nineteen millions of unpaid debts, and only about Dec. 15 four and one half millions of uncollected dues as a treasury balance. And to add to the darkness of the hour, the dreaded New England Convention of twenty-six wise and eminent men assembled at Hartford on the 16th, and proceeded to deliberate with closed doors. For Dec. 16 three weeks the curiosity and suspicion of the war-party centered about that little body. And when it finally adjourned, the seal of secrecy was not removed because of the possibility of being obliged to reassemble; thus the widest scope was given to conjecture as to its real designs, and it was made the target of all manner of bitter denunciations.

With the opening year the helpless and almost hopeless administration was without money or credit. The formidable armament of Admiral Cochrane was known to be on its way to New Orleans, a 1815. veteran army in Canada menaced an early invasion of New York in the spring, and, at latest accounts, Great Britain refused to treat for peace unless permitted to retain all American territory which might be held by British troops when the treaty was signed. Even the navy, which the accomplished officers who composed the germ of the service had demonstrated, from fact to fact, the ability of the American character to maintain with honor, was languishing for want of ships and means. Decatur was ordered to sea in the *President* as soon as the danger of an immediate attack upon New York City had subsided. He dashed past the blockaders at Sandy Hook on the dark night of January 14th, in the midst of a severe gale of wind and snow, but was chased by the Jan. 14. whole British squadron, and, after maintaining a running fight along the south shore of Long Island for nearly three hours, was obliged to surrender. The *Hornet*, Captain Biddle, having successfully run the blockade at New London to join Decatur's squadron, sailed unmolested from Sandy Hook at daybreak on the 22d, accompanied by the *Peacock* and

Tom Bowline, all under Decatur's command and in ignorance of the fate of the *President*. The *Constitution*, Captain Charles Stewart, cruising in the vicinity of Lisbon about a month later, fell in with two British ships of war, the *Cyane* and the *Levant*, and captured them after a sharp conflict of forty minutes. The *Wasp*, which had performed many gallant exploits during 1814, mysteriously disappeared, and all her people perished in some unknown way in the solitudes of the sea.

It was the gloomiest moment America had known since the beginning of the war. But suddenly a gleam of light illuminated the horizon. News, first from New Orleans, then from Ghent, created boundless exultation. The tone of the British government had changed as its troops were defeated in one place after another; and as its demands were relinquished, no further obstacles in the way of an accommodation remained. A treaty of peace was signed by the commissioners of the two nations on the 24th of December, 1814, and immediately transmitted to London. It was ratified on the 28th of the same month by the Prince Regent. The ship

Feb. 11. *Favorite* arrived in New York under a flag of truce February 11, bringing two messengers, one British, the other American, with the unexpected treaty. It was late Saturday evening. If the city had been struck by lightning, the news could not have spread with more rapidity than the word PEACE. People rushed into the streets in an ecstasy of delight. Cannon bellowed and thundered, bells of every description rang in one triumphant peal, bonfires were lighted at the corners of the streets, rows of candles were placed in the windows, flags were unfurled from steeples and domes, and night was literally turned into day. Strong men wept as they grasped each other by the hand in silent gratitude; others fell on their knees and offered touching prayers. Amid shouts and huzzas, expresses were sent out in every direction. No one stopped to inquire about the terms of the treaty. It was enough to know that peace was proclaimed. The Sabbath that followed was a day of thanksgiving. The churches were crowded, and every heart seemed melting. There was joy all over the land, and especially along the maritime frontier. Schools were given a holiday in every town as the news came; the whole people, quitting their employments, hastened to congratulate each other at the relief, not only from foreign war, but from the terrible impending cloud of internal and civil struggle.



CHAPTER XVII.

1815 - 1825.

PEACE AND PROSPERITY.

NEW YORK CITY AND HARBOR. — EFFECTS OF THE WAR. — GRAND BALL IN NEW YORK. — THE TREATY OF GHENT. — NAPOLEON'S RETURN FROM ELBA. — THE COMMERCIAL CONVENTION. — DIPLOMATIC AFFAIRS. — PHILANTHROPY. — IMPORTANCE OF NEW YORK IN HISTORY. — THE ERIE CANAL PROJECT. — DE WITT CLINTON. — THE CANAL MEETING. — CLINTON'S CELEBRATED MEMORIAL. — ACTION OF THE LEGISLATURE. — THE CANAL COMMISSIONERS. — IMPORTATIONS. — FINANCES. — SLAVERY. — THE NEW CANAL BILL OF 1817. — INCREDULITY. — OPPOSITION. — THE BATTLE OF THE BILL. — BREAKING GROUND. — CHARITIES. — THE DEAF AND DUMB ASYLUM. — SOCIETIES. — SABBATH SCHOOLS. — THE COMMON-SCHOOL SYSTEM. — EMIGRATION. — PAUPERISM IN THE CITY. — DESIGNING THE NATIONAL FLAG. — THE FIRST SAVINGS BANK. — THE YELLOW FEVER. — CHARLES MATTHEWS. — EDMUND KEAN. — INTERIOR OF THE PARK THEATER. — SOCIAL LIFE OF NEW YORK. — PRESIDENT MONROE. — THE GOUVERNEURS OF NEW YORK. — GREAT POLITICAL BLUNDER OF 1824. — RE-ELECTION OF GOVERNOR CLINTON. — LAFAYETTE'S ARRIVAL IN NEW YORK CITY. — BREAKING GROUND FOR THE OHIO CANAL. — LAFAYETTE'S TOUR THROUGH THE COUNTRY. — THE VAN CORTLANDT MANOR-HOUSE.

WITH the restoration of tranquillity the whole aspect of New York City was transformed as if by magic. Stores and warehouses long closed were freshly furbished and thrown open, newspapers were filled with advertisements, government stocks advanced, streets became clogged with vehicles once more, the hum of industry was heard on every side, and men with starving families found ready employment. The ship-yards were literally alive, and commerce plumed her white wings in preparation for flight to all quarters of the globe. The harbor was a peculiarly animated picture as the ice disappeared; and its beauty and its magnitude were appreciated as never before. “Neither Naples nor Constantinople unites the various advantages of sea and river communication for which New York is distinguished,” wrote an English annalist of the period; while another writer described the “capacious bay formed by the conflux of the two great rivers and surrounded by protecting headlands,” as sufficiently extensive to “float in perfect safety all the combined navies of the world.”

The population of New York City, according to the census taken in 1814, was a fraction over ninety-two thousand, inclusive of nearly one thousand negro slaves. The war had interrupted public improvements of every description, as well as the general business of the metropolis. But the city was still wealthy with the fruits of her wonderful progress since the Revolution, and her leading citizens had lost none of their broad intelligence, liberal views, and energetic activity. The talent, enterprise, and genius of all America poured in; and those who were fortunate enough to obtain a foothold, quickly imbibed the spirit of the New York people. Capital was not confined exclusively to business, nor to the city limits; it began, almost simultaneously with the marvelous leap of the city forward on her grand career of prosperity, to flow into works of internal improvement all over the country in never-ceasing streams.

The treaty of peace was ratified by the President on the 17th of February. The corporation of New York appointed the 19th as a day of prayer and thanksgiving to be observed by the various churches of the city — and the religious observances were of peculiar solemnity and interest. By order of the corporation, also, a grand illumination of the "City Hall and all inhabited dwellings" took place on the evening of the 22d, attended by a most brilliant and costly display of fireworks. As soon as preparations could be perfected, a "superb ball" was given in honor of the joyful peace. Washington Hall, in Broadway, contained a great dancing-room, sixty by eighty feet, which was arranged for this occasion to present the appearance of a magnificent pavilion or temple, with eighteen pillars, on each of which was the name of a State; it was styled the "Temple of Concord." At the end of the room, under a canopy of flags, and surrounded with orange and lemon trees filled with fruit, was the "Bower of Peace." The guests numbered six hundred, and the newspapers of the day pronounced the scene "a picture of feminine loveliness, beauty, fashion, and elegance not to be surpassed in America."¹

The glad tidings of peace was received in Canada with transports of delight; and there was great rejoicing in England. The treaty had not secured all that was desired. Neither country was exactly satisfied with the particular details of the agreement, but it guaranteed the positive and permanent independence of the United States, and the perpetuation

¹ Among the New York ladies present at this elegant entertainment were the managers of the Association for the Relief of the Soldiers in the Field, formed in 1814 — Mrs. General Lewis, Mrs. Marinus Willett, Mrs. William Few, Mrs. David Gelston, Mrs. Philip Livingston, Mrs. Colonel Laight, Mrs. Thomas Morris, Mrs. William Ross, Mrs. Nathan Sanford, Mrs. Daniel Smith, Mrs. Luther Bradish, Miss M. Bleecker, Miss H. Lewis, Miss H. E. G. Bradish.

and growth of free institutions. It was, moreover, an acknowledgment on the part of Great Britain of the existence of a formidable rival for the supremacy of the seas. Its first article provided for the termination of hostilities by land and by sea. The second related to the period after which the capture of prizes should be deemed invalid. By the third article all prisoners of war taken on either side were to be restored as soon as practicable after the ratifications of the treaty. By the fourth, the conflicting claims of the two nations in reference to islands in the bay of Passamaquoddy were referred to two commissioners who should be appointed, one from each government. The fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth articles, related to questions of boundary. By the ninth, it was agreed that both parties should put an end to hostilities with the Indians. The tenth related to the traffic in negro slaves, to promote the entire abolition of which both parties agreed to use their best endeavors. Singular as it may seem, no mention was made in the treaty of the causes which led to the quarrel. Great Britain quietly abandoned her encroachments upon American commerce, and the right of search and impressment was heard of no more.

The American diplomatists at Ghent gave a public dinner to the ministers from Great Britain prior to leaving the continent; the Intendant of Ghent, and numerous distinguished gentlemen were present. Everything indicated that the most perfect reconciliation had taken place between the two nations. Lord Gambier arose to give the first toast, "The United States of North America," but was prevented by the courtesy of John Quincy Adams, who gave, "His Majesty, the King of England" — upon which the music struck up "God save the King." Lord Gambier then gave as a second toast, "The United States, etc.," and the music played "Hail Columbia." A supplement to the treaty for the regulation of commercial intercourse was to be negotiated in London, and Gallatin and Clay proceeded at once to that city. Adams waited for his family, then on a long and perilous journey from St. Petersburg to Paris, and thereby witnessed the meteoric return of Napoleon from Elba, who, without firing a gun, drove Louis XVIII. from the throne^{March 20.} to which he had just been restored by the combined armies of the world. Ere long a commercial convention was signed, copied substantially from Jay's treaty, but with an additional proviso for absolute reciprocity in the direct trade, by the abolition on both sides of all discrimination. This convention was ratified by the President on the^{July 3} 22d of December, and has ever since formed the basis of com-^{Dec. 22.}merce and trade between the two countries.

Prior to the adjournment of Congress measures were taken for the

adjustment of national affairs in accordance with the new order of things. An appropriation was made for rebuilding the public edifices lately burned by the British in Washington. Systems of finance were discussed for the maintenance of the public credit and the extinction of the national debt — amounting to one hundred and twenty millions; and diplomatic relations were re-established with the nations of Europe. John Quincy Adams was appointed minister to the Court of St. James, and was regarded in England as a statesman of unsurpassed general information, with a critical knowledge of the politics of the world. Albert Gallatin, whose gifts in diplomacy had been of signal value when the scales were trembling in the balance, was sent to France — William Harris Crawford having asked permission to return; and James A. Bayard was appointed to succeed Adams at St. Petersburg, but was seized with an alarming illness and hastened home to die.

The devastating effects of the war were severely felt in New York. And yet the interruption to foreign trade had given birth to many branches of domestic manufacture. The people on the borders of the State were in serious distress, and appealed to the city for relief. It was only a few months since upwards of seven thousand dollars had been sent to the sufferers on the Niagara frontier alone, of which three thousand was voted by the corporation, three thousand raised by private subscription, and the balance contributed by the Episcopal churches. Steps were taken to meet the fresh demand, and philanthropists and philosophers consoled themselves, at first with the glaring ostentation of brilliant and heroic achievements — destined to reflect the highest luster upon the American name, and rank the United States among the first nations of the earth — and then in the study of their lasting significance.

It was impossible for the actors in the great struggle to foresee the prodigious consequences of their devotion to cause and country. But it is none the less apparent to the intelligence of the present generation. The war had not only settled the question of the right of the United States to remain at peace irrespective of quarrels between other nations — the principle upon which Washington started, on which the Jay treaty was founded, and which since the treaty of Ghent has been universally recognized by the most ruthless belligerents — but it enlarged immensely the boundaries of self-knowledge in America. The passage of troops through the western wilds opened to the national vision boundless resources of wealth. The enormous expense and trouble attending internal transportation of stores for the army, awakened public attention throughout the country to the necessity of an increase of traveling facilities.

New York, with as much territory as England, and promising to be-

come as important in the future history of the world as England has been in the past, was not slow in making ready to execute the greatest work of internal improvement the world had ever known. The Erie Canal project was reagitated on a less doubtful basis than before the war, even while jubilant cannon were waking the forest echoes. There had been nothing vague or unreal in the fatigue, tribulation, and cost of conveying war materials from Albany to the Lakes. In one instance the expense of moving cannon was double what the pieces cost. The breaking down of wagons, the wearing out of horses, the human discomfort, and the disastrous delays were strong arguments in favor of the enterprise. But it appeared impracticable. Many denounced it as wholly visionary. It was too vast in its conception for the common intellect. The national government declined to furnish any material aid. The idea of raising sufficient money in the State of New York alone was laughed at as the delusion of a fanatic. And it was supposed America had no engineers of sufficient scientific ability and experience to accomplish an undertaking of such magnitude.



De Witt Clinton.

De Witt Clinton's belief in the practicability of constructing a water highway from the Atlantic Ocean to the Lakes was like an inspiration. He was not the originator nor the projector of the Erie Canal. But when the crude scheme first took possession of his active brain, his judgment of its practical value, through his knowledge of the topography of the inte-

rior of the State, was instantaneous. He entered heart and soul into the enterprise from which he rightly predicted incalculable benefits were to flow, and gave to it shape and substance, life and animation; he became emphatically the master-spirit to carry it successfully forward. He was void of timidity, earnest even to asperity, prompt, energetic, and never disheartened by opposition, or hesitant where results depended upon the assumption of extraordinary responsibilities. He was arbitrary although kind-hearted, a safe counselor, a self-sacrificing friend, a discriminating judge, and generous to a fault, but one who never could forgive any political friend who interfered with his canal policy. As mayor of the city he was conspicuous for his faithful attention to its general prosperity. His genius found scope in planning important institutions, and in crowding forward the work of opening streets.

He was exceptionally dignified in personal appearance, tall, exceeding six feet in height, with a large, well-proportioned figure. His movements were deliberate, and in general society constrained, as if not perfectly at ease, which his opponents ascribed to arrogance and a sense of superiority. His head, finely shaped and admirably poised, was distinguished for the great height and breadth of his forehead; he had beautiful curly chestnut hair, clear hazel eyes, a Grecian nose, and complexion as fair as a woman's. His tastes were literary; he had collected a large library, and was perfectly familiar with the contents of every volume, from Homer, Virgil, and Dryden, down to the *Salmagundi* of his own generation. He was well-read in theology, and he was captivated by science. He was, indeed, a man so wedded to the pursuit of knowledge that the wonder is that he ever embarked upon the stormy sea of politics, unless it was through his perception of the need of power to give effect to his efforts for the recognition of religion, and the advancement of education, art, science, and morals. He lacked many of the requisites for a successful politician. His doctrines, objects, and public policy were open. He had no gifts for strategy, no disposition to drill men into mere machines or employ unusual weapons, ambushes, or surprises, to crush an adversary. The severer the scrutiny into his character, conduct, and career, the brighter becomes his fame. Even his bitterest foes never denied that his intellectual attainments were balanced with unsullied morals.

Late in the autumn of 1815 Judge Jonas Platt was in New York City holding court. Mayor Clinton had just returned from his country-seat on Long Island, and was residing in the Roosevelt house in Pearl Street. Judge Platt dined with him, and the canal subject formed the staple of conversation. Thomas Eddy a few days later invited the mayor and the judge to dinner; John Pintard was also a guest. It was

determined on this occasion to issue some one hundred cards of invitation to influential gentlemen of the city, to meet at the City Hotel in consultation concerning the much-desired canal. At the time appointed the assemblage gathered. William Bayard was chairman of the meeting, and John Pintard secretary; and, after addresses by Judge Platt, Mayor Clinton, and one or two others who objected to the proposed measure, a committee was chosen to prepare and circulate a memorial to the legislature in favor of the Erie Canal, consisting of Mayor Clinton, Thomas Eddy, Cadwallader D. Colden, and John Swartwout.

This celebrated production was from the pen of De Witt Clinton, and attracted general notice. Its style of expression, sagacious reasoning, and immense amount of condensed information concerning the State of New York, was particularly effective. It was read with avidity. It appealed directly to the interests of the city. The whole commercial intercourse of the western country north of the Ohio would be secured by the contemplated canal—more than sufficient to render New York the greatest commercial city in the world. Clinton wrote, “The whole line of canal will exhibit boats laden with flour, pork, beef, pot and pearl ashes, flax-seed, wheat, barley, corn, hemp, wool, flax, iron, lead, copper, salt, gypsum, coal, tar, fur, peltry, ginseng, beeswax, cheese, butter, lard, staves, lumber, and other valuable productions of our country; and, also, with merchandise from all parts of the world. Great manufacturing establishments will spring up; agriculture will establish its granaries, and commerce its warehouses in all directions. Villages, towns, and cities will line the banks of the canal and the shores of the Hudson.” The document comprehended accurate knowledge of the subject in every feature. It contained plans and estimates, and suggested how means could be procured. The money would not be all wanted at once; and stock could be created and sold at an advanced price. In Clinton’s opinion the augmented revenue from the public salt-works, together with the increased price of the State lands because of the undertaking, would more than extinguish the interest, at six per cent, of the debt thus contracted. Land had already been subscribed, and donations might be confidently anticipated, exceeding in value a million dollars.

Hitherto the New York mind had been flooded with an immense amount of loose material concerning the utility of inland navigation. But knowledge is not enlightenment. It required this able memorial to give definite direction to thought as well as action. Hundreds were converted from rank skepticism as to its practicability. Others were led to a more just conception of its propriety. While it was known that a collection of inland lakes in the heart of America exceeded in extent some of the

most celebrated seas in the Old World, multitudes saw for the first time, in the geographical view presented by Clinton, that the cost of transporting a barrel of flour to Albany from Cayuga Lake, for instance, was nearly double that of conveying it to Montreal by the way of Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence; and that merchandise from Montreal was selling on the New York borders full fifteen per cent below the New York prices. In concluding his masterly argument, Clinton said: "If the project of a canal was intended to advance the views of individuals, or to foment the divisions of party; if it promoted the interests of a few at the expense of the prosperity of the many; if its benefits were limited as to place, or fugitive as to duration; then, indeed, it might be received with cold indifference, or treated with stern neglect; but the overflowing blessings from this great fountain of public good and national abundance will be as extensive as our country, and as durable as time. It may be confidently asserted, that this canal, as to the extent of its route, as to the countries which it connects, and as to the consequences which it will produce, is without a parallel in the history of mankind. It remains for a free State to create a new era in history, and to erect a work more stupendous, more magnificent, and more beneficial than has hitherto been achieved by the human race."

Numerous prominent men of the city signed the memorial. Meetings were held in Albany, Utica, Buffalo, and many intermediate towns, and resolutions passed to support the gigantic undertaking so nobly heralded. On the other hand appalling difficulties arose in the fears of the prudent, who thought New York too young to commence single-handed a work of such magnitude, as well as in rival and hostile local interests, in the satire of the incredulous, and in political cabals. The legislature assembled in January. The memorial was soon presented. Intense feeling,

for and against, was awakened from the start. On the 21st,
March 21. Jacob Rutsen Van Rensselaer, one of the most accomplished and skillful legislators in the country, introduced a bill, which, notwithstanding the modifications to which it was subjected, was the germ of enactments that crowned the enterprise with success. He said New York was capable of sustaining as dense a population as any section of the globe, and if enabled to pour its productions and its wealth into its chief city, blessings of every kind would follow. He spoke like the guardian of the State, and with the forecast of a statesman; and his words carried weight, as he could have no private interests at stake. He represented a county

lying on a great navigable river, having direct intercourse with the
April 3. city of New York at a very cheap rate. The debate on the bill was opened with animation on the 3d of April, William Alexander Duer in the

chair, a grandson of Lord Stirling, and an active friend of the canal. Duer had acquired great influence, through his critical erudition, and to his superiority of intellect was added the charm of a graceful and imposing parliamentary manner. The fate of the bill hung for many days in the balance. Among those who courageously and vigorously espoused its cause was Peter Augustus Jay. On the 13th it passed the Assembly, with a variety of amendments, and with commissioners named — De Witt Clinton, Stephen Van Rensselaer, Henry Seymour, Samuel Young, Joseph Ellicott, William Bayard, Jacob Rutsen Van Rensselaer, George Huntington, Townsend McCoun, Melancthon Wheeler, Philip J. Schuyler, Myron Holley, John Nicholas, and Nathan Smith. It was taken up in the senate on the 16th, and on motion of Martin Van Buren amended by striking out all that went to authorize the beginning of the work. The names of nine of the commissioners were also stricken from the list. In this shape it became a law on the 17th, and twenty thousand dollars were appropriated for the necessary expenses of explorations and models.

The five commissioners retained were Stephen Van Rensselaer, De Witt Clinton, Samuel Young, Joseph Ellicott, and Myron Holley. They met in New York City in May, and organized with De Witt Clinton, president, Samuel Young, secretary, and Myron Holley, treasurer. They spent the summer in examining physical obstacles, in trying to conciliate public opinion, and in devising a system of finance to meet the vast expenditures which a canal would involve.

This year was rendered memorable among commercial men for the enormous importation of merchandise from Europe of every description. A new impulse was given to business. The financial condition of the country was improving under the influence of a national bank — which Secretary Dallas had at last succeeded in establishing. His plan, modeled after Hamilton's, except in a few particulars, was carried into effect on the 10th of April, 1816. During the same month James Monroe received the nomination for President, and Governor Tompkins of New York for Vice-President of the United States.

Before the canal commissioners reported the results of their investigations to the legislature, in the winter of 1817, the Presidential election had taken place. Thus the office of governor of New York would be vacant on the 4th of March. Measures were in agitation to place De Witt Clinton in the gubernatorial chair, which awoke all the slumbering animosities and prejudices of a decade. The contest was no longer between the great national parties. The Erie Canal was the spinal column of New York politics.

The month of April, 1817, opened with preparations for an obstinate struggle. The Fortieth session of the New York Legislature had already distinguished itself by adopting the immortal recommendation of Governor Tompkins in January—that slavery should cease forever in the State of New York on the 4th of July, 1827. This great measure in behalf of human rights was due chiefly to the exertions of Peter A. Jay and William Jay, sons of the chief justice, Cadwallader D. Colden, and other distinguished philanthropists of the city of New York, several of whom belonged to the Society of Friends. The new canal bill, shaped by De

April 1. Witt Clinton, and embracing a careful estimate of the cost of the proposed work, occupied attention in the Assembly from the 1st to the 10th of April, when it passed by a very small majority. During the debate Stephen Van Rensselaer sent in a proposition for undertaking the whole Erie Canal himself, so confident was he of the vast profits and advantages in prospect. Judge Nathaniel Pendleton, who had been supposed hostile to the bill, came out strongly in its favor on the 8th. He was a perfect gentleman of the old school, conscientious and high-minded, and it was only after patient study of the surveys and calculations that his sober judgment helped to turn the scale. He made an important speech on the subject, provoked by the determined opposition of Judge James Emott, whose talents were of the first order, and in whose opinion New York should not embark in the enterprise for a long time to come—a man able to cool ardor most effectually with an appalling table of figures. William B. Rochester, a young member of great promise, made his first parliamentary efforts in a succession of brilliant speeches. Wheeler Barnes and John I. Ostrander were both conspicuous for eloquence and force of argument in favor of the canal. But several delegations had come armed with the most formidable weapons of antagonism. On the 9th William A. Duer recommenced the debate in his ablest manner. He said he should sustain the cause and persevere to the end. His words did not seem greatly to affect his hearers. At this critical moment Elisha Williams came to the rescue. He was one of the strong men of his time, polished and commanding as a public speaker, and as remarkable for versatility as for elegance of diction. He sustained Duer manfully, defended the bill section by section, answered all the questions of its leading opponents, tore the mask from those pretended friends who were secretly aiming at the destruction of the bill—a torrent of invective flowing in one continuous stream from his lips like burning lava—and by happy strokes of humor extinguished petty objections, thickly interspersed by legislators without the mind to conceive or judgment to appreciate great enterprises for the public good. He turned towards the delegation from

New York City, who, unlike their predecessors of 1816, were, almost to a man, hostile to the canal, and drew an animated picture of the future grandeur of the metropolis when the great channels of inland navigation should be completed, exclaiming with magnetic warmth, "If the canal is to be a shower of gold, it will fall upon New York City; if a river of gold, it will flow into her lap."

Thus far the battle was won. The bill went to the senate, where, on motion of George Tibbitts, it was made the special order for the following day. On the 12th and on the 14th it was discussed ^{April 10.} with spirit. The opponents, among whom were Walter Bowne, Peter R. Livingston, Lucas Elmendorf, Isaac Ogden, and Moses Cantine, spoke successively against any precipitate measures. George Tibbitts made a sound and judicious speech, followed by Martin Van Buren in favor of the bill. This last was the great argument of the session. Van Buren was known to be adroitly working to defeat Clinton's election as governor, on the ground that he had a secret understanding with the Federalists, and such a masterly effort in favor of Clinton's project surprised many. Van Buren said the canal was to promote the interest and character of the State in a thousand ways; he should vote for it, and should consider it the most important vote he ever gave in his life. When he resumed his seat, Clinton, who had been an attentive listener in the Senate Chamber, breaking through the extreme reserve created by political collisions, approached and congratulated him in the most flattering terms.

The bill passed the Senate on the 15th, but it was subjected to another severe ordeal in the council of revision, of which Lieutenant-governor Tayler was president, one of the most distinguished as well as formidable opponents of the measure. Chancellor James Kent, Chief Justice Smith Thompson, Judge Jonas Platt, and Judge Joseph C. Yates — afterwards governor of the State — were present. Platt and Yates ^{April 15.} were decidedly in the affirmative. The chancellor said it seemed like a gigantic project which would require the wealth of the United States to accomplish, and he thought it inexpedient to commit the State until public opinion could be better united. The chief justice said the bill gave arbitrary powers to the commissioners over private rights without sufficient provisos and guards; he was, therefore, opposed. The crisis was alarming. Tayler held the casting vote. Near the close of the discussion Vice-President Tompkins entered the council-chamber, and took his seat familiarly; he expressed a decided opinion against the bill, remarking that the late peace with Great Britain was a mere truce, and that the credit and resources of the State ought to be employed in preparing for war. "Do you think so?" asked Chancellor Kent. "Yes,"

was the reply, "England will never forgive us for our victories ; and, my word for it, we shall have another war within two years." The chancellor sprang to his feet, and with great animation declared : "Then if we must have war or have a canal, I am in favor of the canal, and I vote for this bill." His voice gave the majority, and the bill became a law.¹

The first meeting of the commissioners was held in Utica on the 3d of June to receive proposals and make contracts. It was determined June 3. to break ground in the vicinity of Rome, and an arrangement was made for appropriate ceremonies. The 4th of July was the day chosen. At sunrise the commissioners and a large concourse of citizens assembled at the place appointed. In behalf of the community of 1817. the region a few pertinent remarks were made by Hon. Joshua Hathaway, who presented the spade to De Witt Clinton, president of the commissioners, and also governor of the State — having been duly July 4. elected in April despite all efforts to the contrary. Clinton placed it in the hands of Judge James Richardson, the first contractor engaged in the work. Samuel Young then made a short address, in which he said with striking emphasis, "By this great highway unborn millions will transport their surplus productions to the shores of the Atlantic, and hold a useful and profitable intercourse with all the maritime nations of the earth. Let us proceed to the work animated by the prospect of its speedy accomplishment, and cheered with the anticipated benedictions of a grateful posterity" ; after which the spade was thrust into the earth by Richardson, citizens and laborers, ambitious of the honor, following his example amid the firing of cannon and the acclamations of thousands of spectators.

Though the beginning was thus auspicious, the canal in its progress met with obstacles of every kind and character. To expect to accomplish such a work without other means than what New York could provide seemed to the mass of the people like a prodigious dream. The venerable Jefferson, a zealous advocate of internal improvements, said it had been undertaken a century too soon. Madison thought its cost would exceed the whole resources of the nation. Rufus King declined to sanction a project involving the ruin and bankruptcy of the State. Sensible and sagacious men all over the country questioned the soundness of Clinton's views. Appropriations from year to year were obtained from the legislature with the utmost difficulty, and Clinton's repeated assurances that the resources of the State were ample to meet the whole expenditure were ridiculed as the vagaries of a monomaniac. It seemed many times as if between the madness of politicians and the skepticism of the public

¹ Letter from Judge Jonas Platt to Dr. Hosack.

the enterprise would be effectually crippled. No man in the development of a grand idea for the common good was more abused than Clinton. His inflexible perseverance was quoted in derision, the canal was styled "a big ditch," in which, it was said, "would be buried the treasure of the State, to be watered by the tears of posterity." His powerful speeches were garbled by writers of every grade, and his eloquence over the "national glory connected with the enterprise" was turned into shafts of wit and satire to be used as weapons for his overthrow. He was hissed on one occasion while addressing a crowd in the Park, from the steps of the New York City Hall, for predicting that the city would within a century stretch continuously to the shore of the Harlem River!

"Don't thee think friend Clinton has a bee in his bonnet?" asked a worthy Quaker of the gentleman who stood next him.

Persistent opposition to Clinton's administration soon developed itself, giving origin to the formation of two new and distinctly marked parties, known as the Bucktails and the Clintonians. It was after a long and fierce struggle between the Bucktails on the one side and the Clintonians and Federalists on the other, that a new State constitution was framed and adopted in the autumn of 1821. Clinton was four times elected governor; he occupied the position nine years, the whole period, indeed, from the date of his first election until his death in 1828, with the exception of one term, 1822-1824, when Joseph C. Yates was the successful candidate. The five canal commissioners continued in office, as named in the act of 1816. Vacancies were to be filled by the legislature, as in the national senate. In 1819 Ellicott resigned, and Henry Seymour was appointed in his stead, holding the office some twelve years.¹ In 1821 William C. Bouck, afterwards governor of the State, was appointed an additional commissioner.² Under authority conferred by the act of 1817, the Supreme Court of New York appointed Richard Varick, William Walton Woolsey, Nathaniel W. Howell, Obadiah German, and Elisha Jenkins to appraise the property of the former canal company, about to be purchased.

¹ Henry Seymour, born May 30, 1780, was the son of Major Moses Seymour of Litchfield, Connecticut, who participated in the capture of Burgoyne, and was one of the officers present at the memorable dinner to which Burgoyne was invited on the day following the capitulation. His wife was Molly, daughter of Colonel Ebenezer Marsh. They had one daughter, who married her cousin, Rev. Truman Marsh, and five sons, of whom one settled in Vermont, and was United States Senator for a dozen years, another became distinguished as a financier and bank president, two were high sheriffs of the county, and Henry, the canal commissioner, settled early in Onondaga County, New York, where he became a wealthy landholder, and subsequently mayor of Utica. He was a gentleman of the old school, highly cultivated by study, and of polished manners.

² By an act of the legislature, May 6, 1844, the number of canal commissioners was reduced to four, and they were made elective every four years. By the constitution of 1846 three commissioners were to be elected, on a term of three years, so classified that one would be elected every year.

Notwithstanding the political clamor against Clinton, it must by no means be supposed that the cultivated intelligence of New York City was insensible to the greatness of the man who for ten years had not only performed the duties of mayor with scrupulous fidelity, but had been the liberal patron of every important scheme of learning and benevolence. It was the period for founding and testing the value of institutions. Clinton, by the force of circumstances not less than his own commanding power, stood like a giant ready to solve grave problems and push into successful operation all manner of worthy enterprises. Whatever charity or society was in contemplation, his favor was considered of the first moment. He was identified with the growth of the city in a greater variety of directions than any other individual of his time; and his services were known and generously appreciated.

He was one of the founders, in connection with Dr. Hosack, Dr. Mitchell, Dr. Macneven, Dr. John W. Francis, and John Griscom, of the Literary and Philosophical Society, and was chosen its first president when it was incorporated in 1814. He was elected president of the New

1817. York Historical Society a few months prior to his election as governor of the State — succeeding Gouverneur Morris, deceased, who had been president of this renowned institution about a year. Dr. Hosack was then its corresponding secretary; and the accomplished Dr. Francis, just returned from Europe where he had enjoyed the instruction, society, and in several instances the warm friendship of the prominent scientific men of the Old World, was its librarian. Clinton had ever been an active friend to the New York Hospital, and was chiefly instrumental in the passage of the act, in 1816, establishing the Bloomingdale Asylum for the Insane, which, located in the midst of forty well-cultivated acres, was first opened for the reception of patients in 1821.

Nor was he less influential in the establishment of the Deaf and Dumb Asylum, incorporated by the legislature, April 15, 1817, the same day that Mr. Gallaudet's school was opened in Hartford. Up to that time not a single institution of the kind had existed in America, and only about twenty-five in Europe. Clinton was the first president of the board of directors, and Richard Varick and John Ferguson were vice-presidents. For some years the school was kept in a public building; Dr. Samuel Akerly was from 1821 to 1831 superintendent, secretary, and physician, and was succeeded by Dr. Harvey P. Peet. The corporation at length donated the site for an edifice in Fiftieth Street (now occupied by Columbia College) and the corner-stone was laid in 1829. The institution was driven by the increase of population to its present beautiful site on Washington Heights in 1856, and buildings and grounds were provided at a cost of half a million of dollars.

The American Bible Society, formed at New York in 1816, received substantial encouragement from Clinton; Elias Boudinot, the venerable philanthropist who had long devoted himself to the study of biblical literature, and donated ten thousand dollars to the cause, was its first president. Some two years later was founded the ^{1818.} Presbyterian Education Society, to aid impecunious young men in studying for the ministry, of which Boudinot was also president until his death in 1821; of this institution Clinton was vice-president from the beginning, and president during the later years of his life. When Mrs. Divie Bethune agitated the subject of Sabbath schools in New York City in 1812, many excellent people expressed doubts as to the propriety of devoting any portion of the Sabbath to such purposes, and she went to Clinton for his opinion, who was at once interested and advised her to make the experiment quietly. She did so, opening a little school on Sunday afternoons in the vicinity of her city residence, and another in the basement of her country-seat at Greenwich. The war, however, brought such distress to



The Deaf and Dumb Asylum.
W. J. H. H. H.

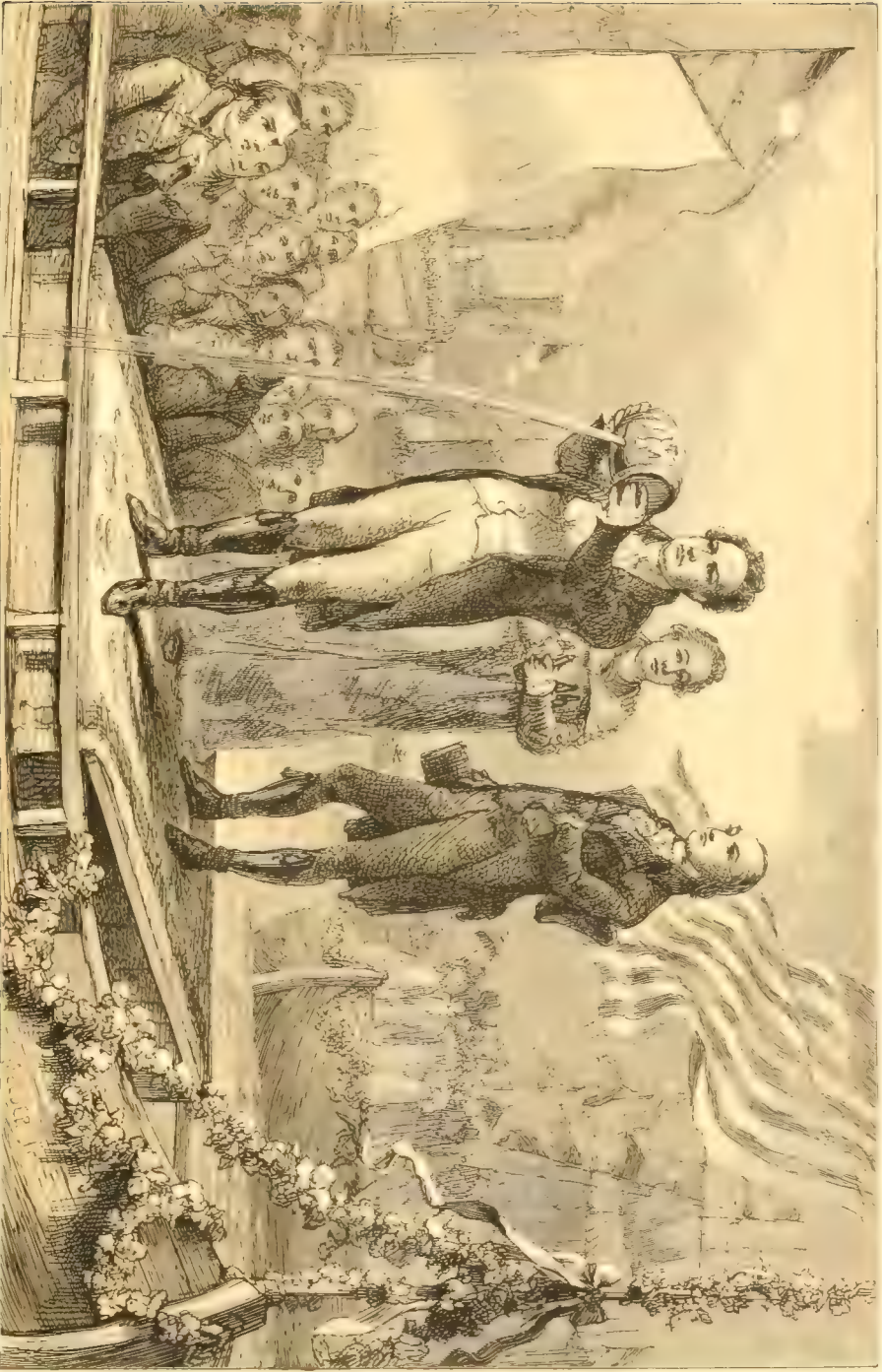
the poor, that Mrs. Bethune's energies were absorbed in a society organized by a few charitable ladies to provide employment for helpless women whose husbands were in the army. A wooden building was rented, and some five or six hundred families thus sustained until the return of peace. In 1816 Mrs. Bethune called a meeting of ladies in the Wall Street Church to organize a Sabbath School Society, which established schools and conducted them successfully until absorbed by the New York branch of the American Sunday School Union, in 1827. Clinton, who loved education as a science as well as a charity, facilitated this work in innumerable ways; and when it ceased he suggested to Mrs. Bethune that many children of laboring parents, too young for common schools, needed

fostering instruction — which resulted, through her efforts, in the Infant School Society, organized in May, 1827. Clinton, in his last message to the legislature, mentioned this charity as one deserving “the most liberal benefactions from individuals, and the most ample endowments from the public.” Meanwhile the common-school system of New York, which his far-seeing statesmanship had instituted, was growing into magnificent proportions. The fifth annual report, transmitted to the legislature^{1818.} in March by the superintendent, Gideon Hawley, informed the public that five thousand schools were in successful operation in the State, in which more than two hundred thousand children were annually taught during an average period of from four to six months.

The scholarly Cadwallader D. Colden was appointed mayor in 1818.¹ He, like Clinton, was industriously active in the interests of humanity, and viewed men and things from a philosophical standpoint. One of his earliest duties was to aid in the establishment of the Society for the Prevention of Pauperism. Emigration was pouring into New York shiploads of the lowest and most ignorant classes in Europe, who found shelter as best they could in sheds, cellars, or rookeries of any description, and, choosing rather to steal than beg, were scarcely less dangerous to society than so many wild animals. The patience and the pockets of the citizens were severely taxed. Colden stated in November, 1819, that during the preceding twenty months eighteen thousand nine hundred and thirty foreign emigrants had arrived in the city and been reported at his office.

Meanwhile national affairs were in a promising condition. Monroe was prudent, and his administration was harmonious and prosperous. The fierce strife of parties ceased through his tranquillizing influence. He made a tour inspecting the frontier defenses of the country from Portland to Detroit in the first summer of his rule. Mrs. Monroe was Eliza, daughter of Lawrence Kortwright, of New York, whom Monroe met, courted, and married during the gay winter following Washington's first inauguration; she had been one of the belles of the city during the Revolution, and was ridiculed for having rejected so many dashing adorers and chosen a plain member of Congress. The chief events of Monroe's first term of office were the admission of Mississippi, Illinois, and Alabama into the Union, and the important cession of Florida by Spain, in 1819, completing the work of annexation commenced in the purchase of Louisiana. Indiana was admitted into the Union in 1816. The Hon.

¹ John Ferguson was appointed mayor of New York in 1815, but resigned, and Jacob Radcliff succeeded to the office. Richard Riker was appointed recorder in 1815, succeeding Josiah Oden Hoffman, and filled the office until the appointment of Peter Augustus Jay in 1819.



Three men on the deck of a ship, one holding a telescope, with a crowd of people in the background.

Peter H. Wendover of New York called attention to the flag of the United States, which did not represent all the States, and offered a motion for its alteration. While the question was pending Wendover called upon Captain Samuel C. Reid, the hero of Fayal, who happened to be in Washington, and requested him to design something which would represent the increase of the States without destroying the distinctive character of the flag. As originally instituted by Congress, June 14, 1777, the flag bore thirteen stars and thirteen stripes. When new States came in, the number of stars and stripes were to be correspondingly increased, pursuant to an act of Congress passed in 1794. But with the addition of new stars and stripes, the width of the stripes must necessarily be lessened.

Thus it was losing its historical significance. To return to the ^{1818.} original device would be inappropriate, because the flag would then give no hint of the growth of the republic. Captain Reid soon hit upon the happy medium, by which the glory of the past could be combined with the progress of the present—the thirteen stripes retained as a memento of the original Union, alternate red and white, and a new star, white on a blue field, added whenever a new State was admitted, to indicate the growth of the nation. The design was unique, beautiful, and satisfactory. Wendover accepted Reid's idea, and succeeded in obtaining its adoption by Congress. On the 26th of March, Wendover wrote to Reid: "Please inform me as soon as convenient what a flag (of the size of the one floating over the Capitol at Washington) would cost in New York, made for the purpose, with thirteen stripes and twenty stars, forming one great luminary, as per pasteboard plan you handed me?"

The bill providing for the alteration of the flag from and after the 4th of July, 1818, became a law on the 4th of April.

Captain Reid purchased the materials, and Mrs. Reid made the flag in the drawing-room of her house in New York City, 27 Cherry Street, near Franklin Square, assisted by a number of young ladies, whose names were worked upon the flag. It was immediately forwarded to Wendover, who wrote to Reid on the 13th of April: "I have just time to inform you that the new flag arrived here per mail this day, and was hoisted to replace the old one at two o'clock, and has given much satisfaction to all who have seen it, as far as I have heard. I am pleased with its form and proportions, and have no doubt it will satisfy the public mind. Mr. Clay [then Speaker of the House] says it is wrong that there should be no charge in your bill for making the flag. If pay for that will be acceptable, on being informed I will procure it. Do not understand me as intending to wound Mrs. Reid, or others who may have given aid, and please present my thanks to her and them, and accept the same for yourself."

Through the long-continued efforts of Thomas Eddy and John Pintard, the first Savings Bank in New York went into operation in July, 1819.

The subject had been in agitation from time to time since 1803. **1819.** A meeting was called in the autumn of 1816 at the City Hotel, and a constitution adopted with twenty-eight directors chosen — the list headed by De Witt Clinton and ending with John Pintard; but so many projects of benevolence were before the public that there was delay in raising the necessary capital. William Bayard was its first president; John Pintard was chosen president in 1828, and filled the office until the year 1842.

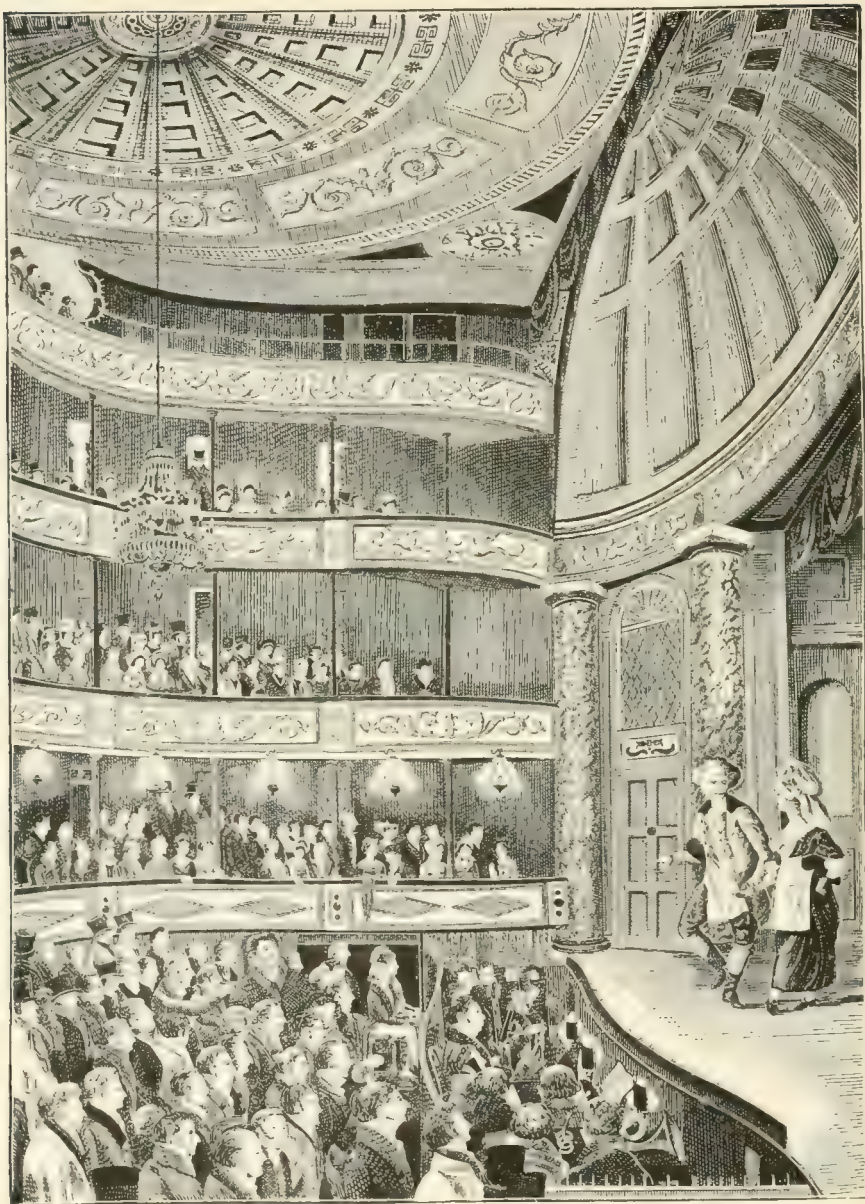
The yellow fever appeared in the city in 1819, creating universal alarm; but it disappeared without having raged with as much fury as on several former occasions. In the summer of 1822 it broke out in Rector Street, a part of the city hitherto esteemed secure from its ravages. The **1822.** first case occurred on the 17th of June. By the middle of July it was spreading with fearful rapidity. Business was entirely suspended in August and a part of September, and the only sounds to break the terrible stillness were the rumbling of hearses and the footsteps of nurses and physicians. High board-fences shut off each infected street or district below City Hall. "It has utterly desolated the lower portions of the city," wrote Robert M. Hartley under date of September 1, 1822, to his father. "Thousands have left, and other thousands, panic-stricken, are daily leaving. Stores and dwellings are closed and deserted. The custom-house, post-office, all the banks, insurance offices, and other public places of business have been removed to the upper part of Broadway and to Greenwich village, the region round about being mostly occupied by merchants in buildings temporarily erected for their convenience. Such a motley scene as is exhibited defies description. There are carts, cartmen, carpenters, carriages, dust, and dry goods — to the end of the alphabet." There was no relief until November.

While the pestilence was at its height a ship entered the harbor upon which Charles Matthews was a passenger from Europe. Hearing that **Sept.** one hundred and forty deaths had occurred in the city that very day, he was in great consternation, and unwilling to land. Stephen Price and Edmund Simpson were the managers of the Park Theater; the latter at once addressed a note to Dr. Francis, asking him to visit Matthews for the purpose of calming his excitement. Repairing to the vessel, they found Matthews walking the deck, tottering, and in extremest agitation. He said he felt the pestilential air, every cloud was surcharged with mortality, every wave in its tossing imparted poison. He insisted upon finding shelter in some remote spot. Hoboken was suggested, and

thither he proceeded, attended by Simpson and Dr. Francis. They found a gardener's cottage some two miles from the Jersey shore on the road to Hackensack, and the great comedian spent the entire night pacing his diminutive apartment, overwhelmed with terror and despair. The situation became tolerable after a few days, and he turned for useful diversion to the poultry-yard and the pastures, practising among their inhabitants the art of mimicry for which he was renowned. His age was about forty, his figure was tall and thin, one leg was shorter than the other, and his features were extremely irregular from the effects of an injury in being thrown from a gig, but vivified with intelligence. He was a remarkable specimen of what early training and protracted and intense study may accomplish. And yet he was a dyspeptic and morbidly nervous, never paying any attention to physical improvement in his incessant strife for intellectual progress. He was always complaining and never well.

The sensation created by Edmund Kean, on his first visit to New York, had hardly died away when Matthews came. Kean arrived in 1820 and departed June 4, 1821. He was thirty-three, small of stature, but graceful, and when under the influence of passion effective and even grand. His little, well-wrought, strong frame seemed capable of any amount of endurance; he was an admirable fencer, a finished gentleman, a most insidious lover, and a terrific tragedian. His face was expressive, his eye brilliant, his action free, and his voice flexible and strong. He was, like Matthews, a close student, and a master of mimic power. Both secured the glories of success. But Kean was irregular in life, capricious in temper, and eccentric in habit, while Matthews was the apostle of temperance and circumspection. Kean mixed with all sorts of people, and when attacked by the press, ordered the papers carried from his presence with a pair of tongs. Matthews was fond of literary characters, was acquainted with Sir Walter Scott, moved in a social circle among the most eminent authors and actors, and was singularly gifted with worldly prudence.

The Old Park Theater was burned on the morning of the 25th of May, 1820, and such was the rapidity of the conflagration that not an article of wardrobe or scenery was saved. A new edifice arose upon its site, eighty feet wide by one hundred and sixty-five feet deep, running through to Theater Alley, where a large wing was attached containing the green-room and dressing-rooms. The audience entered by seven arched doorways, all opening outward. The interior was fashioned to seat twenty-five hundred persons. It had three circles of boxes, forty-two in all, two side tiers, a spacious gallery, and a pleasant pit. It was first opened in September, 1821, and the builders, John Jacob Astor and John K. Beekman,



Interior of Park Theater, November 7, 1822.

[Charles Matthews and Miss Ellen A. Johnson in the farce of "Monsieur Tension."]

were greatly applauded for their public spirit and good taste. It was closed until late in the autumn of 1822, on account of the prevalence of the yellow fever; but with the coming of the frosts, and the general

return of the citizens to their homes, it became the scene of the introduction of Matthews to a New York audience. The *Commercial Advertiser* of November 8, 1822, says: "We last night paid our dollar to witness this gentleman's far-famed exhibitions, and confess that we do not regret the time or the money spent. The house was so crowded that it was with great difficulty we could procure a seat, and amidst so large an audience we could not discover even a whisper of disapprobation. Mr. Matthews played Goldfinch in the 'Road to Ruin.' The popular farce of 'Monsieur Tonson' was performed for the first time, and Mr. Matthews supported the principal character with great éclat. His comic songs and imitations were the best we ever heard; and in consequence of his *variations*, on being encored, the audience seemed disposed to sit all night and enjoy this species of entertainment."

The original water-color painting from which the accompanying illustration has been copied is of exceptional historic interest, because of its approved portraiture.¹ The wife of Governor De Witt Clinton occupies the box in the first tier, nearest the stage. In the third box, beyond, are seated the Mayor and Mrs. Cadwallader D. Colden, daughter of Bishop Provost, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Lenox, Mr. Kennedy, Miss Wilkes, and John K. Beekman. In the boxes between the two are said to be recognized Mrs. Daniel Webster, Mrs. Ogden, Dr. and Mrs. Mitchill, Mrs. Major Fairlie, Dr. Hosack, Jacob H. Le Roy, William Bayard, James Watson, Dr. McLane, and Mrs. Newbold; while Henry Brevoort, James Kirke Paulding, James W. Gerard, Henry Carey, and Swift Livingston are seated just beyond. One of the second tier of boxes is occupied by Judge and Mrs. Nathaniel Pendleton and Judge and Mrs. Samuel Jones.

¹ The history of the water-color painting, now in possession of the New York Historical Society, is scarcely less interesting than the picture itself. The original drawing was made for William Bayard by John Searle, a clever amateur artist, and the picture when completed was hung upon the wall of Mr. Bayard's country residence. Some years since Thomas W. Channing Moore became much interested in it while visiting Mr. Bayard, and with the instinct of a genuine antiquarian resolved that such a treasure should not be entirely lost to New York. He accordingly obtained permission to bring it to the city for the purpose of showing it to Mr. Elias Dexter. Six of the gentlemen whose portraits appear in the painting were then living — Francis Barretto, Robert G. L. De Peyster, Gouverneur S. Bibby, William Bayard, Jr., William Maxwell, and James W. Gerard — and were invited to an interview for its examination. Mr. Barretto and Mr. Bibby remembered and were able to recognize nearly every person represented upon the canvas. All the gentlemen pronounced the portraits striking; and many reminiscences were related in connection with those supposed to be present on that memorable evening when Matthews first appeared in the farce of *Monsieur Tonson*. A key was made to the painting, and it was photographed by Dexter; it was then returned to its owner. Upon the death of Mr. Bayard it descended to his daughter, Mrs. Harriet Bayard Van Rensselaer, and was subsequently presented by her heirs to the

The social life of New York at this period was invested with a peculiar charm. Wealth and refinement, money-making and good-breeding, were blended as never before. The flavor of courts clung to the numerous representatives of the old colonial aristocracy, who still formed the metal in the cup. But intellectual achievement was held in severe respect, and benevolence was the fashion of the day. The man of means was measured according to his intelligent promotion of art, science, literature, religion, and internal improvements. Pride of family existed, as was natural in such a community, but a birthright commanded little consideration unless divested of all suspicion of ignorance and vulgarity. The tone of society was elevated without being pretentious. Progress was the all-absorbing idea. The development of the industries, schemes of charity, and the education of the laboring classes were drawing-room topics. A fund had been appropriated by the State, in 1820, for the support of common schools, amounting to a million and a half of dollars. Enormous sums were expended yearly in the city from private sources. Beauty and fashion were none the less admired; amusements were patronized, and the higher obligations of polite life scrupulously fulfilled. Intercourse with the leading men and women of both the New England and Southern States secured to New York greater catholicity of spirit than elsewhere; and the shining lights of foreign statesmanship, diplomacy, and letters, who were from time to time visitors or dwellers in the city, influenced more or less the public taste.

President Monroe was much in New York during his eight years' administration. Mrs. Monroe was not only a New-Yorker herself, but was nearly related to several of the prominent families; her sister married Nicholas Gouverneur, of the great commercial house doing business with

New York Historical Society. The key furnishes the names, in addition to those already mentioned, of Herman Le Roy, William Le Roy, Alexander Hosack, Stephen Price, Edward Price, Captain J. Richardson, Mrs. Eliza Talbot, Robert Dyson, Herman Le Roy, Jr., D. P. Campbell, Mrs. Clinton, Maltby Geltson, and Mr. Charaud, in the first and second tier of boxes; and in the pit, Nicholas C. Rutgers, Dr. John W. Francis, Walter Livingston, Henry W. Cruger, Dr. John Watts, Pierre C. Van Wyck, Edmund Wilkes, Hamilton Wilkes, John Searle, the artist, Thomas F. Livingston, Dr. John Neilson, Thomas Bibby, the ancestor of the Bibby family in New York, whose descendants now represent the Van Cortlandts of Yonkers, Gouverneur S. Bibby, Robert G. L. De Peyster, Hugh Maxwell, William Maxwell, James Seaton, Andrew Drew, William Wilkes, Charles Farquhar, John Berry, Robert Gillespie, Mordecai M. Noah, William Bell, John Lang, editor of the *New York Gazette*, James McKay, James Alport, James Farquhar, Thomas W. Moore, Francis Barretto, Joseph Fowler, John J. Boyd, William H. Robinson, and Robert Watts. The last named, sitting in the immediate foreground, close by the orchestra, may be recognized by his light coat. He was the one mentioned on page 650 as the handsomest man in New York. Many of the gentlemen wore their hats for protection against the draughts of cold wind sweeping through the house.

all parts of the world — descended from the Gouverneurs so familiar to the reader in the first volume of this work;¹ and their son, Samuel L. Gouverneur, the New York postmaster for nine years, married Maria, the youngest daughter of President and Mrs. Monroe, the ceremony being performed at the White House. Mrs. Gouverneur was a beautiful bride, and very warmly received in New York society. She dispensed hospitalities at her elegant home in the metropolis with as much ease and dignity as her accomplished mother at the capital. Mrs. Monroe will be remembered as the mistress of the Executive Mansion who carried into execution the custom of never returning calls, which nearly produced a social revolution. The question of propriety as to indiscriminate visiting on the part of the wife of the President was hotly debated, and involved diplomatic and State correspondence. Mrs. Monroe remained firm. The difficulty was finally adjusted by John Quincy Adams, who drew up the formula which has since regulated the etiquette of the social superstructure at the capital. Mrs. Monroe was extremely exacting in the matter of appropriate dress to be worn at her receptions. On one occasion the President refused admission to a near relative who was not prepared with a suit of small-clothes and silk hose. Nearly ten years of Mrs. Monroe's life had been spent at the European capitals, while accompanying her husband on his various missions to foreign courts, and her daughters were at school in France. The elder, Eliza, who married Judge George Hay, was in the same class and on terms of intimacy with Hortense Eugénie Beauharnais, afterwards Queen of Holland.

Monroe had been re-elected President with but one dissenting vote, that of New Hampshire — given to John Quincy Adams. Tompkins was again Vice-President, and chairman of the Senate, in which Rufus King and Martin Van Buren represented New York. The chief controversy that marked Monroe's first term concerned negro slavery. The question

¹ See Vol. I. 388, 440. The Gouverneurs have been ranked among the best families of New York for nearly two centuries; few names are better known than those of Gouverneur Morris, Gouverneur Kemble, Gouverneur Ogden, and Gouverneur Kortwright. Isaac Gouverneur, son of Nicholas and Eliza Kortwright Gouverneur, was killed in a duel with William H. Maxwell, brother of Hugh Maxwell. His brother, Samuel L. Gouverneur, married Maria, daughter of President Monroe. Their son, Samuel Lawrence Gouverneur, born in New York City, 1828, recently died in Washington; he served in the Mexican War with distinction, and was for some years United States consul at Foo-Choo, China; his wife was Marion, daughter of Judge Campbell, surrogate of New York City for many years. Lawrence Kortwright, the father of Mrs. Monroe, was the son of Cornelius Kortwright, an old merchant of New York in the time of Governor Cosby, who married Miss Aspinwall. The Kortwright family intermarried with the Verplancks, the Tillotsons, the Lawrences, the Livingstons, and other eminent families. The town of Kortwright was named for Lawrence Kortwright, where he had purchased large tracts of land intending to found a manor.

arose in connection with a petition for the admission of Missouri into the Union. A bill, with an amendment prohibiting slavery in the new State, was defeated. After much discussion a compromise was effected, by which the subject was dismissed for the time; and Missouri took her place among the sovereign States.

Meanwhile the progress of the Erie Canal was a distinguished success. It stimulated the ambition of the whole country. Enterprises of internal improvement — of lesser magnitude — were taking shape in many directions. The fame of De Witt Clinton had gone to the ends of the earth. The completion of each section of the great work was attended with public ceremonials. Thousands of people made long journeys to see the deep cutting through mountain ridges, the wonderful embankments and aqueducts, and the combined locks. Clinton's "big ditch" was the curiosity of the age.

The ancient enemies of Clinton appear to have taken alarm at his increasing notoriety. Having been displaced from the governorship in 1822 by the election of Joseph C. Yates, he was no longer in the political field.

Nor was he a candidate for any office. He was simply attending
1824. to his duties as president of the board of canal commissioners, and devoting toilsome days and sleepless nights to the practical realization of his stupendous views. He had for years been traversing the State to watch over the progress of the canal, without salary, or a dollar of reward for his services. His ceaseless exertions had animated industry and enterprise, facilitated the rapid circulation of capital, and given the New York public a sweet foretaste of unfolding riches — in ten thousand separate ways. He was becoming an object of popular interest and applause. His wings must be clipped, or he might soar into some high seat — to the great disadvantage of his opponents and persecutors.

Thus reasoned a few uneasy legislators in April, 1824. On the last
April 12. day of the session, the Senate, on motion of John Bowman, passed a resolution for the removal of De Witt Clinton from the office of canal commissioner! It was sent for concurrence to the Assembly, where it was acted upon almost instantaneously in the hurry and confusion prior to adjournment for the season. Unutterable amazement was created in the mind of every member not in the secret. The high-handed measure had been concocted the evening before in a select but rather informal caucus; and few instances exist in history where political cunning when held to the light, revealed so little of human nobility and so much of perverse folly. When the announcement was made gentlemen engaged in packing up their papers paused and stared at each other, as if wondering if they had heard aright. Henry Cunningham was in the act of putting

on his overcoat, and without a moment for reflection threw it over his arm and turned to the speaker with flashing eyes and face glowing with indignation. He spoke for twenty minutes in a strain of manly eloquence that would have done credit to a Roman orator. "For what good and honorable purpose has this resolution been sent here for concurrence at the very last moment of the session?" he asked. "Sir, I challenge inquiry. We have spent rising of three months in legislation, and not one word has been dropped intimating a desire or intention to expel that honorable gentleman from the board of canal commissioners! What nefarious and secret design, I ask, is to be effected at the expense of the honor and integrity of this legislature?"

Clinton bore the insult like a Christian martyr. Not so New York. Clinton simply invited the most rigid scrutiny into his official conduct. His native State did more. Meetings were called in every town, village, and city, to denounce in the most public manner an act which, without the assignment of a single reason or the faintest color of necessity, had hurled from an exalted eminence, as if he were some great State culprit, the man above all others to whom New York was indebted. The feeling in New York City was intense. Ten thousand people^{April 20.} assembled in the park in front of the City Hall on the afternoon of the 20th, embracing all classes and all political cliques and parties. Such a meeting, taking it all in all, had never been witnessed in the metropolis. Its object was to stigmatize the unjustifiable procedure of the legislature. General Robert Bogardus nominated the venerable William Few to the chair, who was greeted with unbounded applause. Stirring addresses were made. "The benefactors of states and empires cannot be hidden from the world," said Charles G. Haines. "The spirit of the age and the light of truth are with them. Combinations may arise to obscure the luster of their deeds, and diminish the magnitude and utility of their efforts; but the calm conviction of after times will do them justice." Resolutions were submitted by Isaac S. Hone, declaring the removal of Clinton a disgrace to the State, a violation of justice, and an outrage on public opinion, and adopted by acclamation. Thousands of voices proclaimed the unanimity with which they were received, and when the chairman called for the noes, a dead silence — a deep pause ensued.

A committee of thirty gentlemen was appointed to communicate the resolutions to Clinton, and to give them publicity throughout the State and nation; while a vote of thanks was returned to General James Benedict, John Morss, and David Seaman from the city delegation who had voted against the measure. Thus New York taught^{1824.} narrow politicians a lesson not likely to be forgotten; and paid a just

and becoming tribute of respect to a statesman whose extensive agency in the grandest public work of the age was beyond dispute.¹

Clinton welcomed the committee warmly, and in reply said: "From the extinguishment of open hostility to the present period I have not



Dr. Samuel Mitchill.

[Engraving by John Wesley Jarvis.]

been without serious apprehensions that events might occur to prevent the consummation of this work; and I have rejoiced at the termination of each year of its progress, and watched over it with indescribable anxiety."

He thanked the gentlemen with much emotion for their "condescending kindness" in presenting the resolutions in person. They had but just departed when another committee, representing the scientists and scholars of the city, was ushered into his presence, with a similar series of resolutions adopted at a private meeting in the evening, of which the distinguished Dr. Mitchill was chairman: he had figured

conspicuously in the celebration at Albany of the completion of the Champlain Canal and the Eastern section of the Erie Canal, in October, 1823, making a brilliant address on the festive occasion. In the unjustifiable movement, which, contrary to the wishes of a million and a half of

¹ The committee consisted of General Matthew Clarkson, Thomas Addis Emmet, Colonel Nicholas Fish, William Bayard, Thomas Eddy, Stephen Whitney, Philip Hone, Cadwallader D. Colden, Charles Wright, Thomas Hazard, Jr., James Lovett, General Joseph G. Swift, Robert H. Bowne, Abraham Ogden, John Rathbone, Jr., Lockwood De Forrest, Preserved Fish, General Robert Bogardus, Thomas Freeborn, Peter Crary, Lynde Catlin, James Oakley, Mansel Bradhurst, Benjamin Stagg, Eli Hart, Thomas Gibbons, Noah Brown, Thomas Herttell, and Campbell P. White. General James Benedict was the only member of the legislature in 1824 who was returned by his constituents when the revolution of public sentiment made De Witt Clinton governor in 1825. He was a descendant of Thomas Benedict — see Vol. I. p. 204 — and married in 1812, at the age of twenty-eight, Deborah, daughter of James Coles of New York City. He was in the War of 1812, and continued in the State military service, after the peace, as a brigadier; in 1826 he was made a major-general.

people, deprived Clinton of a post in which there was no emolument, Dr. Mitchill failed to see one extenuating circumstance.

Nor was there anything spasmodic in the expression of public sentiment. The more the subject was agitated the greater appeared the enormity of the wrong committed. As a direct result, Clinton was nominated for governor by a State convention at Utica, and re-elected by a majority of nearly seventeen thousand votes. The Whig party chose six of the eight senators, and secured a majority of three fourths of the Assembly. The tide was overwhelming. Nearly every man was swept out of office the State through who had directly or remotely, audibly or silently, contributed to the injury inflicted upon Clinton.

It is worthy of remembrance that during the eight years in which the State of New York was expending between nine and ten millions of dollars in constructing canals, the amount collected in the New York City custom-house and paid into the treasury of the United States, for duties of impost and tonnage, was upwards of sixty-four millions; and within the same period the State raised and applied to the support of common schools over nine millions, together with very large sums bestowed upon colleges, and for the advancement of science and literature.

It was during the summer of 1824 that Lafayette visited the United States by invitation of the government, arriving in New York City on the 15th of August. He had no suspicion of the warm ^{Aug. 15} welcome that awaited him. As the French packet upon which he was a passenger neared the Narrows, two gentlemen came on board from a row-boat, and after holding a private conference with the captain departed. No one except the commander himself knew the object of their mission. But to the surprise of all on board, the vessel anchored alongside Staten Island. Presently a long line of vessels appeared in sight, coming down the bay with flags flying. They approached and encircled the French ship. The mayor of New York, General Jacob Morton, and other eminent personages, presently reached the deck of the *Cadmus* and paid their respects to America's illustrious visitor — whose tears fell like rain as he received their unexpected congratulations, and learned of the plan for his public reception in the city next morning. It being the Sabbath, he was conducted to the seat of Vice-President Tompkins on Staten Island, where he spent the remainder of the day.

On Monday the bells rang in one merry din from twelve to one o'clock, business was suspended, and no carriages or horses were permitted below Chambers Street except those attached to the ^{Aug. 16} military or procession. The corporation of the city, the Chamber of Commerce, the society of the Cincinnati, and the officers of the army and

navy proceeded at nine o'clock to Staten Island to meet and escort Lafayette into New York. The naval procession was one of exceptional beauty and interest. When it moved from Staten Island the guns from shore were answered from Fort Lafayette, from the steamship *Robert Fulton*, and from the forts in the harbor. The escorting vessels, adorned in the most fanciful manner, were alive with ladies and gentlemen. At Castle Garden Lafayette landed upon a carpeted stairway arranged for the occasion, under an arch richly decorated with flags and wreaths of laurel. He was greeted with a prolonged shout from the assembled thousands, and the roar of artillery echoed far away over the blue waters. The troops were drawn into line by General James Benedict, and, after the review, Lafayette entered a barouche drawn by four horses and was driven up Broadway to the City Hall; he was welcomed to the common council chamber by Mayor William Paulding in an appropriate speech. In reply, Lafayette said: "It is the pride of my life to have been one of the earliest adopted sons of America. I am proud, also, to add that upwards of forty years ago I was particularly honored with the freedom of this city." After further ceremonies upon a platform in front of the City Hall he was conducted to the City Hotel, where elegant rooms had been arranged for his occupancy, and where a sumptuous dinner was prepared. At evening the City Hotel, City Hall, and other public buildings were gorgeously illuminated, the theaters and public gardens displayed transparencies, and fire-works of every description blazed from one end of the city to the other. An immense balloon arose from Castle Garden representing the famous horse Eclipse mounted by an ancient knight in armor.

On Wednesday Lafayette visited the navy-yard, dining with the commandant and a few invited guests. In the evening he was
Aug. 18. tendered a reception by the New York Historical Society. He was escorted by the president of the Society, Dr. Hosack, and General Philip Van Cortlandt to the chair that had once belonged to the unfortunate Louis XVI. — presented by Gouverneur Morris. Dr. Hosack in a graceful address announced to Lafayette his election as an honorary member of the Society; he responded with the warmest expressions of gratitude, adding, "The United States, sir, are the first nation in the records of history who have founded their constitution upon an honest investigation, and clear definition of their national and social rights." His stay in New York was one perpetual ovation. He saw nothing but prosperity and good order. The growth of the city and its ripening institutions filled his mind with wonder and admiration. "Do you expect Broadway will reach Albany?" he asked, facetiously, when the prospective street improvements above Madison Square were pointed out to him.

He departed from the city on his famous tour through the country, Friday, the 20th. He was accompanied by his son, George Washington Lafayette, a fine-looking, graceful man, approaching middle life, and by General Philip Van Cortlandt. Seated in a coach drawn by four white horses, he was escorted as far as Harlem by the mayor, aldermen, celebrities, and citizens in carriages, and an imposing cavalcade commanded by General Prosper M. Wetmore, then brigade-major. The streets on the route were thronged with people; Lafayette rode with his head uncovered, acknowledging their perpetual huzzas with bows.

The year 1825 dawned upon a nation in anxiety. It had long been foreseen that a choice of President would not be effected by the people. The campaign had been more spirited and exciting than any which had taken place since the first election of Jefferson. Strictly speaking it could not be called a party contest. Monroe's prudence had obliterated party lines, and left a general unanimity of sentiment on political principles and measures throughout the Union. The candidates, John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, Andrew Jackson, and William H. Crawford, all subscribed, substantially, to the same political creed. The struggle was a personal and sectional one, more than of a party nature. The result was as predicted. Neither of the candidates received a majority in the electoral colleges, and the election devolved on the House of Representatives. 1825.
Feb. 9.

On the morning of the 9th of February the members assembled at an earlier hour than usual; the galleries, the lobbies, and all the adjacent apartments were filled to overflowing with spectators from every part of the country to witness the unusual scene. The Senate entered at noon precisely, and retired after the votes had been counted, and the announcement made that no person had received a majority. The three candidates with the highest vote were then balloted for by the House. The Speaker directed the roll to be called by States, the delegations taking their seats accordingly, each provided with a ballot-box. When the ceremony was concluded, and the ballots counted, Daniel Webster announced thirteen for John Quincy Adams, seven for Andrew Jackson, and four for William H. Crawford. John C. Calhoun was declared elected Vice-President.

Stephen Van Rensselaer, the patroon, had the honor, by giving the casting vote, of determining the election of John Quincy Adams to the Presidency of the nation. He was a member of Congress from 1823 to 1829, and at the same time a Regent of the University of the State of New York, and subsequently its Chancellor. He established during the year of the Presidential campaign a scientific school at Troy, incorporated in 1826 as the Rensselaer Institute, bearing fully one half of its current

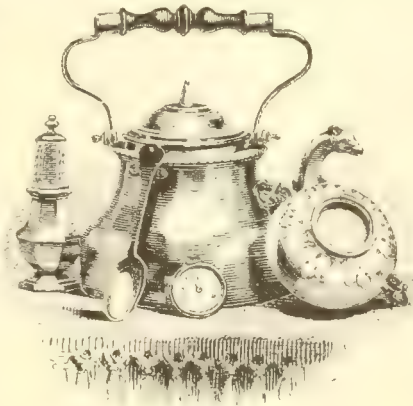
expenses. It was under Van Rensselaer's direction and at his expense that Amos Eaton, senior professor in the institution, made geological surveys of New York in 1821.

One of the earliest acts of President Adams after his inauguration was to offer the post of Minister to England to Governor De Witt Clinton, who declined, preferring to serve New York at home, and Rufus King received the appointment. On the 4th of July, forty-nine years ^{July 4} after the Declaration of Independence, Ohio was to commence her great work of connecting Lake Erie by canal with the Ohio River. Governor Clinton's presence was desired, and he made the journey in June, accompanied by Judge Alfred Conkling, General Solomon Van Rensselaer, and several other distinguished gentlemen. They reached Newark on the 3d, and as soon as Governor Clinton's carriage appeared on the public square, the many thousands of persons present rent the air with their loud shouts of welcome to "The Father of Internal Improvements." The next morning the party moved to the ground prepared, and Governor Clinton and Governor Jeremiah Morrow each excavated a few shovelfuls of earth in the presence of the assembled multitude. After the ceremonies and speeches, and when a hundred guns had announced to the world that the Ohio canal was begun, the company dined under the shade of wide-spreading beeches. Clinton traveled through Ohio as the guest of the State, even into Kentucky, everywhere receiving public honors of the most flattering character.

Lafayette was the guest of the nation, and his travels through the country resembled one continuous triumphal procession. He visited every State, and everywhere the same welcome and the same festivities awaited him. The history of his progress, minutely related, would introduce the reader to all the distinguished men of America at that time, and present an exhibition of education, arts, industry, agriculture, manufactures, and the condition of affairs in general. On the 17th of June, the fiftieth anniversary of the battle, he laid the corner-stone of the Bunker Hill Monument, and Daniel Webster pronounced an oration to an immense concourse of people. From Boston he went to Portland, thence to Albany, and arrived in New York City in time to share in celebrating the 4th of July. It was a source of deep regret to him that he could not participate in the ceremonies of that same day in Ohio. There was something grand, to his mind, in the opening of a navigable inland communication between the Bay of New York and the Gulf of Mexico; and his predictions of the riches to be created by thus stimulating the powers of productive industry have been abundantly realized. Upon his way from Albany to New York he spent the Sabbath

at Clermont, the seat of the Livingstons. He was also entertained at the old Van Cortlandt manor-house on the Hudson at the mouth of the Croton, the seat of General Philip Van Cortlandt, who had been the companion of his journeyings.¹ He visited Mrs. Alexander Hamilton; and he was fêted by many of the New York families in the most superb manner. A public fête was also given him surpassing anything of the kind before witnessed in New York. Congress, in consideration of his sacrifices and his services, voted him two hundred thousand dollars and a township of land. He carried with him to his native country the prestige of his importance in America, was re-elected to the Chamber of Deputies, and in the Revolution of 1830 was the popular leader, and might have been made president of a republic. He chose, however, for the sake of peace and order, to place Louis Philippe on the throne.

¹ The Van Cortlandt manor-house is still standing and well preserved. The main portion of the edifice was the original block-house built by Governor Dongan in the early part of his administration as a rendezvous for fishing parties and conferences with the Indians. See Vol. I. 90, 300, 305. Stephanus Van Cortlandt, who in 1683 was appointed by the king of England one of Dongan's privy council, usually accompanied him on these expeditions, and subsequently purchased the land therabouts of the Indians — eighty-five thousand acres, extending to the Connecticut line. This great property was erected into a manor by royal charter, and the block-house with its solid stone walls three feet thick, and loop-holes for musketry provided life in a savage wilderness into a commodious and picturesque dwelling. Its situation is picturesque, self teems with the turries. Its handsome and old-fashioned land industry; and its plate, china, jewelry, most varied and interesting bowl of the from Holland by Oloff landt (see p. 90, Vol. used in all the generations of the illustration between Van Cortlandt, and silver graced his table; hundred years old.



Silver-ware of the Van Cortlandts.

The solid silver tea-kettle and gold pap-spoon with bells to amuse an infant were brought to New York by Johannes De Peyster about 1650 (see Vol. I. p. 225, 420, 421), whose granddaughter, Catharine, took them with her to the manor-house when she married its proprietor, Philip Van Cortlandt, in 1710. Pieces of table-ware imported some two hundred and fifty years ago are still in use. The dining-table itself came from Holland in the time of Oloff Stevenson Van Cortlandt; also a curious clock, the carvings of which represent the Queen of Sheba going to see Solomon; and the sleeve-buttons of the same ancestor, in cone-shaped gold with a pearl at the apex, are among the precious antiquities of this historical mansion.

for the emergencies of ness, was converted dwelling. Its situation and the structure its romance of two centuries carved wainscot-tils are relics of Hol-antique treasures of and furniture, are of the esting character. The sketch was brought Stevenson Van Cort-I.) and has been since tions. The gold watch longed to Stephanus the sugar-sifter of solid both are at least two The solid silver tea-

CHAPTER XVIII.

1825-1835.

PROGRESS OF THE CITY.

PREPARATIONS FOR CANAL CELEBRATION IN NEW YORK CITY. — OPENING OF THE ERIE CANAL. — THE FIRST CANAL-BOATS REACHING THE METROPOLIS. — THE AQUATIC DISPLAY. — THE CEREMONY OF UNITING THE WATERS OF LAKE ERIE AND ATLANTIC OCEAN. — PROCESSION IN THE CITY. — THE ILLUMINATION. — THE BALL. — THE MEDALS. — MODERN NEW YORK. — MAYOR PHILIP HONE. — FOUNDING OF THE MERCANTILE LIBRARY. — THE NEW YORK ATHENEUM. — LITERARY MEN. — EARLY CLUBS OF NEW YORK. — RESIDENCES OF PROMINENT NEW-YORKERS IN 1826. — PUBLIC BUILDINGS ERECTED. — DEATH OF ADAMS AND JEFFERSON. — THE TWO GREAT NEW YORK RIVALS. CLINTON'S RE-ELECTION. — THE LEAKE AND WATTS ORPHAN HOME. — JOHN WATTS. — ALBERT GALLATIN. — DEATH OF CLINTON. — THE APPRENTICES' LIBRARY. — RIGHT REV. JOHN HENRY HOBART. — EPISCOPAL THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY. — UNIVERSITY OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK. — WASHINGTON SQUARE. — THE UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY. — INSTITUTION FOR THE BLIND. — FIRST HORSE-RAILROAD IN THE CITY. — STEAM LOCOMOTIVES. — RETURN OF WASHINGTON IRVING FROM EUROPE. — RIOTS AND DISTURBANCES. — THE GREAT FIRE OF 1835.

THE Erie Canal was completed on the 26th of October, 1825. Thus the longest canal in the world had been constructed within a period of eight and one third years. The manual labor had not ceased
 1825. for a day since July 4, 1817.

A celebration of the great event was proposed, to be conducted under the auspices of the corporation on a scale worthy of the character of the city. William Paulding was then mayor, and Richard Riker recorder. The members of the common council were nearly all detailed on important committees. The merchants and citizens met and resolved to co-operate; William Bayard presided over the meeting, John Pintard was the secretary, and William Walton Woolsey offered the resolutions; a committee was appointed, including Bayard, Pintard, and Woolsey, also ex-Mayor Cadwallader D. Colden, George Griswold, John Rathbone, Silas Richard, Mordecai M. Noah, Joseph G. Swift, and Campbell P. White, to secure a full expression of public feeling. While the various societies were perfecting arrangements, a committee, consisting of General Jacob Morton, John Pintard, and Thomas R. Mercein

repaired to Albany to concert upon measures which should give uniformity and effect to the jubilee through the State. From the common council, Elisha W. King and William A. Davis journeyed to Buffalo to extend the hospitalities of New York City to the committees along the whole line of the canal; Henry I. Wyckoff and Philip Hone were sent to meet King and Davis with the city's guests as they should enter the Hudson at Albany, and provide facilities for their passage down the river. Samuel Cowdrey, John Webb, Josiah Hedden, and John Agnew comprised another committee from the corporation to receive the party from the lakes upon its arrival in the New York City waters.

The entire State of New York was in commotion. For several days prior to the 4th of November, the day fixed for the grand consummation of the union of waters, strangers from every quarter, and from the Southern and the New England States, were crowding into New York City to witness the ceremonies. Buffalo was intensely excited on the morning of the 26th of October. At ten o'clock precisely the waters of Lake Erie were admitted into the canal, and the news was transmitted Oct. 26. to New York City in an hour and thirty minutes, by the discharge of cannon posted along the route at intervals; New York replied in the same manner, the sound occupying a similar length of time in passing through the air to Buffalo. The canal-boat *Seneca Chief* led off in fine style, drawn by four gray horses fancifully caparisoned. Governor Clinton, Lieutenant-Governor James Tallmadge, Stephen Van Rensselaer, the patroon, General Solomon Van Rensselaer, Jacob Rutsen Van Rensselaer, Colonel William L. Stone, the delegation from New York City, and numerous invited guests formed the traveling party. One of the canal boats, *Noah's Ark*, was a novelty. Its cargo was like that of its namesake of old, having on board two eagles, a bear, two fawns, and a variety of other "birds, beasts, and creeping things," with two Indian boys in the dress of their nation—all products of the great uncivilized West. Each boat was gorgeously decorated. Along the entire route to Albany, day and night, the inhabitants were assembled to greet the travelers. As the flotilla crossed the Genesee River at Rochester, by a stone aqueduct of nine arches, each of fifty feet span, it was hailed from a little boat stationed ostensibly "to protect the entrance" with, "Who comes there?" "Your brothers from the West on the waters of the Great Lakes," was the quick reply. "By what means have they been diverted so far from their natural course?" continued the questioner. "Through the channel of the Grand Erie Canal." "By whose authority, and by whom, was a work of such magnitude accomplished?" was asked. "By the authority and by the enterprise of the people of the State of New York," cried a chorus of

voices from the *Seneca Chief*; and the pert little craft gave way, and the boats proudly entered the spacious basin at the end of the aqueduct, welcomed with a salute of artillery, and the most uproarious applause, the committees standing under an arch surmounted by an eagle, and an immense concourse of people extending as far as the eye could reach on every side. At Utica, arriving late on Sunday morning, a deputation from the town waited upon the governor and his party and conducted them to church in the afternoon. Albany outdid herself. The whole

city, apparently, multiplied by Vermont and the towns to the
 Oct. 30. north even into Canada, came out in procession to escort the victorious projectors of the canal to the capital, where exercises of the most inspiring character were opened and closed with prayer. Philip Hone, in behalf of the city of New York, made an elegant congratulatory address, and invited the corporation of Albany to accompany the party down the Hudson and accept the hospitalities of the metropolis. The Albany celebration terminated with a grand public dinner and illumination, and a canal scene exhibited at the theater, in which

locks, canal-boats, and horses actually moving, with their various
 Nov. 2. appurtenances, were represented in the most admirable manner. A fleet of all the steam-vessels on the Hudson towed the canal-boats from Albany to New York, the flag-ship *Chancellor Livingston* having in charge the elegant *Seneca Chief*.

The sun rose in a clear sky on the morning of the 4th of November, and New York City was awakened at its rising by the ringing of
 Nov. 4. bells, martial music, and the thunder of cannon. The fleet with its illustrious passengers had arrived. The committee of reception from the common council went out upon the *Washington* to meet the guests; this new and handsome steamboat bore the banner of the corporation, and when within hailing distance of the *Seneca Chief*, inquired where she was from and what was her destination. The reply came ringing over the waters, "From Lake Erie, and bound for Sandy Hook." A few moments later the gentlemen stood in the presence of the governor, and Alderman Cowdrey performed his duty in a graceful and appropriate speech of welcome.

The aquatic procession, comprising twenty-nine steam-vessels, besides ships, schooners, barges, canal-boats, and other craft, moved towards the ocean at nine o'clock. The *Washington* took the lead, bearing the mayor and corporation of New York, the clergy, the society of the Cincinnati, army and navy officers, foreign magnates, and other distinguished guests. The ship *Hamlet*, dressed for the occasion with the flags of all nations, and crowded with marine and nautical societies, was taken in tow by the

Oliver Ellsworth. The safety barges *Lady Clinton* and *Lady Van Rensselaer* were attached to the steamboat *Commerce*, and crowded with ladies in elegant costumes. The former, graced by the presence of Mrs. Clinton, was superbly decorated from stem to stern with evergreens hung in festoons, and intertwined with bright-colored flowers. The British armed vessels in the harbor saluted and cheered the squadron, which immediately passed round them in a circle, the bands playing "God save the King," in courteous response to "Yankee Doodle" from the British musicians. The military and the forts saluted the vessels as they passed. The pageant was the most magnificent which America, and perhaps the world, had ever beheld. It was like a bewildering fairy scene. On reaching the ocean a national schooner, sent down the night before for the purpose, appeared as a "deputation from Neptune," to know who the visitors were, and the object of their coming. The whole fleet then formed a circle of about three miles in circumference.

The *Seneca Chief* bore two elegant kegs filled with Lake Erie water, painted green with gilded hoops, and adorned with devices and inscriptions. Clinton lifted one of these kegs high in the air and in full view of the assembled multitude poured its contents into the briny ocean, saying: "This solemnity, at this place, on the first arrival of vessels from Lake Erie, is intended to indicate and commemorate the navigable communication which has been accomplished between our mediterranean seas and the Atlantic Ocean in about eight years, to the extent of more than four hundred and twenty-five miles, by the wisdom, public spirit, and energy of the people of the State of New York; and may the God of the heavens and the earth smile most propitiously on this work, and render it subservient to the best interests of the human race." The keg, preserved as a precious memento of the interesting ceremony, is now in possession of the New York Historical Society. From the original the accompanying sketch has been made for this work. Dr. Mitchill, following Clinton, proceeded to pour the contents of a number of bottles, containing water from all parts of the world, into the sea, as emblematical



Keg from which Clinton poured the water of Lake Erie into the Atlantic.

[From the original painting in the New York Historical Society.]

of our commercial intercourse with all the nations of earth, and made a learned and remarkable address. Ex-Mayor Cadwallader D. Colden, appointed to write a memoir on the subject of canals and inland navigation in general, presented his manuscript to Mayor Paulding, thus concluding the public ceremonies of the day upon the billows.

The fleet returned to the city in the same order as it went out to the sea, and while passing the Narrows amid the roar of artillery, the passengers on board the different boats were summoned to elegant collations. The corporation of New York prepared and sent to Buffalo by the *Seneca Chief* a superb keg containing "water of the Atlantic"; it bore the arms of the city painted in brilliant colors, over which were the words, in letters of gold, "Neptune's return to Pan."

Medals of very beautiful design and workmanship were given to all the invited guests of the corporation, both ladies and gentlemen. Upon one side Pan and Neptune were in loving embrace with the cornucopia, showing the fruits of the land and sea, and the motto—"Union of Erie with the Atlantic." The reverse showed the armorial bearings of the State—the sole agent in the great work—and a section of the canal representing its locks and aqueducts, with a view of the harbor and city of New York; also the words, "Erie Canal, commenced 4th of July, 1817, completed 26th October, 1825. Presented by the city of New York." Fifty-one gold medals were struck and sent to the different crowned heads of the world and eminent men. Several hundred were of silver, but the larger number were of white metal. The gold medals were inclosed in elegant square red morocco cases; the silver, in boxes made from logs of cedar brought from an island in Lake Erie. Recorder Riker, John Agnew, Thomas Bolton, and William A. Davis were the committee who presented with appropriate letters the higher testimonials. The aged John Adams wrote, in acceptance: "I rejoice that the city of New York has taken the lead in striking medals on important events. The Hollanders have a history of their country engraved on gold and silver medals, the most permanent history of any. The great canal in New York is the pride and wonder of the age, and deserves to be commemorated by every effort of art." Thomas Jefferson said: "This great work will immortalize the authorities of New York, and bless their descendants with wealth and prosperity"; and from President John Quincy Adams came the golden words: "The event is among those most worthy of commemoration in the progress of human affairs; an event equally creditable to the enterprise and perseverance of New York, by the accomplishment of which, in honoring themselves, they have reflected honor upon the age and country to which they belong."

The marvelous order attending the magical movements of the fleet was the source of unceasing delight to the spectators upon the shores. Steam-boats, canal-boats, pilot-boats, ships, and barges were thrown at pleasure into squadron or line, into curves or circles, by pre-arranged signals. Reaching the Battery about half past two in the afternoon, the corporation and guests were received by an immense procession five miles long, which had been parading the streets since ten o'clock in the morning, and thence proceeded to the City Hall. The procession was fashioned after the great Federal pageant of 1788, embracing all the various societies and industries of the city — including fifty-nine different bodies of men. Bands of music were in scarlet and gold, and enormous cars or stages were fitted up in the most ingenious and unique manner. Four beautiful gray horses drew the tin-plate workers' and coppersmiths' car, bearing the five double locks at Lockport, represented in copper, with boats ascending and descending through the locks continually as the procession moved; twenty-four tin stars on each side of the locks represented the States of the Union. One of the fire-engines was mounted on an elegantly carpeted car drawn by four handsome horses led by four colored grooms dressed in Turkish costume, the American flag floating from the smoke-pipe of the engine as a flag-staff. Following the printers and booksellers were the students from the various educational institutions; Columbia College appeared one hundred strong, the young men as well as the professors in their collegial robes; they bore a banner with an allegorical representation of the meeting of the waters of the lake and ocean. Decorations and banners through the procession were of the greatest beauty and significance, and the image of Clinton was borne aloft, as was that of Hamilton in the rejoicings over the newly formed Constitution.

The festivities of this memorable day were concluded in the evening by an illumination of the city, together with one of the most novel pyrotechnic displays ever witnessed on this continent. The City Hall was the center of attraction. It was lighted by upwards of two thousand lamps and wax-candles; thus fire-works must necessarily be prepared to eclipse their brilliancy — and never was success more complete.

The arrangement was such that the fiery spectacle seemed to emanate from the roof; fifteen hundred fire-balls, with innumerable rockets, were sent into the air like some great volcanic eruption, and the rays, diverging from a common center, crossed and intersected each other at different angles, forming portions of concentric circles; the effect of the combination was singularly magnificent — sparks formed themselves into willows, adorned with countless stars, then into poplars, and other distinct shapes, accompanied with showers of gold and silver rain.

The committees from the West were entertained the next day at a sumptuous dinner served in their honor on board the *Chancellor Livingston*. The most generous hospitalities were extended to them in other directions, and they were shown all the institutions of the city. Tickets



Design upon Ball Ticket.

for a grand canal celebration ball had been issued by the militia officers and citizens, headed by a pictorial view of a canal, with locks, and boats towed by horses, and a glimpse of the ocean with a light-house upon a distant point of land — as reproduced in the accompanying sketch. This fête took place on Monday, the 7th,

in the Lafayette amphitheater, the largest room of the kind in the United States. It was instituted on a grand scale. Some three thousand persons were present, including Governor and Mrs. Clinton. At one end of the dancing-hall was hung an immense mirror consisting of thirty pier-glasses without frames, accurately fitted together; at precisely twelve o'clock drapery was lifted from the other end, disclosing a supper-table covered with a profusion of delicacies, in the middle of which a miniature canal-boat made of maple sugar floated fancifully in a large vase.

"We met the world and his wife; military heroes, noble statesmen, artificial and natural characters, the audacious, the clownish, the polished and refined," wrote one of the young lady participants upon returning home from the ball at a late hour; "but we were squeezed to death, are sleepy, and heartily tired."

The common council of the city bestowed unqualified praise upon General Augustus Fleming and Charles Rhind for their admirable management of the processions upon land and water, the festival, as a whole, having transcended all anticipations.¹ Rhind publicly expressed his acknowledgments to Commodore Chauncey, and the officers of the navy,

¹ The members of the common council in 1825 were, Henry I. Wyckoff, Elisha W. King, William H. Ireland, Samuel Cowdrey, John Webb, Asa Mann, Matthew Reed, Jacob B. Taylor, William A. Davis, Gideon Ostrander, Thomas Bolton, Samuel St. John, Philip Hone, John Agnew, William Burtzell, Josiah Hedden, Jameson Cox, Daniel E. Dunscomb, Effingham Schieffelin, William P. Rathbone.

for efficient service rendered in the conduct of the fleet. Dr. Alexander Coventry, of Utica, wrote to Mayor Paulding in behalf of the committees from the West, saying: "The Erie Canal insures to ^{Nov 10.} us a reward for industry, to our posterity an antidote for idleness — nor is it the least valuable of our acquired privileges, to have in the future our prosperity closely identified with that of the city; our connection with which has always been our proudest boast." He also said: "A visit to your admirably conducted philanthropic institutions filled us with admiration. We have seen your delinquents, as it were, snatched from perdition and restored to a society, to which, instead of being a curse, they may yet become valuable members. We are now fully convinced that the judicious philanthropist may convert a dense population (too often only the sinks of depravity) into the chosen abode of science, industry, and virtue." In allusion to the canal, General Morton said, "While the statesman views with pride the sources of wealth which will be opened, and the interesting ties of common interest with which the citizens of other States will be connected with us, thereby enhancing our political importance, the philanthropist and the retired citizen will contemplate with delight the effects which this great work will produce in the abodes of domestic comfort and social refinement." Philip Hone expressed the feeling of New York in saying, "That this great work should have been accomplished through the enterprise and resources of a single State, is the best basis for our future glory." It was not forgotten at this exciting moment that eighteen years only had elapsed since the first successful experiments in steam navigation; and one of the most significant toasts (given standing) by the corporation, as the twenty-nine steamboats were returning from the ocean on the day of the jubilee, was — "The memory of Robert Fulton, whose mighty genius has enabled us to commemorate this day in a style of unparalleled magnificence and grandeur."

At this epoch the history of modern New York properly begins. The prediction that new combinations favorable to the growth and prosperity of a great community would take their rise from the magnificent work just accomplished was speedily fulfilled. The impetus given to business of every description and the increase of commerce and of wealth exceeded all expectations. The rapid building up of towns and villages in the great grain-growing valleys of the West was only equalled by the surface extension of New York City northward, and its marvelous development in altitude. The daring schemes of architects, who literally built castles in the air where the land was costly, excited less and less wonder as the years rolled on. From three and four stories business edifices soon sprang to seven and eight, and then, after a short pause, to twelve and fourteen.

Philip Hone was the mayor-elect of 1826. On the 16th of January 1826. he was conducted to the council chamber of the City Hall by Ettingham Schieffelin, Pierre C. Van Wyck, and John Yates Cebra, the committee detailed for that duty, and introduced to ex-Mayor Paulding, who administered the oath of office, and after delivering a



Portrait of Mayor Philip Hone.

short speech retired. The new mayor was a noble specimen of the New York merchant at this period of progress. He was forty-five years old, of elegant personal appearance, gentlemanly address, studious habits, sterling integrity, sound sense, and irresistible social attractions. He had already been associated with the most eminent men of his time in founding important and useful institutions, and held various offices of trust and responsibility. He was devoted to the rising fortunes of the city, being a

genuine New-Yorker by birth, feeling, principle, and ambition; and evidences of his good taste and public spirit soon appeared in numberless directions. It was the era of ornamentation, and he gave prompt attention to every change suggested, from the widening of an avenue to the elaboration of a church portico. He is justly classed among the most competent and useful mayors New York ever produced.

Mayor Hone was one of the enlightened founders of the Mercantile Library, which at the time of his induction into the mayor's office had just passed its fifth birthday, with a collection of twenty-two hundred volumes. The first movement of the merchants towards founding a reading-room for their clerks was on the 9th of November, 1820. The germ of the present valuable library was opened with seven hundred volumes in the winter of 1821. For a long time its benefactors were obliged to contend against the bitter hostility of a class of merchants who feared the books would engross too much attention from their employees. But in

1823 the association was incorporated under the general law of 1796, and received from the Chamber of Commerce a gift of two hundred dollars. When its membership had reached four hundred, and its usefulness was every day becoming more apparent (in the spring of 1826), it was removed from its limited accommodations in Fulton Street to more spacious apartments in Cliff Street; the following year lectures were commenced, and it was resolved to raise money and erect a building. De Witt Clinton presented the first book to the library — a History of England — hence the structure when completed on the corner of Beekman and Nassau Streets, in 1830, was named Clinton Hall in his honor. It was dedicated to literature and science in November of that year, with twelve hundred members and six thousand well-chosen volumes. Columbia College granted to the association perpetually two free scholarships. Courses of lectures were established, classes were formed for the study of French, German, and Spanish languages, chemistry, drawing, and penmanship. In 1850 the institution had advanced in wealth and power for good to such a degree that it looked for a new home. Its circulation had reached one hundred thousand volumes. Clinton Hall was sold to the Nassau Bank for one hundred thousand dollars, and the Astor Place Opera House purchased and remodeled for the use of the library at a cost of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars. It was opened April 19, 1854, with interesting ceremonies, and addresses from Horatio Seymour, then governor of the State, John Romeyn Broadhead, the eminent historian, and Charles King, the president of Columbia College from 1849 to 1864. The Mercantile Library now holds the fourth place among American public libraries as to the number of volumes upon its shelves, which are, in 1880, one hundred and eighty-three thousand.

The New York Athenæum, founded in 1824, was largely indebted to Mayor Hone for its early prosperity; its object was to furnish opportunity for the highest culture, and to advance science, art, and literature. It consisted of resident and honorary members, the former either associates, patrons, governors, or subscribers; the funds were to be derived from the contributions of these four classes, two hundred dollars constituting a patron, one hundred dollars a governor, and lesser sums associates and subscribers. Its library was to comprise, when complete, all the standard elementary works of science and literature of every age and nation. Monthly lectures were open to both ladies and gentlemen. The scheme for the year 1826 ran thus: "Roman Literature, Professor Charles Anthon;¹ Phrenology, Dr. Charles King; Taste and

¹ Professor Charles Anthon, born in New York City in 1797, was a classical scholar of great celebrity. He was the fourth of six sons of Dr. George C. Anthon, a German by birth,

Beauty, Professor John McVickar; the Revival of Classical Literature, Mr. Richard Ray; Chemistry, Professor James Renwick; Commerce, Mr. John Hone, Jr.; Painting, Professor Samuel Finley Breese Morse; Political Economy, William Beach Lawrence; Poetry, William Cullen Bryant; Oriental Literature, Rev. Dr. John Frederick Schroeder; Anniversary Discourse, Rev. Dr. James M. Mathews." The Athenæum, after performing a work of immense value in the growing city, was, in 1838, merged into the New York Society Library.

Bryant had already laid the foundation of his poetical fame, and entered upon his journalistic career as editor of the *New York Review* in 1825, and the *New York Evening Post* in 1826. James Fenimore Cooper was in the noontide of his renown as the author of *The Spy*. Gulian Crommelin Verplanck had risen to eminence in law, letters, theology, and politics. And the gifted Robert Charles Sands was wielding his pen continually in the production of essays; from 1827, until his death in 1832, he was the associate editor of the *New York Commercial Advertiser*, and from the same year he was, with Bryant and Verplanck, one of the joint authors of *The Talisman* — an excellent specimen of fine writing and professional execution, but discouraged for want of patronage — to which he contributed one of his longest poems, *The Dream of the Princess Papantzin*. But poetry and fiction at this decade were more or less formal in their art, and following classic models afforded meager scope for real originality.

Cooper originated, in 1824, the "Bread and Cheese Club," which met fortnightly at Washington Hall. Its membership included conspicuous professional men, scholars, and statesmen, of whom were Professor Renwick, William A. Duer, Judge John Duer, Fitz-Greene Halleck, Philip Hone, James DeKay the great naturalist, and Verplanck, Bryant, Sands, and Charles King. The selection of members for nomination rested with Cooper himself; bread and cheese were the ballots used, one of cheese who attained the rank of surgeon-general in the British army, serving from the commencement of the French War until the final surrender of Detroit in 1784. He then resigned his commission and settled in New York City. Charles Anthon studied law, but in 1820, at the age of twenty-three, became Professor of Languages in Columbia College, subsequently becoming the head of the classical department of that institution, and producing upwards of fifty volumes, chiefly editions of the Latin classics and aids to classical study. His works have been republished in England and extensively used in schools. He was an accurate and thorough scholar, and an acute and ingenious critic of the ancient languages. His elder brother, John Anthon, LL. D. (born 1784, died 1863), practiced law with great assiduity in New York City, and is said to have tried more causes than any man that ever lived. (*Drake*.) He was instrumental in establishing the Law Institute, of which he was president. He was the author of many legal works of great value. Rev. Henry Anthon, D. D. (born 1792, died 1861), rector of St. Mark's Church, was also a brother of Charles. It was a remarkable family of men of intellect.

deciding adversely to admittance. The meetings were often swollen to quite a formidable assembly by members of Congress and distinguished strangers. Daniel Webster was a frequent guest, and William Beach Lawrence, Henry R. Storrs, and the French minister, De Neuville. The "Sketch Club" was originally intended as an artistic fraternity, but it soon widened, welcoming gentlemen of other professions if interested in art. Its meetings were held at the members' homes during the winter. Among its founders were Bryant, Verplanck, and Sands. Clubs had long been one of the features of New York life, but prior to 1825 they were small, and attained no special publicity. Nor did they multiply rapidly for still another decade, notwithstanding New York is now the second city in the world — London standing first — in the number and membership of its clubs, there being in operation within the city limits upwards of one hundred, with a membership in the aggregate of not less than fifty thousand.¹ The Hone Club was projected by Philip Hone in 1836, the same year that the Union Club came into existence; and both were constructed upon social principles. The Union represented the old families — the Livingstons, Van Cortlandts, Van Rensselaers, Schuylers, Suydams, Griswolds, Stuyvesants, and others of similar pedigree — their names filling up the list of membership with a sort of aristocratic monotony; the Hone was circumscribed in numbers, was rarely permitted to include more than twenty members, abjured discussions on theological dogmas, party politics, and individual personalities, and represented the wealth and talent of another element of the ancient quality of the city. Moses H. Grinnell, Simeon Draper, and James Watson Webb, the editor of the *Courier and Enquirer*, were among its chosen few; and Daniel Webster and William H. Seward were honorary members. At every meeting of the Hone an elegant dinner was served. "A Devonshire duke might have been astounded at the amplitude of the repasts and the richness and style of the entertainments," wrote Dr. Francis. Philip Hone was one of the committee of formation of the Union; thus it appears there was perfect harmony between the two clubs. Two years later the Kent Club was founded, which uniquely represented the cream and talent of the New York bar. Its membership included such legal lions as Francis B. Cutting, Peter Augustus Jay, Charles O'Coner, and Ogden Hoffman — the latter a bald-headed, dreamy-eyed man, whose learning was profound, and fervid eloquence historical; for upwards of a score of years he was employed in all the most important criminal trials of the city. He was also one of the founders of the Union Club. He was a brother of Charles Fenno Hoffman, associated with Charles King in the editorship

¹ *The Clubs of New York*, by Francis Gerry Fairbald.

of the *New York American*, who in 1832 founded the *Knickerbocker Magazine*, and subsequently edited the *New York Mirror*. The brothers were both men of charming social qualities and chivalrous personal character. For a few years these three clubs were the only associations of the sort that thrived, although many others were formed, had a brief existence, and disappeared from public view.

During the mayoralty of Philip Hone his residence was in Broadway, opposite City Hall Park. It was a deep, roomy, cheerful dwelling, with a broad entrance-hall, wainscoted walls, high old-fashioned carved sideboards, enormous mirrors, tall silver candlesticks, the finest of cut glass, and the rarest of ancient and costly porcelain. It was adorned with many



Residence of Mayor Philip Hone.
[From a rare old print.]

subjects of foreign art collected in Europe, Hone having traveled extensively, and it contained a well-chosen and costly library. His entertainments were princely. He took special delight in extending hospitalities to strangers of distinction, and could always summon to his aid the genius, wit, beauty, and fashion of the metropolis. Mrs. Hone was a lady of many gifts and graces. Her sister, Miss Dunscomb, married Robert Swartwout, and the wedding-party given by the Hones was mentioned by the newspapers as brilliant in the extreme. The accompanying illustration of the Hone mansion, copied from an old print, shows the Peabody

bookstore adjoining, the edifice evidently occupied as a dwelling-house excepting the one apartment devoted to bookselling; and also the American Hotel, which flourished for a time. The block below, where the Astor House now stands, was occupied with the residences of John G. Coster, David Lydig, and John Jacob Astor.

When Astor contemplated building the Astor House in 1830, Lydig removed to Laight Street, fronting St. John's Park, then considered the most eligible part of the city. Ex-Mayor Paulding dwelt in one of the finest blocks of houses in that vicinity, known as Paulding's Row, in Jay Street, corner of Greenwich, and subsequently built an elegant country-seat at Tarrytown. Lydig was one of the rich merchants of that generation, large-hearted, whole-souled, refined and intelligent, but in no sense a public character, although liberal in aiding measures designed to benefit the public. His business morality was of the highest order. For many years he was treasurer of the German Society, succeeding Baron Steuben and David Grim as president of the same; and he was a director of the Merchants' Bank. He married the beautiful daughter of Peter Mesier. Their only son, Philip Lydig, married the eldest daughter of John Suydam, of the famous family of merchants of that name. David Lydig purchased the old Peter De Lancey estate on the Bronx River in Westchester, which embraced not only the mills built by De Lancey in the early part of the previous century, but a large number of surrounding acres, including the quaint old family mansion with its historical associations and attractions. It was the birthplace of the beautiful Mrs. Ralph Izard and of Mrs. John Watts; and from this picturesque old homestead went out a brave officer to fight for England's monarch against his own countrymen. Lydig made it his summer residence, and when the original De Lancey house was accidentally burned, built a commodious cottage upon a knoll overlooking the beautiful river, which for nearly a mile meanders peacefully through the grounds, bordered with overhanging trees, presenting one of the most pleasing rural pictures within easy distance of New York. Summer-houses, rustic seats, and winding pathways of the olden time remain. But the great city has actually reached the opposite shore of the Bronx, and at the present writing is half-way across the bridge — disclosing a rate of progress within the half-century which the most sanguine prophet of 1826 would have declared impossible. After the death of the elder Lydig in 1842, the son and his family passed their summers in the same charming retreat. One of the daughters of Philip Lydig married the jurist and scholar, Charles P. Daly, president of the American Geographical Society, and another daughter married Judge Brady.

John Hone, elder brother and mercantile partner of the mayor, lived

in one of the seven houses fronting the Bowling Green — the site of the old fort, and Government House; and Stephen Whitney, and Samuel Ward, brother-in-law of Dr. Francis, dwelt in the same row. Nathaniel Prime's city residence was at No 1. Broadway, and John Watts lived in the stately old Watts mansion adjoining. Fashion had pushed its course as far north as Bleecker Street; several handsome houses were already standing in Waverley Place, and neighborhood. But the old residents near the Battery were as yet undisturbed. Myndert Van Schaick, whose wife was a daughter of John Hone, lived in Broadway, near the residence of Peter Augustus Jay, above Chambers Street. The Rev. Dr. James M. Mathews, of the Dutch Reformed Church, who also married a daughter of John Hone, resided in Broad Street; and among his immediate neighbors were Frederic De Peyster, and the family of Jacob Sherred who gave sixty thousand dollars to the Episcopal Theological Seminary in New York. Bishop Hobart, the great head of the Episcopal Church lived in Vesey Street; George Griswold in Wall Street; Colonel Nicholas Fish in Stuyvesant Street, near Third Avenue; and Archibald Gracie in Bond Street.

Not only dwelling-houses but public buildings were multiplying in every direction. The American Museum was erected in Broadway, overlooking the Park, in 1824. The Merchants' Exchange in Wall Street, commenced in 1825, was finished in 1827; and the city post-office was quartered under its roof. The Masonic Hall in Broadway, near Pearl Street, was one of the enterprises of 1826, a costly Gothic edifice, containing one apartment ninety-five feet long, forty-seven feet wide, and twenty-five feet high, finished and ornamented in the same style as the chapel of Henry VIII. It was intended for public meetings, concerts, and balls. The third story of the edifice was arranged in a luxurious manner for the meetings of the masonic fraternity. The serious blow given to the masons by the inhuman murder of William Morgan, about the time of the completion of the structure, induced a change of name, and it was henceforth called Gothic Hall. Governor De Witt Clinton was a mason, holding at this time the highest masonic office in the United States, and the Morgan excitement deprived him of many votes when the time came for his fourth election to the gubernatorial chair.

The fiftieth birthday of the American republic was celebrated throughout the country, and particularly in New York, where the remembrance of the beginning of the canal on that auspicious anniversary, eight years before, was still vividly impressed upon the public mind. On that day died two venerable and venerated ex-Presidents of the nation, John Adams and Thomas Jefferson.

The coincidence seemed almost miraculous. Both Adams and Jefferson were on the committee in the Continental Congress to prepare the Declaration of Independence, both signed that immortal state paper, both represented the nation in Europe, both had been President of the new nation, and both died on the anniversary day, one half a century from the nation's birth. Public meetings, without distinction of parties, were held and eulogies pronounced in every part of the land.

The administration of John Quincy Adams met with fierce opposition from the friends of the disappointed candidates, owing partly to the dashing boldness and energy of Andrew Jackson, who attracted the masses like a magnet. Martin Van Buren threw his whole strength into the scale to prevent the re-election of Adams. He was in the Senate. Edward Livingston, the confidential friend of Jackson, was in the House, a member from Louisiana, and united his influence with that of Van Buren. In New York the heads of the two rival parties, divided on State issues and personal questions, were Martin Van Buren and Governor Clinton. Both admired Jackson. Many of the Clintonians, however, preferred Adams. It was said that the re-election of Clinton to the governorship would be fatal to the prospects of Adams. Van Buren had other reasons for wishing to defeat Clinton. Van Buren's talents had already achieved for him national distinction, and he had no rival greater than Clinton for advancement in the national government. Van Buren was frank and courteous in manner, but concealed his thoughts; Clinton was reserved and haughty in manner, but gave free utterance to his thoughts. Van Buren studied men, Clinton studied books. Both were New-Yorkers born and bred, and both traced their ancestry to Holland — Clinton through the De Witts.

A convention at Utica on the 6th of September, 1826, of which General Pierre Van Cortlandt was president, nominated Clinton for re-election. Van Buren and his party quickly found an opposing candidate. Edward Livingston spent the recesses of Congress in New York; he was at this juncture the head of the Livingston family, housing in his heart the old Livingston prejudice against the Clintons, and his influence was of moment. When the time came for voting the strife was very bitter, but the Clintonians won the victory. In the election of Jackson, which soon followed, the term "Federalist" disappeared from the political records. The supporters of Jackson adopted the name of Democrat, and the Adams men called themselves "National Republicans."

In 1827, on the 2d of June, John George Leake died at his residence in Park Row, opposite City Hall Park. He was a well-known and highly esteemed citizen of large wealth, a lawyer by profession — trained

in the office of James Duane — and his most intimate and cherished friend was the philanthropist, John Watts. Robert William Leake the brother of the deceased, married the sister of John Watts; the only issue of this marriage was a son who died in 1793, at the age of eight years, which was a severe blow to the uncle, who intended making him his sole heir. The two Leakes were sons of Robert Leake, a British officer in the Braddock expedition of 1754, who settled in New York City and accumulated a large property. John George Leake at the time of his death was the last of his race in this country; and desiring above all



Hon. John Watts.
[Born in 1746, died in 1836.]

things to preserve and perpetuate his family name, left by will his entire wealth to Robert, the son of John Watts, upon the express condition of his taking the name of "Leake," by which surname he and his heirs would thereafter be forever called and known. Anticipating the possibility of refusal to accept as aforesaid on the part of Robert Watts, Leake defined the plan of an excellent and useful charity to which his estate should be appropriated. The executors named in the will were John Watts, his brother Robert Watts (whose wife was the daughter of Lord Stirling), Herman

Le Roy, and William Bayard. After some hesitation young Watts complied with the conditions of the will, and, empowered by the legislature, assumed the name of Leake. Scarcely had this been done when he sickened and died. Thus the bereaved father of the heir became the heir of the son, and the inheritor of the Leake property. He took measures at once to execute the scheme of benevolence suggested by Leake. Destitute orphans had always awakened his interest and appealed to his sympathies. The Orphan Asylum founded by the ladies in 1806 was doing a great work, but the field was rapidly widening. New York was flooded with the poverty stricken from every clime and nation. Thus he founded the Leake and Watts Orphan Home, incorporated by act of the legislature in 1831. The corner-stone of a fine edifice near Hudson River and One Hundred and Eleventh Street was laid in 1838, with interesting ceremonies conducted by the clergy of the city; it was completed and opened for the admission of orphans in 1843. The institution

has proved a blessing to the community, and is one of the enduring monuments which seem to place us in palpable connection with the heroic founders of New York. John Watts was the last recorder of the city prior to the Revolution, and his life already spanned nearly fourscore years. His father was the eminent Counselor John Watts, and his mother, a sister of the brilliant Lieutenant-Governor De Lancey, with a maternal ancestry of strong characters reaching to the first invasion of the water-bound, forest-covered island of Manhattan. In the prime of his manhood John Watts was a model of masculine beauty. Even to an advanced age he was distinguished for elegance of person and the polished manners of an old-school gentleman. He bore himself gracefully and proudly erect, and his figure on horseback was the admiration of Broadway up to within a few weeks of his decease in 1836. He survived his wife and children, and through his manifold afflictions grew to be a reticent if not a taciturn man; but his heart was always open to the calls of philanthropy. He was one of the founders of the New York City Dispensary, and for some years its president.¹

This year was also marked by the sudden death of Thomas Addis Emmet, in the court-room, while engaged in trying an important case. He came to New York in 1804, establishing himself in his profession just as the career of Alexander Hamilton terminated. He was one of the finest lawyers Ireland ever produced. The proudest seats of office and honor seemed none too high for his capacity and aspirations. At the time when ancient customs and institutions were toppling through the effects of the French Revolution he, in connection with others of high rank, determined to rid Ireland from the tyranny of Great Britain. The plan was discovered and the leaders imprisoned. After many months they were allowed to negotiate for their own release, and permitted to withdraw from Ireland.

An appeal was made to the legislature in the spring resulting in a grant of five thousand dollars from the State to the New York Historical Society. Frederic De Peyster, then a rising young lawyer—president of the Society in 1880—was the agent to present the subject, and found a majority of the legislators at Albany hostile to appropriations of any character. They said it was not over a dozen years since they had responded favorably to a similar call through the influence of Governor Clinton. The

¹ John Watts, born 1749, died 1836, was Speaker of the New York Assembly from 1791 to 1794, and represented New York in the Third Congress. He was a munificent donor to philanthropic objects. His residence was No. 3 Broadway. His mother's mother was the daughter of Hon. Stephanus Van Cortlandt and Gertrude Schuyler. He married his cousin, Jane, daughter of Peter and Elizabeth Colden De Lancey, the granddaughter of Lieutenant-Governor Cadwallader Colden, of colonial New York memory. See Vol. I. 420, 502, 756, 757.

library was prospering, having reached eight thousand volumes. De Peyster answered every objection, and succeeded in showing the importance of obtaining and preserving documents, fugitive pamphlets, perishable papers, and of publishing the historical manuscript of the elder William Smith, which had been presented by his son. Governor Clinton aided De Peyster in every way possible; he said, in reference to the history of New York, "Do you not know, gentlemen, that the most important is the worst or least described part of the Union?"

Albert Gallatin, returning from England, where he had been sent by President Adams the year before, arrived in New York in December, and henceforward made the city his permanent residence, devoting himself to science, literature, and historical and ethnological researches. He was sixty-six years of age, of medium height, bald-headed, with features strongly marked, and an eye of piercing brilliancy. He was the best talker of the century, with a wonderful memory for facts and dates, and his intellectual attractions drew about him a circle of brilliant men. "There was a small company of us in the habit of meeting weekly at each other's houses for a social evening," wrote Rev. Dr. James Mathews, "and John Quincy Adams usually made his arrangements to be with us when he passed through the city." Governor Clinton was one of the number, as occasion permitted, also the scholarly Bishop Hobart. In the

1828. early part of January, 1828, the governor assembled a few friends to dine and spend the evening at his house, among whom were Chancellor Kent, recently chosen president of the New York Historical Society, Judge Jonas Yates, Abraham Van Vetchen, and Stephen Van Rensselaer, the patroon. "I never saw Clinton appear to more advantage," wrote Dr. Mathews. "The topics introduced and the guests at his table were calculated to draw him out. A first glance showed that he was no ordinary man. The majestic was a predominant feature of his mind and body. You saw it in his figure, in his manner, in his countenance, all indicating him as the right man to be governor of the Empire State, and to create an era in her history that should never be forgotten."

It was but a few days ere the New York world was shocked by the intelligence that Governor Clinton's life had passed away, without
Feb. 11. a struggle, while sitting in his library chair in conversation with his sons, and without a moment's warning. The air was filled with lamentations. The State had met with no ordinary loss. Clinton loved New York with the same partiality that a parent loves his own family, and took pride in its advancement in wealth and greatness. The sorrow was universal. Imposing demonstrations in all parts of the State, without distinction of party, revealed the popular sense of the magnitude of

the loss. Merchants and farmers, public bodies of every character, scientific, religious, and charitable institutions, schools, colleges, tribunals of justice, and the legislative councils, united in tributes of respect. The New York bar passed resolutions offered by Josiah Ogden Hoffman, and seconded by the eloquent George Griffin, who said: "It is a bereaved world that mourns. Nature and education formed Clinton to be one of the master-spirits of the age in which he lived. The Pericles of our commonwealth, for near thirty years he exercised, without stooping to little arts of popularity, an intellectual dominion in his native State scarcely inferior to that of the illustrious Athenian—a dominion as benignant as it was effective. He was the supporter of every charitable and religious institution—the encourager of every science and every art; he zealously promoted every object calculated to meliorate the moral condition of the State, and labored with untiring assiduity to irradiate the general mind with the light of knowledge."¹ Columbia College wore crape for thirty days. It was remembered with pride that Clinton was the first student admitted to the college under the new order of things after the Revolution, and that he had delivered the latest address, May 3, 1827, before the Alumni, sketching the rise, progress, and present condition of the institution.²

¹ George Griffin, eminent lawyer and author, born 1778, died May, 1860 (the brother of the great divine, Rev. Edward Dorr Griffin, president of Williams College from 1821 to 1836), married a daughter of Colonel Zebulon Butler, who commanded the defense at Wyoming at the time of the massacre in 1778. His son, Rev. Edward Dorr Griffin, born 1804, died 1830, graduated from Columbia College with honors in 1823, and was subsequently assistant minister of Christ's Church in the city.

² Governor Clinton, in the admirable discourse to which reference is made, expressed his perfect contempt of unworthy prejudices against foreigners, yet remarked: "Since the college has been under professors of native growth it has experienced its present fullness of prosperity. The president and all the professors of the college are now indigenous plants, and their talents and powers of instruction are felt in the flourishing state of the institution. Never did it stand on higher ground, and never were its prospects more brilliant." He adverted to the means of education in successful operation in the State as follows: "We have four colleges, containing four hundred and thirty-seven students; thirty-three incorporated academies, containing two thousand four hundred and forty students; eight thousand one hundred and forty-four common schools, in which four hundred and thirty-one thousand six hundred and one persons are receiving instruction; and the pupils in private institutions, it is computed, will swell this number to at least four hundred and sixty thousand. From the apex to the base of this glorious pyramid of intellectual improvement we perceive the intimacy of connection, an identity of interest, a unanimity of action and reaction, a system of reciprocated benefits, that cannot but fill us with joy, and make us proud of our country. The national school society of Great Britain educates but three hundred thousand children annually; no State or country can vie with our common school establishment." De Witt Clinton was born March 2, 1769, died February 11, 1828, aged fifty-nine. He was twice married: (1) to Maria, daughter of Walter Franklin, by whom he had ten children, of whom is the eminent Hon. George W. Clinton of Buffalo; (2) to Catharine, daughter of Dr. Thomas Jones.

The cause of common school education, the commercial, agricultural, and manufacturing interests of the city and State, and the political supremacy of New York as the most important member of the Union, were all identified with his long administration of affairs. Even the small men, and those who had thrown stones, contemplated his thirty years' career with admiration: as private secretary to his uncle, George Clinton, as mayor of New York City, as United States senator, State senator, canal commissioner, and governor, he had left the impress of his intellectual ability and moral greatness on all the leading interests of the nation as well as the State. Few names more illustrious grace the history of any age or country.

The lieutenant-governor, Nathaniel Pitcher, assumed the duties of the executive, and Peter R. Livingston was elected president of the senate. The next election placed Martin Van Buren in the governor's chair, and Enos T. Throop was elected lieutenant-governor. Van Buren was, however, soon called to the cabinet of President Jackson.

The value of books as a means of culture had long been recognized in New York. Columbia College had accumulated a fine collection of choice works, partly by judicious purchases, and partly through donations.¹ The New York Society Library was the rarest and richest as well as the earliest loan library in America. It contains, in 1880, about seventy thousand volumes, comprising a great number out of print, and not to be found in modern or antiquarian bookstores. From its inception down to the present time this library has been the resort, pre-eminently, of the families of wealth and social position, and its founders and early members are still represented by their descendants. The New York Hospital Library was established in 1796, the governors appropriating five hundred dollars to the purchase of volumes, and the medical faculty of Columbia College contributed from their private collections. Among the additions made prior to 1830 was the botanical library of Dr. Hosack. It contains about ten thousand volumes, the most valuable medical library of its size in the country. We have seen how the Mercantile Library and the Historical Society Library were expanding. In 1820 was established the Apprentices' Library, by the General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen, for the use of mechanics' apprentices, in connection with a school for the children of unfortunate mechanics. In 1862 the free use of this library

¹ The largest gifts to the library of Columbia College have been the law libraries of William Samuel Johnson, third president, given by his son, and of Chief Justice John Jay, the gift of his grandson, John Jay. The most important additions by purchase have been the libraries of the late Nathaniel F. Moore and of the late Lorenzo Da Ponte; the former consisting for the most part of elegant and valuable editions of the Greek and Roman classics, and the latter, an extensive collection of the older Italian literature.

was extended to working-women. Some idea of its practical worth may be elicited from the fact of its having increased in size and circulation, until at the present time the volumes number sixty thousand, and the total circulation has reached one hundred and fifty thousand.

The Law Institute was organized in 1828, with Chancellor Kent its first president. The nucleus of a law library was immediately formed by the purchase of the private collection of Robert Tillotson. Donations of books came in slowly, but the library became a success^{1828.} in the highest and broadest sense, and now furnishes the bench and bar with resources of incalculable value. It contains some twenty-four thousand volumes, and is conceded to be the best public law library in the country. The American Institute originated during the same year, its purpose being to encourage and promote industry throughout the Union by the bestowal of rewards and other benefits on persons excelling in agriculture, commerce, manufactures, and the arts. It was incorporated in 1829, and the first annual fair was held in the new Masonic^{1829.} Hall in Broadway. A library was founded, which in 1850 numbered six thousand five hundred volumes,—and since then has nearly doubled. It is strongest in the divisions of science and the arts.

The leading voice in appropriating the income of the immense church property of the Episcopalians of New York had for many years been that of Bishop John Henry Hobart. His diocese extended upwards of three hundred miles from east to west. A broader field of action, and a sway of public sentiment more powerful, have seldom fallen to the lot of any man clad in the robes and bearing the symbols of the prelacy. With the great mass of the clergy his will was law; and he spoke, acted, and bore himself as one having authority. He was a handsome man, with a bright, clear, piercing eye and a smooth face. He was small of stature, dignified and courtly; but he walked upon the street with as much rapidity as if walking for a wager. He was one of the great thinkers of his generation, and a ready writer and speaker, natural, earnest, bold, effective, the movements of his mind being as rapid as those of his limbs. His executive ability was unparalleled; and he extricated the church from many difficulties. In the pulpit he was commanding, and his voice, although not strong, was penetrating. His sermons were written with conciseness, point, and vigor, and his utterance was quick and energetic. There was intensity in all his mental and moral characteristics—a sort of elevated impetuosity running like a chain of fire through mind, heart, and life.

He drew about him a host of friends, and was alive to every social courtesy. He was often in general society, accompanied usually by the two young clergymen of Trinity Parish, Benjamin T. Onderdonk, conse-

crated bishop in 1830, and William Berrian, rector of Trinity from 1830 to 1862; and he was on terms of cordial intimacy with the clergy of other denominations. "Generally he had some controversy on hand, and I often jested with him on his being such a man of war from his youth up," wrote Dr. Mathews. His temperament was, however, adapted to the



Right Reverend John Henry Hobart.
[Protestant Episcopal Bishop of New York.]

times. It seems a little remarkable that the great champion of Episcopacy in New York should have been of Puritan ancestry, but such was the fact. Edmund Hobart, one of the founders of Hingham, Massachusetts, came from Hingham, England, in 1633; his second son was an eminent Puritan divine, who had five clerical sons, preachers among the Congregationalists, also two grandsons, Rev. Noah Hobart and the distinguished missionary, Rev. David Brainard. Hon. John Sloss Hobart, so frequently mentioned in former pages, was the son of Rev. Noah Ho-

bart. One of the grandsons of the eminent Edmund Hobart, to whom an army of divines and scholars trace their pedigree, was John Hobart, the grandfather of the bishop.

His favorite theme was the proper education of the clergy. He proposed a school of theology in New York as early as 1813, the germ of the Episcopal Theological Seminary in Ninth Avenue, established under his immediate auspices in 1819, in which he was an active professor of pastoral theology and pulpit eloquence. The board of trustees were all bishops — one from every diocese in the Union. A theological library was speedily instituted; and scholarships to furnish education for the impecunious. This noble institution has ever since been sending out its ministerial candidates to every part of the land. The cause of Sun-

1830

day schools and of missions, charities of every character, the circulation of Bibles and of tracts, and the authorship of almost numberless important works, engaged in turn Bishop Hobart's attention and efforts. His valuable life, however, came to a sudden termination in September, 1830, in the prime of his intellectual vigor, at the age of fifty-five.

New York City by this time appeared like a youth much overgrown for his years. It had shot up with a rapidity that defied calculation. Wealth was increasing faster than sobriety was inclined to measure. Swarming multitudes from every quarter of the globe were rendering the community in a certain sense unformed. Keen-sighted, far-seeing men had acted upon the principle that no good citizen should be without the privilege of a public library; educational and charitable institutions were multiplying; but a strong desire was manifested to lift intelligence upward and onward by creating a university in the city—a seat of learning on a broad scale, with the widest range of liberal education, that should benefit the nation as well as the commercial metropolis of the land. Among the merchants who aided munificently were George Griswold and John Delafield; Albert Gallatin was concerned in all the delibera-
1831.
tions, and Morgan Lewis and Edward Livingston brought their well-matured judgment to the aid of the scholars and clergymen enlisted in the enterprise. The University was virtually established in 1831;

professors were inaugurated to fill the various chairs in 1832; the corner-stone of a fine edifice one hundred and eighty feet long by one hundred feet wide, fronting on Washington Square, then quite a long distance from the city, was laid in 1833, which was soon completed,



University of the City of New York.
(Washington Square.)

and opened in 1835. It was a Gothic structure of white freestone modeled after King's College, England, and was esteemed a masterpiece of pointed architecture, with its octangular turrets rising at each of the four corners.

Rev. Dr. Mathews was the first Chancellor of the University. He was the scholarly pastor of the Garden Street Dutch Reformed Church, tall, of fine presence, elegant address, with a noble, well-poised head, and handsome, magnetic features. He was one of the most genial of men, animated and witty in conversation, fond of story-telling, and eloquent in debate. He was an author as well as a preacher and instructor; and his two daughters, Joanna and Julia Mathews, have enriched the juvenile literature of America with sixty-five entertaining and successful volumes of the highest religious and moral character. His increased duties, however, led to the installation of a colleague in the church, Rev. Mancius S. Hutton; and the great fire of 1835 destroying the old edifice, a new and elegant structure was erected near the University, and opened in 1837. Washington Square — the old Potter's Field — was being improved, and soon became one of the most quiet and fashionable portions of the city. Among the wealthy merchants who built handsome residences overlooking this new park were George Griswold, Thomas Suffern, Saul Alley, John Johnston, James Boorman, and William C. Rhinelanders — who recently died leaving upwards of fifty millions. The street bounding Washington Square on the east was called University Place.

The Union Theological Seminary, in contemplation as the infant university began to show symptoms of life, was established in 1836. Twenty-eight trustees from the Presbyterian Church, half of whom were clergymen, managed its affairs — but the new theological school was open to every denomination of Christians. A plain brick edifice was constructed alongside the University opposite Washington Square. The basis of a rare and valuable library was also laid by the purchase in 1839 of the library of Leander Van Ess, of Germany, editor of the Septuagint and Vulgate, consisting of about fifteen thousand distinct works. It has steadily increased to some thirty-five thousand volumes, in 1880, with nearly the same number of choice and rare pamphlets, including the original editions of the reformers, Luther, Melancthon, and others, the earliest Bibles printed, and valuable collections of church history.

A society was incorporated in April, 1831, for the purpose of founding an institution for the education of the blind. Among the foremost in this enterprise were Dr. Samuel Akerly, brother-in-law of Dr. Mitchill, who had been so zealous in the interests of the deaf and dumb, and Samuel Wood, Theodore Dwight, and Dr. John Dennison Russ. The first attempt at instruction ever made in this country was in 1832. Dr. Russ invented a phonetic alphabet of raised letters, and taking six blind children into his household demonstrated the practicability of the experiment. The work went forward slowly but with marked

success. In 1839 an elegant Gothic edifice was erected, through legislative and private donations, in Ninth Avenue, corner of Thirty-fourth Street.

The population of New York City at this epoch was upwards of two hundred thousand. But stages were the only means of public conveyance from one point to another. The subject of railway travel was in agitation; also the peculiar adaptation of horse-railroads for the streets of cities. The New York and Harlem Railroad Company was incorporated in 1831, for the purpose of constructing a railroad from the central part of the city to Harlem. Two years later the road, with a single track, was in operation as far as Murray Hill, and the new horse-cars were a great novelty as well as a convenience.

The introduction of steam as a moving power for land-carriages was painfully slow. A steam-engine built by George Stephenson at his works in England arrived in New York in the spring of 1829 and was exhibited for some time in the yard of Edward Dunscomb in Water Street, its wheels raised above the ground and kept running for the benefit of the curious. C. E. Detmold received that year a premium for constructing a horse locomotive able to carry twelve passengers at the rate of twelve miles an hour — the horse working on an endless chain platform. The next year he made drawings of the first American steam locomotive, which, built in New York, was placed on a South Carolina road late in the summer of 1830. Peter Cooper, the philanthropist, in the midst of the great excitement created by the progress of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad — of which the first stone was laid July 4, 1828 — invented and built a small locomotive in Baltimore to demonstrate to the stockholders that the cars could be drawn around short curves. It was placed upon the road in 1830, and its success induced the half bankrupt and quite disheartened company to press forward with the work. The railroad from Albany to Schenectady was commenced the same year, for which a charter had been granted in 1826; the trial trip was made in 1832. Other railroads were undertaken in various parts of the country; but it was a long while before they became a business success.

Washington Irving returned from his travels of a dozen or more years in foreign lands in May, 1832. New York welcomed him home with pride and affection. Honors of every description were accorded him. Enthusiasm pervaded all classes. No author had ever ^{1832.} been so much read in the city of his birth. His felicities of theme, thought, and expression, together with his irresistible drollery, fullness of invention, and refined humors, gave him a place in the public heart never to be superseded. While abroad, his genius had won for him distin-

guished consideration, and he had been on terms of intimacy with the most notable and worthy of all countries. For two years he was secretary of the American legation in London, and received one of the fifty-guinea gold medals provided by George IV. for eminence in historical compositions. Standing once more among his kindred and countrymen, the same erect, dignified, healthful figure of modest proportions, with the same thoughtful air varied with captivating surprises of animation, he unconsciously charmed, while adoring New York above all the places he had seen beyond the seas. A great banquet was given him on the

30th, at the City Hotel in Broadway; three hundred gentlemen
 May 30. were seated at the tables. Chancellor Kent presided, and James K. Paulding was placed at the right hand of the long-absent traveler. Philip Hone, William A. Duer, Professor Renwick, Thomas L. Ogden, and Samuel Swartwout were the vice-presidents of the entertainment.¹

The summer following was marked by the appearance of that terrible scourge, the Asiatic cholera. Over three thousand persons died in New York City between the 4th of July and the 1st of October. The peculiarities of the fearful visitation excited universal notice; and not least among the contributions to medical literature it elicited was a valuable paper from Dr. John W. Francis. In the autumn President Jackson was re-elected by a large vote, and Martin Van Buren became vice-president. Again New York furnished a Secretary of State, in the person of Edward Livingston. He had just begun to feel at ease in his senatorial chair, when elevated to the cabinet. He wrote to his wife at their beautiful seat on the Hudson — Montgomery Place, inherited from his sister — saying: "Here am I in the second place in the United States, some say the first; in the place filled by Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe; and my brother, who filled it before any of them; in the place filled by Clay at so great a sacrifice; in the very easy-chair of Adams; in the office which every politician looks to as the last step but one in the ladder of his ambition; in the very cell where the great magician, they say, brewed his spells." The duty of doing the honors of the Executive Mansion having devolved upon President Jackson's young niece, Mrs. Livingston, as the wife of the premier, was sought for aid and assistance on all occasions. And she was abundantly competent. Her gifts in conver-

¹ Among those who gave this dinner were Francis B. Cutting, Ogden Hoffman, William Gracie, Charles Fenno Hoffman, James G. King, Peter Schemerhorn, Henry Ogden, Jacob Morton, Charles F. Grim, Dr. John W. Francis, Cornelius Low, Richard Ray, Judge John Duer, Thomas R. Mercein, Charles Kent, J. Fenimore Cooper, Thomas W. Ludlow, Charles King, John A. King, Charles Graham, General Augustus Fleming, James J. Jones, Abraham Schemerhorn, Gulian C. Verplanck, David E. Colden, William Bard, Peter G. Stuyvesant, Beverly Robinson, W. B. Lawrence, and Peter Irving.

sation, her distinction of manners, and remarkable beauty are historical. Their house in Washington had long since become the resort of all that was notable in statesmanship and letters; and national hospitalities were never dispensed with more elegance.

In April, 1833, Cora Livingston, the beautiful daughter and only surviving child of Edward Livingston, was married to Thomas P. Barton, and immediately after the ceremony President Jackson, while offering his congratulation, announced that Livingston was appointed Minister to France, and that his newly wedded son-in-law had been selected as secretary of legation. At the same period Auguste Davezac, the brother of Mrs. Livingston, was Chargé d'Affaires of the United States at The Hague.

The first election of a mayor of New York by the votes of the people, in conformity with a recent amendment of the State constitution, occurred in 1834. The candidates were

Gulian C. Verplanck and Cornelius W. Lawrence. Some stirring scenes occurred, but the Democrats were successful, and Lawrence was placed in the mayor's chair. Governor William L. Marcy, at this time controlled the executive department of the State government, a man of talents of the highest order, of great decision of character, and of acknowledged honor and integrity. The Democratic party was well organized, had the full benefit of Jackson's popularity, and was basking in the sunshine of his patronage; while its favorite, Martin Van Buren, was the heir-apparent to the Presidency.

In June, 1835, Edward Livingston and his family returned to New York from France — in the *Constitution*, commanded by Commodore Elliott — where his conduct of affairs had given universal satisfaction. Crowds of people greeted him at the landing and followed his carriage to the house of his brother in Greenwich Street, in front of which they remained, calling for him until he appeared at the door and made a short speech. A request came presently from the common council of the city for him to hold a public reception in the governor's room of the City Hall; and during the same day he received an invitation to a public dinner to be given in his honor at the City Hotel, signed by Mayor Lawrence, Enos T. Throop, Samuel Jones, Thomas J. Oakley, William Leggett, J. Fenimore Cooper, Theodore Sedgwick, and others, which took place on the 16th of July. The mayor presided, and among the toasts was — "Edward Livingston. As a patriot



Cornelius W. Lawrence.
[From a Miniature presented to the author
by the late Mrs. Lawrence.]

and statesman he belongs to America; as a jurist and philosopher, to the world."¹

It had been discovered in 1834 that New York City contained a disorderly element of a formidable character, and in April of that year the civil authorities were for the first time obliged to call for military aid in maintaining the peace of the city. The municipal election gave rise to a series of brawls and riots. Three months afterwards another riot was created through hostility to the antislavery movement. The meetings of the Abolitionists were attacked and broken up, and the mob sacked the dwellings of Arthur and Lewis Tappan, in Rose Street. Mayor Lawrence called out the National Guard, which marched and countermarched in front of the City Hall; word suddenly came that several of the churches were about to be destroyed by the rioters, and the troops were ordered to the rescue.² The streets were filled with angry-looking multitudes, and near the Spring Street Church a barricade of carts, barrels, and ladders chained together was planted across the way, and the parsonage of Rev. Dr. Cox had already been attacked. The troops were assailed

¹ The name of Edward Livingston had become illustrious all over the world through his great scheme of philanthropy, the *Livingston Code*, which was no sooner published in America in 1823 than it was reprinted in England, in France, and in Germany. (*Westminster Review* for January, 1825; *Project of a New Penal Code*, London, 1824; *Jeremy Bentham's Works*, edited by Bowring, XI. 37; *Revue Encyclopédique*, tom. XLIV. 214, 215; *Cambridge Essays*, 1856, p. 17.) Victor Hugo wrote to the author "You will be numbered among the men of this age who have deserved most and best of mankind." The new law-giver received autograph letters from the Emperor of Russia and the King of Sweden on the subject of his work. The King of the Netherlands sent him a gold medal, with a eulogistic inscription. The government of Guatemala translated one of his codes — that of Reform and Prison Discipline — and adopted it word for word (*Código de Reforma y Disciplina de las Prisiones*, Guatemala, 1834); and in his honor gave to a new city and district the name of Livingston. Many of the most prominent statesmen of the world wrote to him in terms of appreciative commendation. When Kossuth was entertained at a public dinner by the bar of New York City, in 1852, he said "that America had a great authority for codification — Livingston — one of the three or four American names best known and most respected in Europe."

² Cornelius Van Wyck Lawrence (born 1791, died 1861), mayor of New York City, member of Congress from 1832 to 1834, president of the Democratic Electoral College in 1836, collector of the port of New York under President Polk, and for twenty years president of the Bank of the State of New York, was descended from William Lawrence who settled on Long Island about two hundred years prior to this period (see Vol. I. 231), and married Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Smith, the patentee of Smithtown — the lady who afterwards married Sir Philip Carteret. Mayor Lawrence married his cousin, Lydia A., daughter of Judge Effingham Lawrence, and widow of Edward N. Lawrence. The Lawrence family is widely known and prominently connected throughout the country. Walter Bowne (born 1771, died 1846), mayor of New York City four years prior to the election of Lawrence, and who represented the city in the State senate three successive terms, traced his ancestry to the same source in the maternal line, the Lawrences and Bownes having intermarried in many generations. Mary, the daughter of Walter Bowne, became the wife of John W. Lawrence (born in 1800), member of Congress and president of the Seventh Ward Bank in New York.

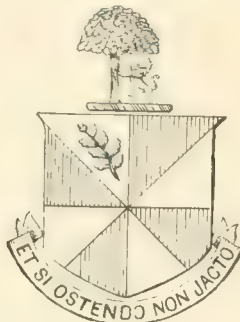
with stones and every offensive missile, but with admirable coolness they were able to quell the disturbance and disperse the mob without firing a shot. Scarcely another month had elapsed ere a riot occurred among the stone-cutters. In building the University, the contractors purchased marble at Sing Sing, and employed the State prisoners, for economy's sake, to cut and hew it before bringing it to the city. Three or four private dwellings were also in process of erection from the Sing Sing marble. This was no sooner known than the stone-cutters banded together, held meetings, and paraded the streets with incendiary placards, and even went so far as to attack several houses. The troops were called out, and, after dispersing the malcontents, lay under arms in Washington Square four days and four nights. The third, or "Five Points Riot," occurred on Sunday, June 21, 1835. It was an Irish brawl. A regiment of Irishmen was about to be organized, to which some native Americans took exception. Two or three fights began in different quarters of the town, one in Grand Street, another in Chatham, and a third in Pearl. The latter was between two Irishmen, but the affray soon became general and serious. Citizens interfered and were pelted with brick-bats. Finally Mayor Lawrence appeared on the scene with a large force of police, and, having arrested the principal ringleaders, dispersed the mob for the time. On Monday the riots were renewed by parties of Irish and Americans, a public house in the Bowery was sacked, and several prominent citizens dangerously injured. The mayor and police again came to the rescue; but the next day and the next witnessed a repetition of outrages, and finally public notice was given that there would be no meeting of the O'Connell Guards; and peace thereby was restored.

A terrible calamity befell New York City in the following December. On the bitter cold night of the 16th, as the tempestuous winds were howling through the snow-clad streets, the people below ^{Dec. 16.} City Hall were suddenly startled by an alarm of fire. Upon looking out they saw a volume of lurid light streaming into the sky below Wall Street. Firemen hastened to the scene of the conflagration, but water could only be obtained from the river, and that presently froze in the pipes before it could be used. The brave men beat their hose and tried every means to prevent the formation of ice without avail; it was the coldest weather known for many years; finally they drew their "machines" out of the way and boldly tried to save property. Many of the stores were new, with iron shutters and doors and copper roofs, and in burning presented the appearance of immense iron furnaces in full blast. The heat at times melted the copper roofing, and the liquid ran off in great drops. The gale blew towards the East River. Wall after wall was

heard tumbling like an avalanche. Fiery tongues of flame leaped from roofs and windows along whole streets, and seemed to be making angry dashes at each other. The water of the bay looked like a vast sea of blood. The bells rang for a while and then ceased. Both sides of Pearl Street and Hanover Square were at the same instant in the jaws of the hungry monster. Seventeen blocks were consumed, and upwards of twenty millions of property converted into smoke and ashes. The burnt district embraced some thirteen acres, and nearly seven hundred buildings were swept away, occupied chiefly by New York's largest shipping and wholesale dry-goods merchants and grocers. The marble exchange, supposed fire-proof, in which had been stored books, papers, and costly goods, disappeared like a dissolving-view; and the Garden Street Church, in the midst of its tombs, with its fine organ, and immense quantities of merchandise placed within and about it for safety, was quickly a shapeless pile of ruins. Mayor Lawrence appeared with his officers, and it was resolved to blow up buildings. But there was a want of powder; Charles King volunteered to visit the navy-yard for a supply, and returned with a band of marines and sailors. About two o'clock in the morning several structures were mined, and the explosions went on fearfully but successfully until the progress of the fire was arrested.

The day dawned upon a wild waste. And, to add to the distress, every insurance company in the city was made bankrupt by the same disaster.

Dec. 19. As soon as the first excitement had subsided, a public meeting of the citizens was convened by the mayor at the City Hall, and resolutions, offered by James G. King, to unite in vigorous exertions to repair the loss, were unanimously adopted. On motion of Dudley Selden, a committee of one hundred and fifty citizens was appointed to ascertain the origin and cause of the fire and probable extent of losses.



Ogden Arms.

CHAPTER XIX.

1835 - 1845.

INTRODUCTION OF CROTON WATER.

NEW YORK SUFFERING FOR WATER. — INTRODUCTION OF GAS. — THE CROTON AQUEDUCT. — MURRAY HILL RESERVOIR. — CROTON RIVER FLOWING INTO THE CITY. — CELEBRATION OF THE GREAT ACHIEVEMENT. — ELECTION OF MARTIN VAN BUREN TO THE PRESIDENCY. — FINANCIAL CRISIS OF 1837. — FAILURES. — SUSPENSION OF SPECIE PAYMENTS BY ALL THE BANKS IN AMERICA. — INFLUENCE OF JAMES G. KING. — ENGLAND SENDING GOLD TO NEW YORK. — THE COUNTRY RELIEVED. — BANKS OF 1880. — MONEIED INSTITUTIONS. — PRISONS. — THE TOMBS. — CITY CORRECTIONAL AND CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS. — PENNY JOURNALISM. — THE GREAT NEWSPAPER SYSTEM. — FOUNDING OF THE PROMINENT NEW YORK JOURNALS. — THE ITALIAN OPERA. — POETS OF 1837. — COLUMBIA COLLEGE ANNIVERSARY. — DEDICATION OF THE UNIVERSITY. — INVENTION OF THE MAGNETIC TELEGRAPH. — ADOPTION OF THE MORSE SYSTEM. — PROFESSOR SAMUEL F. B. MORSE. — HONORS OF THE WORLD. — GREAT POLITICAL EXCITEMENT OF THE DECADE. — VICTORY OF THE WHIGS. — THE GREAT FIRE OF 1845 IN NEW YORK CITY.

A SENSE of the perishing condition of the city for the want of water took possession of the public mind. The cool, clear-headed, undismayed business-men of New York, while devising means for rebuilding their commercial structures, discussed the long-pending measure of bringing water from the adjacent country to the relief of the island metropolis. Fire and famine are usually twin companions. In the late deplorable destruction of property the fire had been in its magnitude the direct result of a water famine.

But the greatest consternation was presently awakened in view of the probable financial consequences of the disaster. One firm after another failed. It was a winter of distress — not a propitious moment for diverting a few millions, more or less, to the construction of aqueducts and bridges. At the same time prudence pointed out the danger of procrastination. The public health as well as safety required water. The supply had never been equal to the demand — which was increasing in rapid ratio. The population had reached two hundred and seventy thousand; and the great human tide was flowing in from the Old World in a resistless and almost overpowering current. From the brackish wells and the old Tea Pump to the practical operation of the Manhattan Water- 1836.

Works in Reade Street—which managed to distribute very poor water, pumped from wells, through the lower part of the city in hollow logs—the citizens had always been restricted. And the more people the less water. The situation had become absolutely appalling.

New York was the most extravagant city in the known world as far as charity was concerned. No other community ever had been so taxed with providing for the destitute of all climes. They came bankrupt in character as well as finances, wrecks of incapacity, miseducation, prodigality, and crime—not only from across the ocean but from every part of our own continent. The metropolis was a general asylum for vagrants. The brains of political philosophers were vexed with the problem of how to provide most effectually for both poverty and vice, while humanity never faltered in the matter of dollars and cents.

Gas was introduced into the city below Canal Street in 1825, meeting with much opposition. Many persons were afraid to have it in or near their dwellings. Explosions were predicted. When the newspapers suggested that the great fire originated in the bursting of a gas-pipe, scores of men were ready to exclaim, "I told you so!" Samuel Leggett, president of the old Franklin Bank, originated the first gas company in New York in 1823, and became its president. He introduced gas into his own handsome private residence in Franklin Square, and opened his doors hospitably to the public in order to demonstrate the utility of the new source of light and comfort.¹ He also about the same time attempted to furnish the city with water from the Bronx River.

The various schemes agitated for supplying the city with wholesome water would form an interesting chapter. The question had been before the people more or less for several decades. Projects for boring artesian

¹ Samuel Leggett was a man of enlarged ideas and great practical benevolence. He was the son of Thomas Leggett, of Westchester County, a large landholder, driven from his estate by the "Cow Boys" in the Revolution, who came to the city on the return of peace and went into a lucrative business, purchasing the fine house subsequently occupied by his son, and, not being ready to take immediate possession, rented it to Comfort Sands for a brief period. Samuel Leggett and his brothers succeeded their father in business, and were among the notable New York merchants of the early portion of the present century. William Leggett was of the same family, a cousin of Samuel Leggett; he married, in 1828, Almira, daughter of John Waring, and in the autumn of the same year established *The Critic*, a weekly literary journal, which at the end of six months was united with the *New York Mirror*, to which he was a contributor. In 1829 he became associated with William Cullen Bryant in the *Evening Post*; and in 1836 was the editor of the *Plain Dealer*, a weekly devoted to politics and literature. William, son of Samuel Leggett, married a daughter of Wager Hull, a descendant of Admiral Sir Wager Hull of the British Navy, and bought the spacious mansion at the corner of St. Mark's Place and Second Avenue: their daughter, Sarah H. Leggett, has founded with admirable success a Home for Working Women in the New York of to-day; she has also established the Fifth Avenue Reading-Room.

wells, for cutting an open canal to the Housatonic River in Connecticut, and for obtaining water from the Passaic River in New Jersey, were among those which had claimed attention and been abandoned. The Croton River, flowing into the Hudson near the old Van Cortlandt manor-house, forty miles above the city, seemed the most promising source. Traversing a beautiful, high, rolling region of country, known as the Croton water-shed, where ten or more picturesque natural lakes might at any time be brought into service, it offered special advantages. Surveys and estimates were made in 1834 by commissioners appointed for the purpose. The popular vote in 1835 decided upon the undertaking, although a very strong party was continually harping on extravagance, and declared that water which had been good enough for their ancestors would suffice for them. The fire was incontrovertible evidence of the imperative need of water to preserve the city from destruction, and the work was pushed forward in spite of serious obstacles.

A dam was thrown across the Croton River creating a lake five miles long, from which a conduit of solid masonry was constructed to the city forty-five miles in length. In its course it encountered snags of every description. Sixteen tunnels in rock vary in length from one hundred and sixty to one thousand two hundred and sixty-three feet. At Sing Sing an elliptical arch of hewn granite is eighty-eight feet span, with its key-stone upwards of seventy feet from the waters of the brook beneath. In Westchester County the aqueduct crosses twenty-five streams from twelve to seventy feet below the line of grade, besides numerous brooks. At Harlem River the famous High Bridge was erected for its accommodation, a magnificent structure of granite one thousand four hundred and fifty feet in length, with fourteen arches each of eighty feet span, one hundred and fourteen feet above tide-water.

About four miles below High Bridge, in what is now Central Park, was located a large receiving reservoir at first covering thirty-one acres

— although another was soon constructed covering one hundred and five acres — from which the water was conducted to a distributing reservoir on



The Murray Hill Distributing Reservoir.

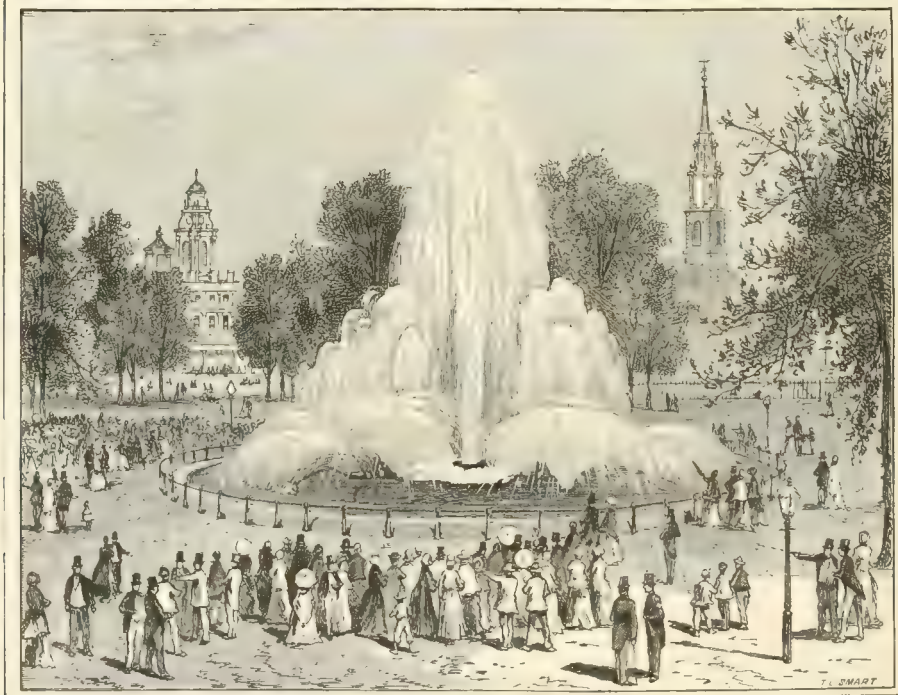
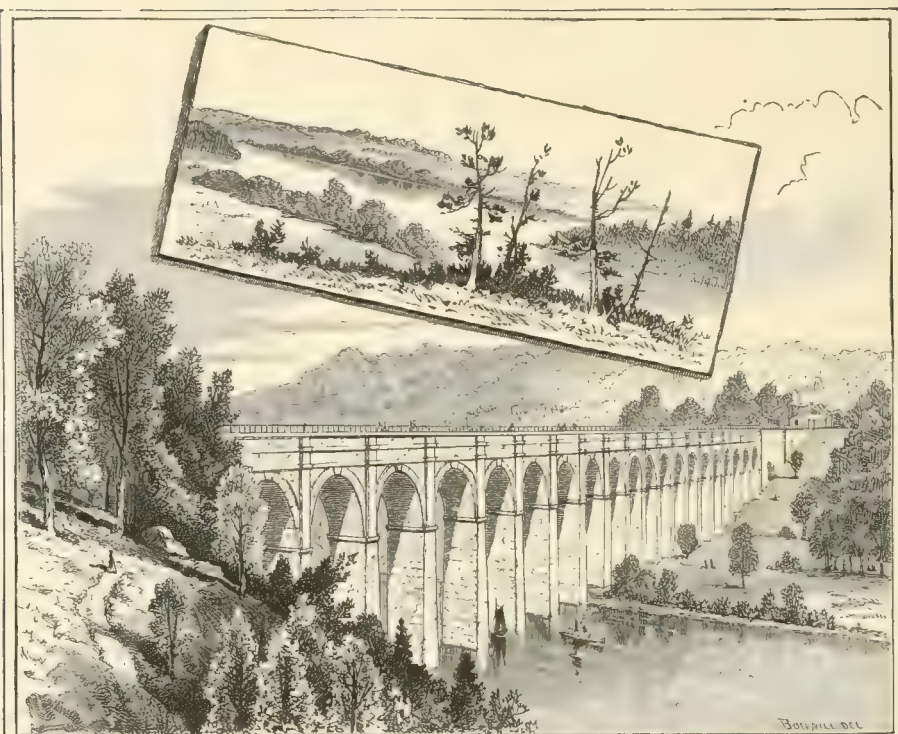
[Fifth Avenue.]

Murray Hill. Besides these, a "high service" reservoir near High Bridge was found necessary, and a lofty tower was built, with powerful pumping machinery, for forcing water into a tank at the top of the tower holding fifty-five thousand gallons, to supply the more elevated portion of the city. The iron mains laid beneath the street surface to carry water to the buildings are about four hundred miles in length at the present writing.

The whole decade, until 1845, was devoted to the construction of the Croton Aqueduct. It was so far completed in 1842 that the water was admitted to the city. Prior to that great event the commissioners and engineers walked through its entire length of forty-five miles. It is arched above and below so as to form an ellipse measuring eight and one half feet perpendicularly and seven and one half feet horizontally. It slopes about thirteen inches to the mile, and has a capacity of carrying one hundred and fifteen million gallons of water per day. When the water was introduced a voyage was made from Croton Lake to the city within the aqueduct, by four persons, on the *Croton Maid*, a boat fashioned for the purpose.

The achievement, like that of the Erie Canal, was destined for a degree of usefulness wholly beyond the most extravagant estimate. Its importance in a hygienic and economic view was rightly foreseen; in insurance alone it caused the reduction of forty cents on every one hundred dollars in the annual rates. Its accomplishment, by a single city, at a cost of upwards of nine millions, in a period of unprecedented commercial embarrassments, and in the face of vast natural obstacles, was a marvel for all future generations; and it is a work worthy of being ranked with the old Roman aqueducts. Henceforward there would seem no project too bold nor enterprise too great for New York to undertake.

On the 4th of July, 1842, the Croton River, turned into its new and enduring channel, rushed into the city. The event was celebrated with an imposing military and civic procession seven miles in length. The gorgeous display in point of magnitude and invention eclipsed both its predecessors — the great Federal pageant of 1788, and that of the canal celebration in 1825. While parading the streets, the rejoicing multitudes were suddenly greeted with the opening of the beautiful fountains, and the wildest enthusiasm prevailed. The several divisions of the procession halted at the City Hall Park, where Samuel Stevens, president of the State Board of Water Commissions, made a stirring address, consigning the custody of the nearly completed works to John L. Lawrence, president of the Croton Aqueduct Board — who also made an appropriate speech. By request of the corporation of the city, George P. Morris, the popular



"While she is so delighted
 While her conquered foes retire!
 Pile Contagion on the burning pile
 With the turfed demon Fire!"

Q. 176. 1

song-writer and editor, had prepared an ode for the occasion, which was sung by the members of the Sacred Music Society, standing before the gushing waters of the Park fountain. The following are a few of the closing lines :—

“Water leaps as if delighted,
While her conquered foes retire !
Pale contagion flies adrifted
With the baffled demon Fire !
Water shouts a glad hosanna !
Bubbles up the earth to bless !
Cheers it like the precious manna
In the barren wilderness.

“Round the aqueducts of story,
As the mists of Lethe throng,
Croton’s waves, in all their glory,
Troop in melody along.
Ever sparkling, bright, and single
Will this rock-ribbed stream appear,
When posterity shall mingle
Like the gathered waters here.”

While the aqueduct was progressing, with all the petty annoyances connected with the details of such an enterprise, affairs throughout the nation reached a feverish crisis. Martin Van Buren, who had in New York reduced the management of his party to a science ^{1837.} systematizing it until it was the most perfect organization ever known in this country, was inaugurated, on the 4th of March, 1837, President of the United States. But financial disaster was the grand legacy of the preceding administration. When the public ^{March 4} money which had been withdrawn from the Bank of the United States, was deposited in the local banks, it became easy to obtain loans. Speculation extended to every branch of trade, and especially to Western lands. New cities were founded in the wilderness, and fabulous prices charged for building-lots. Hardly a man could be found who had not his pet project for realizing a fortune. Foreign goods at the same time were imported heavily. To pay for these, gold and silver were sent abroad in large quantities. Just before the close of his second term, Jackson issued the famous “specie circular,” requiring payments for the public lands to be made in hard money, which swept the gold and silver into the Treasury. Bitter fruits were to be harvested.

Business men could not pay their debts. Consternation seized all classes. The storm burst with terrific fury in New York. During the

first three weeks in April two hundred and fifty houses stopped payment. The losses exceeded one hundred millions. Property of all kinds declined

in value. From New York the panic extended to the remotest
 April quarters of the Union. The failures in New Orleans reached twenty-seven millions in two days. Eight of the States in part or wholly failed. Even the national government could not pay its debts. Universal bankruptcy seemed impending. The seasons had been unfavorable to agriculture, and nearly a million and a half bushels of wheat, for home consumption, were imported from Europe into New York during the early spring.¹ The question of payment was discussed with alarm. A general run was made upon the banks. The State of New York, for a loan not exceeding half a million, at six per cent interest, publicly advertised, received not a bid. The policy of the Bank of England in declining

any further extension of credit reacted with great intensity.
 May 10. After deliberate consultation among the officers and directors, all the banks in New York suspended specie payments on the 10th of May.

James G. King, of the great banking-house of Prime, Ward, & King, a leading member and afterwards president of the Chamber of Commerce, was one of the sagacious few whose voice, countenance, and counsel were cheerful and hopeful. He perceived the magnitude and extent of the danger; but he believed that mutual aid and confidence would mitigate, and perhaps control the evil, and his example of calm self-possession inspired others with courage. The merchants and traders of the city meeting the same day at the Exchange, in pursuance of a call numerously signed by leading men of all pursuits and parties, he addressed them, offering resolutions to the effect that paper notes of the different

¹ Flour, during the winter of 1836 and 1837, was twelve and fifteen dollars a barrel, and the poor people suffered severely. It was rumored that a few of the larger flour and grain dealers had taken advantage of the scarcity to buy up all the flour in the city. The old war-cry of "the poor against the rich" was raised, which finally terminated in a riot. On the 10th of February, a placard, headed, "BREAD! MEAT! RENT! FUEL!—their prices must come down!" appeared in conspicuous places calling for a meeting in the Park. Six thousand or more gathered—a motley crowd of whom the greater part were foreigners—and demagogues harangued them until they were fitted for almost any work of spoliation. The popular fury was chiefly directed against Eli Hart, a great flour-merchant, who, it was said, had fifty-three thousand barrels of flour in his store. The mob assaulted the building, and in the end carried it by storm, in spite of the efforts of Mayor Lawrence and a large police force; the rioters threw barrels of flour by fifties and by hundreds from the windows, together with sacks of wheat amounting to over one thousand bushels—until the street, according to a writer of the day, "was knee-deep in flour and wheat." Several other stores were attacked, but through the combined efforts of the citizens and the police the mob was dispersed as night approached. Some forty of the rioters were captured, tried, and sent to the State prison: the ringleaders, however, escaped.

banks should pass current as usual until such time as the resumption of specie payments might be found practicable. Nathaniel Prime seconded the resolutions—which were put separately, and each unanimously adopted. The sanction thus given by the leading business men to the step taken by the banks produced a salutary effect. The community breathed more freely, and trade revived.

During the summer efforts were made to return to specie payments. But disasters thickened. Three of the largest London houses interested in American trade failed; and the return of a large amount of sterling bills drawn on those houses added to the general dismay.

At this juncture James G. King sailed for England. He was warmly received and eagerly consulted by the bankers and merchants of London. While discussing measures proper to be taken in the terrible crisis, he startled the bank-parlor by suggesting that the Bank of ^{October.} England and the great capitalists, instead of continuing to embarrass American merchants by discrediting paper connected with the American trade, should at once send over to New York several million dollars in coin. He declared that such a supply would determine the New York banks upon their future course. After some hesitation the Bank of England consented. A consignment of one million pounds sterling in gold was shipped to New York in March, 1838, on the sole responsibility of Prime, Ward, & King, and the guaranty of Baring Brothers & Co. Curtis, governor of the Bank of England, wrote to King, on the day prior to the first shipment of eighty thousand sovereigns: "The object of the bank in the operation is not one of profit—the whole transaction is out of the ordinary course of its operations. I deem it inexpedient to fix any precise period within which the returns should be made. Having shown your house so much confidence in intrusting the management of this great concern in its hands, it would but ill agree with that confidence if I were to prescribe limits, which might, in many ways, act most inconveniently, and deprive the bank of the advantage of your judgment and experience." King hastened home, the vessel in which he was a passenger bearing the second shipment of gold. The New York banks had already determined to resume specie payments within a year from the day of suspension—on or before the 10th of the coming May—and Samuel Ward, the partner of King, had been active in organizing a public meeting which again pledged the whole business community to stand by the banks. A convention of delegates from several of the States formally declared resumption impolitic and unsafe for some time to come; and the banks of Pennsylvania absolutely refused to come into the measure. But the reign of irredeemable paper terminated, and the city of New York,

which had been compelled to lead the way in suspension, now had the great honor and the supreme satisfaction of leading the way in resumption, and of smoothing the way for others. As the coin arrived it was sold on easy terms to the various banks in the city; also in Boston and Pennsylvania. A reaction took place, depression vanished, and misfortunes were retrieved.¹ The Bank of England's treasure was managed with skill and fidelity by the house in which such signal confidence was reposed, and the transaction was closed without loss and with great promptitude.

James G. King, who, by taking the initiative in this important measure,



James Gore King.

rendered a service of vast moment, not only to his native city and State, but to the whole country, was the third son of the statesman, Rufus King, and the grandson of John Alsop. He was forty-six years of age, of distinguished personal appearance and accomplished scholarship, affable and engaging in manners, and of exceptional integrity, executive ability, and worldly wisdom. He was, indeed, an admirable

representative of the old-school merchant and banker—a class of men who have contributed with princely generosity to the rise of the metropolis, and who are still covering continents with railroads and oceans with steamships. He studied law in his youth, but finally turned his attention to commerce. From 1818 to 1824 he resided in Liverpool, doing a large business in partnership with his brother-in-law, Archibald Gracie. He returned to New York through an invitation to become a partner in the banking-house with which he was henceforward

¹ *Hunt's Lives of American Merchants.*

connected, and which subsequently was reconstructed under the name of James G. King & Sons.¹

In relation to banks and banking institutions in the metropolis a few facts will best illustrate their steady growth. In 1800 two incorporated banks only were in operation. In 1812 the number had multiplied into eight, with an aggregate capital of some ten and one half millions. No new banks were chartered until some time after the war had ceased. But in 1840 thirty banks existed in the city, of which six were banking associations formed under the general banking law.² The grand total of capital employed was a little less than twenty-nine and one half millions. In 1880, notwithstanding all the vicissitudes of banking enterprise, the number of national, State, and savings banks located in the city are upwards of one hundred, independent of the private banking-houses, Loan and Trust, and Safe Deposit companies. The rise of insurance companies has been no less rapid. Prior to 1820 there were but twelve, inclusive of fire and marine, in New York and Philadelphia. In 1840 New York alone sus-

¹ James Gore King, third son of Rufus and Mary Alsop King (born in New York City, May 8, 1791, died 1853), married Sarah Rogers, daughter of Archibald Gracie, in 1813. Children: 1. Caroline, married Denning Duer; 2. Harriet, married Dr. George Wilkes; 3. James Gore King, Jr., judge of the Superior Court of the State of New York, married Caroline, daughter of Governor John A. King; 4. Archibald Gracie King, president of Institution for Savings of Merchants' Clerks, married Elizabeth D., daughter of William A. Duer, president of Columbia College; 5. Mary, married Edgar Richards; 6. Frederica, married J. C. Bancroft Davis, Assistant Secretary of State under President Grant, Minister to Germany, and judge of the Court of Claims; 7. Edward King, president of Union Trust Company, married Isabella Ramsey Cochrane, niece of Dean Ramsey of Edinburgh; 8. Fanny, married James L. McLane, of Baltimore. — *Family Archives*

The wife of the eminent merchant, Archibald Gracie, was Esther, daughter of Moses and Hannah Fitch Rogers. (See pp. 521, 522.) Her mother, Hannah Fitch, was the daughter of Governor Thomas Fitch of Connecticut. The great-grandfather of Governor Fitch (Thomas, son of William Fitch, member of the British Parliament) came to Boston from England in 1637, removing to Norwalk, Connecticut, in 1651, where the family has ever since been one of wealth and high position. Moses Rogers, elder brother of Mrs. Gracie, married Sarah, daughter of Benjamin Woolsey (see p. 522). Their children were: 1. Sarah E. Rogers, married Hon. Samuel M. Hopkins; 2. Benjamin Woolsey Rogers, married Susan, daughter of William Bayard, whose son, Benjamin Woolsey Rogers, married Helena, daughter of Richard K. Hoffman, M. D.; 3. Archibald Rogers, married Anna, daughter of Judge Nathaniel Pendleton; 4. Julia A. Rogers, married Francis Bayard Winthrop. — *Haldane*.

² The Banking Associations in 1840 were as follows: Agency of the Bank of the United States (Philadelphia), George Griswold and Richard Alsop associates; North American Trust and Banking Company, Joseph D. Beers president; Mechanics' Banking Association, E. D. Comstock president; American Exchange Bank, David Leavitt president; Bank of Commerce, John A. Stevens president; New York Banking Company, John Delafield president. The combined capital of the five, independent of the United States Agency, was nine millions. In 1840 four savings-banks only were in operation. (*Williams's Annual Register for 1840*.) The first, as heretofore recorded, was founded in 1819. In 1880 twenty-four are in successful operation. (*Appleton's Dictionary of New York and vicinity for 1880*.)

tained forty-four. In 1876 ninety-four fire-insurance companies were connected with the Board of Fire Underwriters, with a capital of eighty-five millions; and in addition to these were ten marine and twenty life-insurance companies. The total cash capital of moneyed institutions in the city at present is not less than a thousand million dollars.

Prisons seemed to be as essential as banks to the general prosperity of the city. Indolence and pauperism produced offenders against the laws faster than edifices could be constructed for their discipline and punishment. Of convicts, seventy per cent were foreigners; of police arrests, for all manner of offenses, seventy-five per cent were vagrants from other places and countries. As early as 1796 the legislature provided for two state-prisons, one to be erected in Albany and the other in New York City. The commissioners in charge of building Newgate, on the Hudson, in what was then Greenwich village, were John Watts, General Matthew Clarkson, Isaac Stoutenburgh, Thomas Eddy, and John Murray. It was opened in 1797, but it soon became too crowded, and in 1816 the Auburn state-prison, on a much larger scale, was projected; during the same year a penitentiary for persons convicted of minor offenses was built on the East River shore at Bellevue, near the almshouse; in 1826 the Bellevue Hospital was built, and the three buildings surrounded by a stone wall. About the same time Newgate was sold and the site for a state-prison selected at Sing Sing, with reference to the employment of convicts in working the extensive quarries of marble in that vicinity. This was completed in 1828. The city-prisons, for the safe-keeping of offenders awaiting trial, becoming inadequate to the demand, the Halls of Justice, better known as The Tombs, was built upon the site of the old Collect, or Fresh-Water Pond—illustrated on a former page. It was completed in 1838, covering a whole block; and it is probably the purest specimen of Egyptian architecture to be found outside of Egypt itself. If it was not so unfortunately located it would be one of the most imposing buildings in the city; but its really grand proportions are dwarfed almost into insignificance. It stands in a hollow, so low that the top of its massive walls scarcely rises above the level of Broadway, only some one hundred yards distant from its western façade. The granite was brought from Maine, with the exception of the stone of the old Bridewell, demolished about that time. Internally, The Tombs is rather a series of buildings than a single structure. There is now a city prison connected with each police court—seven or more in all. The only one, excepting The Tombs, having any architectural pretensions is the Jefferson Market Prison, a unique and handsome structure of irregular shape, in Italian Gothic style, situated on Sixth Avenue, corner of Tenth Street.

A group of three beautiful and picturesque islands in the East River, alongside the city, are now occupied with the penal and charitable institutions for which New York is famous. To trace the history of their growth and development would require a volume by itself. Blackwell's Island, of one hundred and twenty acres, was purchased by the city in 1828, for fifty thousand dollars. A heavy granite sea-wall, and various edifices turreted and battlemented in the old feudal style, were in due course of time constructed of stone quarried on the island by the convicts. Gardens and attractive grounds were laid out and cultivated, and trees planted. There are now upon the island a penitentiary, with inmates averaging about twelve hundred, an almshouse, a correctional workhouse, a large charity hospital with accommodations for eight hundred, a small-pox hospital, a blind asylum, a spacious lunatic asylum, and hospitals for paralytics, epileptics, incurables, and the convalescent, inhabited constantly by some seven thousand persons, all under the charge of the Commissioners of Public Charities



The Tombs.

and Corrections. Ward's Island is nearly circular, and in parts finely wooded. Several of its hospitals and asylums are large and handsome structures. The Emigrants' Hospital receives the sick and destitute aliens from the Old World, and is in charge of the Commissioners of Emigration, created in 1847. Randall's Island, of one hundred acres, is the site of the House of Refuge, an imposing edifice, with mosque-like turrets, erected in 1854 (the first institution of the kind ever organized); and of the nursery, children's hospitals, asylum and school for idiots, and other charities provided by the city for destitute children. The Society for reforming Juvenile Delinquents, an outgrowth of the Society for the Prevention of Pauperism, established the pioneer House of Refuge in Madison Square, with six boys and three girls, in 1825. When the old arsenal was burned, in 1839, the institution was transferred to one of the hospital buildings on the East River, where it remained fifteen years — until the new edifice on Randall's Island was completed.

The decade of which this chapter treats was marked by the foundation of the great newspaper system, which has become an engine of thought more powerful than book-making. Newspapers had long been the most appreciated of all human productions. But they were not numerous, and their circulation was limited. The *New York Sun*, projected by Benjamin H. Day in September, 1833, was the first successful penny paper in the world. Horace Greeley, in partnership with Dr. Horatio David Shepard and Francis V. Story, issued a little penny sheet in January of the same year, which survived exactly three weeks. The *Sun* was made up of twelve columns, each ten inches long; it had no editorials, it gave no opinions, commercial reviews, financial reports, or stock sales, and it made no promises. But it helped to make newspaper readers; and when two years old boasted a circulation of eight thousand. One cent continued to be its price for thirty years. The penny press dates from the advent of the *Sun* in 1833, since when upwards of one hundred one and two cent journals have been started in New York City—although many of them had but a brief existence. The *New York Herald* was founded in 1835, by James Gordon Bennett, who had been in the city since 1822, engaged on various papers. He made the science of journalism a study. His new sheet was independent of party, and conducted in a manner so original and unexpected that the public seized it with avidity. In 1836 he raised the price to two cents. There were seven large morning papers at this epoch called “sixpenny sheets,” and four evening papers of the same character and price. Yet Bennett prophesied, after carefully computing his accounts, “I shall be enabled to carry into effect prodigious improvements, and to make the *Herald* the greatest, the best, and the most profitable paper that ever appeared in this country.” Gerard Hallock, one of the editors of the *Journal of Commerce*, wrote of the penny papers about the same time, “The number of newspaper readers is probably doubled by their influence, and they circulate as pioneers among those classes who have suffered greatly from want of general intelligence.”

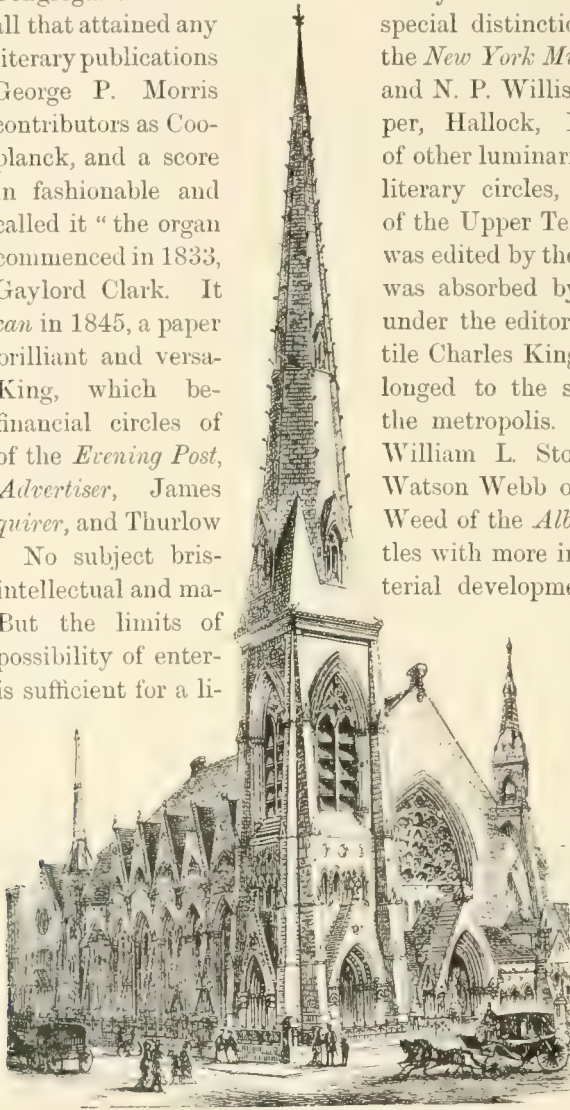
The *Journal of Commerce*, founded in 1827 under the auspices of Arthur Tappan, was the “blanket sheet” of the period chiefly in competition with the *Courier and Enquirer*—as far as obtaining fresh news was concerned. It was purchased in 1828 by David Hale and Gerard Hallock. Hale was the son of a Connecticut divine, a tall, slim, brusque, vigorous man of thirty-six, who managed the business and commercial concerns of the enterprise with persistent industry and energy. Hallock was the son of a Massachusetts divine, an accomplished linguist and general scholar of twenty-seven, who edited and guided the general policy of the journal. They inaugurated within a year the famous news-schooners,

to cruise at sea and intercept European vessels for the latest intelligence. The *Courier and Enquirer* immediately hired vessels for the same purpose, and the races of these squadrons down the bay were exciting in the extreme. In 1833 Hale and Hallock established a horse-express to Philadelphia, and, not to be outdone, the other papers instituted an opposition express. An interview at a later day between Hale and Bennett was the origin of the Associated Press, founded in 1849, of which the amiable and self-poised Gerard Hallock was the president for many years.¹ The *New York Express* was ushered into existence in 1836, under the editorial direction of James Brooks, assisted by his brother, Erastus Brooks. The first number of the *New York Tribune* was issued by Horace Greeley in 1841. He had been in New York ten years, and for some time had edited the *New Yorker*; also the *Log Cabin*, a campaign journal, both of which were merged into the *Tribune*, with which his name henceforward was completely identified. Henry J. Raymond, who in 1851 founded the *New York Times*, became assistant editor of the *Tribune* at ten dollars a week, and gained extraordinary distinction as a reporter; he was subsequently on the editorial staff of the *Courier and Enquirer*. The *New York World* was of a later date, making its first appearance in June, 1860; and in July, 1861, the *Courier and Enquirer* was merged into this new journal. There were no Sunday papers in New York prior to 1825. The community was startled when the *Sunday Courier* appeared one bright Sabbath morning. Public sentiment rebelled against the innovation, and only three or four Sunday papers were attempted during the following ten years. Even the *Journal of Commerce* would permit no work done in the establishment between twelve o'clock Saturday night and twelve o'clock Sunday night. The religious press of New York dates from 1820, when the *New York Observer* was founded by Sidney E. Morse, in connection with his brother, Richard C. Morse, sons of Rev. Dr. Jedediah Morse, the geographer. They were brothers of Professor Samuel F. B. Morse of artistic and telegraphic fame. But few journals under this head proved successful prior to 1840. The *Christian Intelligencer*, the organ of the influential and wealthy Dutch Reformed Church, projected in 1830, and ever since holding a high place among the religious publications of the country, and the *New York Evangelist*, founded about 1833, "to promote revivals and

¹ Gerard Hallock (born 1800, died 1869,) was the brother of the late Rev. Dr. William A. Hallock, (born 1794, died 1880), who, coming to New York, founded the *American Tract Society* in 1825, and was its great managing head for over half a century. They were sons of the learned Rev. Moses Hallock of Plainfield, Massachusetts, who, in addition to his pastoral duties taught a classical school in his own house, fitting young men for Williams College. William Cullen Bryant was a classmate, under this instruction, with the four sons of the clergyman, two of whom came to reside in New York as above.

missions, temperance and other reforms," ably conducted by Rev. Joshua Leavitt — subsequently of the *Independent*, started as an organ of the Congregationalists all that attained any literary publications George P. Morris contributors as Coöplanck, and a score in fashionable and called it "the organ commenced in 1833, Gaylord Clark. It can in 1845, a paper brilliant and versatile King, which be-financial circles of of the *Evening Post*, *Advertiser*, James *quirer*, and Thurlow

No subject bris-intellectual and ma-But the limits of possibility of enter-is sufficient for a li-



Dutch Reformed Church in Fifth Avenue, corner of Forty-eight Street.

[In the tower of this church hangs the "Silver-toned Bell" cast in Holland, in 1731, for the Middle Dutch Church in Nassau Street. See Vol. I, 524.]

nearly a score of years afterward—were special distinction in the city. Among the *New York Mirror* took the lead, with and N. P. Willis at the helm, and such per, Hallock, Hoffman, Irving, Ver-of other luminaries. It was widely read literary circles, and Willis facetiously of the Upper Ten." The *Knickerbocker*, was edited by the witty and genial Lewis was absorbed by the *New York Ameri-* under the editorial management of the tile Charles King, brother of James G longed to the strictly aristocratic and the metropolis. Bryant was the editor William L. Stone of the *Commercial* Watson Webb of the *Courier and En-* Weed of the *Albany Evening Journal*. tles with more intense interest than the terial development of the newspaper.

this work preclude the ing into its details. It brary in itself. As the city grew, journals of every class multiplied, until their number has, in 1880, reached four hundred and thirty-seven. Of these, thirty are issued daily, eleven semi-weekly, and one hundred and ninety-four weekly.

The decade under consideration was one of peculiar intellectual vitality. Authorship took a fresh start, pub-

lishing-houses expanded (that of the Harpers occupied nine contiguous buildings when burned in 1853), art received higher recognition than

ever before, exhibitions of pictures and statuary became both lucrative and popular, while the drama struggled for elevation in keeping with the advance of public taste. "The age is itself dramatic, and the dramatic spirit now more than ever characterizes the people," wrote the critic of the *Mirror* in 1837.¹ Four theatrical edifices were projected between 1835 and 1845. The one theater of the early years of the century is to-day represented by twenty-five, chiefly handsome and costly structures. The Italian Opera was introduced in 1825, the most select audience ever assembled within the walls of the Park Theater greeting the first appearance of the famous Garcia with his troupe. His daughter, afterwards Madame Malibran, then only seventeen, astonished and delighted New York with the wonderful compass and sweetness of her voice. She received ten thousand dollars for singing in English Opera at the opening of the Bowery Theater in 1826. Other troupes visited the country from time to time, but the success of the opera for a long period was not assured. George P. Morris wrote a play called *Brier Cliff*, which was produced at the Chatham Theater in 1837, and repeated forty nights in succession. In 1842 he wrote the libretto of an opera, *The Maid of Saxony*, which was set to music and performed fourteen nights in the Park Theater.

The semi-centennial anniversary of the revival of Columbia College was celebrated in April, 1837. An imposing procession of trustees, professors, clergymen, societies, public officials, and dignitaries from universities of other States, with appropriate costumes and banners, formed on the college green and marched through some of the principal streets to St. John's Church. The exercises were of a marked and memorable char-

¹ In the same issue of the *New York Mirror* appears a list of the poets of the period, quoted from a publication long since forgotten, the *New York Book*. The paragraph is given for the benefit of the curious. "Who says that the American people are a mere money-getting, dollar-saving people? Who can deny, on the contrary, that they are a nation of poets, sons of Apollo, every one of them? Judge for yourselves. Their names, as registered in the *New York Book*, are: Francis Arden, John I. Bailey, Robert Barker, Ann E. Bleecker, Anthony Bleecker, S. De Witt Bloodgood, A. H. Bogart, David S. Bogart, Elizabeth Bogart, James G. Brooks, Miss Mary E. Brooks, A. L. Blauvelt, Willis G. Clark (twin brother of Lewis Gaylord Clark), Elizabeth C. Clinch, William Croswell, Isaac Clason, Lucretia M. Davidson, G. W. Doane, Joseph Rodman Drake, William Duer, Elizabeth F. Ellet, Emma C. Embury, Theodore S. Fay, Margarette V. Faugeres, William P. Hawes, Charles Fenno Hoffman, Washington Irving, John Inman, Samuel Low, Jonathan Lawrence, Jr., William Leggett, William Livingston, George P. Morris, Jacob Morton, Lindley Murray, Dr. Samuel L. Mitchill, Clement C. Moore, James Nack, Rosewell Park, James K. Paulding, Edward Sanford, Robert C. Sands, Daniel Seymour, Thomas Slidell, Alfred B. Street, William L. Stone, George D. Strong, J. R. Sutermeister, T. W. Tucker, W. H. Vining, J. B. Van Schaick, and Gulian C. Verplanck. The editor of the *New York Book* has accomplished a difficult task in a very satisfactory manner, although several deserving names may be found among the missing."

acter. An oration from Rev. Dr. Manton Eastburn reviewed the history of the college. President William A. Duer conferred the honorary degree of Master of Arts upon William Cullen Bryant, Charles Fenno Hoffman, and Fitz-Greene Halleck; of Doctor of Laws upon David B. Ogden, John Duer, and George Griffin; and of Doctor of Divinity upon seven prominent clergymen. The president's levee in the evening, wrote Willis, "was one of the most striking fêtes New York ever witnessed. The picture-galleries and conservatories of half the town were laid under contribution to supply the plants, painting, and statuary with which the corridors and alcoves of the spacious suite of apartments were decorated; and the number of eminent literary and professional persons, mingling with the young sprigs of fashion and grave political characters of all parties, rendered the scene at once novel, animated, and imposing. Such reunions make the halls of learning serve a more beneficent purpose than mere pupilage in letters." During the next month the new Gothic edifice of the University was publicly dedicated to science, letters, and religion, the chapel being crowded with the beauty and intelligence of the city. One of the speakers took occasion to explain that in opening the portals of science to the architect, engineer, mechanic, agriculturist, and others who wished "to pursue one or more special branches of study without being required to attend upon the whole undergraduate course," the University had no disposition to disparage classical learning. On the contrary, he affirmed that it was nowhere more effectually imparted or more rigidly exacted in candidates for degrees.

The rooms of the upper story adjacent to the chapel on the north side were occupied by the professor of the Literature of the Arts of Design, Samuel F. B. Morse — with his pupils — who was elected to this post when the institution was first established. In September following the dedication of the building, having completed the first crude telegraphic recording apparatus in the world, he exhibited to a select assemblage at the University the operation of his new system, and demonstrated beyond dispute his ability to communicate between two points distant half a mile from each other. He immediately applied to Congress for aid in constructing an experimental telegraph from Washington to Baltimore. But his project was received coldly, with skepticism, and even with ridicule.

Professor Morse had been a resident of New York City since 1815. As an artist he enjoyed unusual social privileges. He went to England with Washington Allston in 1811, and while abroad was the pupil of West and Copley. He studied sculpture as well as painting, and in 1813 received from the hands of the Duke of Norfolk, in presence of the for-

eign ambassadors, the gold medal offered by the Adelphi Society of Arts in London for the best single figure modeled within a specified period. When he first established himself in New York he was grieved to find that petty jealousies and dissensions kept the artists apart. He made it his first business to heal animosities, and one evening invited the artists to his room, ostensibly to eat strawberries and cream, but really to beguile them into something like agreeable intercourse. He covered his table with prints, and scattered inviting casts about the room. Before the evening was spent it was proposed and unanimously agreed to meet in a similar manner every week. This was the germ of the National Academy of Design, of which Morse



Professor Samuel F. B. Morse.

became the first president — was re-elected for sixteen years — and before which he delivered the first course of lectures on Fine Arts in this country. He was deeply interested in various departments of science, especially in chemistry. It was in the autumn of 1832, while on board the Havre packet *Sully*, returning to America, to enter upon the duties of his professorship in the University, that he conceived the great invention which won him more honors of a foreign and public kind than were ever before bestowed upon an American. In a casual conversation with some of the passengers concerning the relation between electricity and magnetism, a recent experiment in Paris was described. Electricity had been instantaneously transmitted through a wire. The idea that in a gentle and steady current of the electric fluid a source existed of regular, continued, and rapid motions, which might be applied to a machine for conveying messages from place to place, and inscribing them on a tablet, at once took possession of the mind of Morse. We can almost see the figure of the illustrious inventor as he paced the deck full of this thought, or

gazed dreamily into the sea, devising mechanical contrivances to give it expression. Before the packet reached New York the essential features of the electro-magnetic transmitting and recording apparatus were sketched upon paper. While experimenting in his rooms in the New York University, he met with little sympathy from scientists; and the public generally presumed his brilliant discovery would prove but an ingenious scientific pastime. He stretched half a mile of wire around and around one of his apartments, and thus could exhibit a telegraph in actual operation in 1835; but only in one direction — until the summer of 1837.

The story of the long-baffled efforts and final success of Morse is as remarkable as any in the annals of discovery. The lesson it teaches is as old as human genius and human ambition. Inflexible perseverance in patient endeavor is essential to achievement. He sailed for Europe, resolute, and undismayed by the coolness of Congress, but the governments of the Old World gave him no encouragement, and he returned to America to try again. He renewed his appeal to Congress year after year. On the last night of the session in March, 1843, he left the Capitol, after waiting patiently through the long day, thoroughly disconsolate. His amazement may be imagined the next morning, to learn that in the hurry and confusion of the midnight hour the expiring Congress voted thirty thousand dollars for the construction of a telegraph between Washington and Baltimore. He immediately commenced the work. At first the wires, inclosed in lead pipes, were buried in the earth. One day, while watching the laborers engaged in digging a trench for the purpose, near Baltimore, Morse sought refuge in a shed from a violent thunder-storm, exclaiming, "The time will come when we shall have to hang these wires on poles." Before ten miles were accomplished the lead pipes were abandoned and the wires elevated. The completion of the undertaking was announced in May, 1844.

The notion of the utility of electricity for imparting information did not originate in any one mind, any more than that of the moving of ships by steam. But Morse combined and improved upon the invention of others to such a degree that out of sixty competitors he reached the most desirable result for public and private use.¹ At a convention held in 1851, for the purpose of adopting a uniform system of telegraphing for all Germany, that of Morse was selected. It has superseded other systems in nearly every country of the world. The representatives of the principal European powers, assembled at Paris in 1857, presented Morse four hundred thousand francs as a recompense for his invention. Gold medals of scientific merit were awarded him by the Emperor of Austria

¹ *History, Theory, and Practice of the Electric Telegraph*, by George B. Prescott, pp. 57, 58.

and the King of Prussia. The Cross of Chevalier of the Legion of Honor was conferred on him by the Emperor of France; the Cross of Knight of the Dannebrog by the King of Denmark; the Cross of Knight Commander of the Order of Isabella the Catholic, by the Queen of Spain; the decorations of Knighthood by the King of Portugal and the King of Italy; and the decoration of the Nishan Iftichur (the order of glory), set in diamonds, from the Sultan of Turkey. In addition to these honors he was elected member of all the prominent European scientific and art academies, as well as those of this country; he was esteemed the most illustrious American of his age.¹

The telegraph companies of Great Britain gave him a public banquet in London in 1856, and two years later the Americans in Paris tendered him a similar entertainment. As the years rolled on and the magnitude of the benefits his genius had conferred upon the human race became more and more conspicuous, New York City, the scene of his long struggle to bring the most wayward of the elements into obedience, united with the telegraph fraternity of the United States—June 10, 1871—in one of the grandest tributes of respect and love ever accorded to a living man. A colossal statue, erected in his honor, “in the most beauti-

¹ Professor Samuel Finley Breese Morse (born 1791, died 1872) was the eldest son of Rev. Dr. Jedediah Morse, the celebrated divine and geographer—died in New Haven, 1826—whose wife was Elizabeth Ann, daughter of Judge Samuel and Rebecca (Finley) Breese, of New York, and granddaughter of Rev. Dr. Samuel Finley, President of Princeton College. Sidney Breese, the father of Judge Samuel Breese, was a New York merchant, born in Shrewsbury, Wales; he had been a warm partisan of the Pretender, but on the failure of the rebellion entered the British navy, and finally, giving up his commission, settled in New York City, where he married Elizabeth Pinkethman. His epitaph in Trinity Churchyard, New York, has been often quoted for its quaint humor, showing the man:—

“SIDNEY BRESE, JUNE 8, 1767,
MADE BY HIMSELF.
HA! SIDNEY, SIDNEY,
LYEST THOU HERE!
I HERE LYE
TILL TIME IS FLOWN
TO ITS EXTREMITY.”

Judge Samuel Breese was twice married: (2) to Elizabeth Anderson, granddaughter of Rev. James Anderson, first pastor of the Wall Street Presbyterian Church (see Vol. I. 505); their children who grew up were: 1. Samuel Sidney Breese, married Helen Burrows, and settled on a large estate in Oneida County, New York; 2. Arthur Breese, of Utica, married Catharine, daughter of Judge Livingston of Poughkeepsie, among whose children were Rear-Admiral Samuel Livingston Breese and Chief Justice Sidney Breese, United States Senator from Illinois; 3. Susannah Bayard Breese, married Rev. Samuel F. Snowden, of Princeton, New Jersey; 4. Abigail Breese, married Josiah Salisbury, of Boston, and had two children, Professor Edward Elbridge Salisbury of New Haven, and Elizabeth M., the first wife of President Theodore D. Woolsey of New Haven.

ful of the public grounds of the chief city of the Western Hemisphere, to stand for ages," was unveiled in his presence, the city through the Mayor, and the people of two States through their chief magistrates — the State of his birth and the State of his adoption — participating in the ceremonial; while a multitude fifty or sixty thousand strong witnessed the spectacle. Governor John T. Hoffman said, "Thanks to Samuel F. B. Morse, men speak to one another now, though separated by the width of the earth; and we intend that, so far as in us lies, the men who come after us shall be at no loss to discover his name for want of the recorded testimony of his contemporaries." William Cullen Bryant addressed the assemblage, saying, "We come together on the occasion of raising a statue, not to buried but to living merit — to a great discoverer who yet sits among us, a witness of honors which are but the first-fruits of that ample harvest which his memory will gather in the long season yet to come." The exercises of the day were gloriously concluded by a brilliant ovation in the evening at the Academy of Music, in presence of the largest and most intellectual audience ever crowded within the walls of the building. Enthusiasm reached its climax when the distinguished inventor attached his signature to the telegram: "Professor Morse sends greeting to those of the telegraphic fraternity throughout the world. Glory to God in the highest, peace and good will to men!" A few moments later responses came from nearly all the cities of America, and from Canada, Havana, and other distant places. After numerous speeches, the revered "Father of Telegraphy" made a few brief and touching remarks, alluding with much emotion to the demonstrations of regard "so unexampled in the history of inventions."

It was his farewell. On the 2d of the following April the whole civilized world was in mourning. By means of the instrument which he had perfected, intelligence of the death of Morse was sent thrilling beneath the billows of the ocean, across the continents, eastward, westward, and was simultaneously in London, Paris, Rome, Berlin, St. Petersburg, Syria, Egypt, China, Australia, and Japan. While all America sorrowed, eloquent words of mingled admiration and condolence flashed over the wires from four continents — even from the gray old land of the Pharaohs and from Hong Kong. Never in the history of the nation had a simple citizen's memory met with such wide heartfelt respect. Impressive funeral ceremonies, in which millions really participated, were conducted from the Madison Square Church in New York City, Rev. Dr. William Adams, pastor and personal friend of the deceased, delivering an earnest and eloquent discourse. The pall-bearers were John Adams Dix, the soldier, statesman, and author; Cyrus W. Field, of Atlantic Cable fame; Peter

Cooper, the philanthropist; Cambridge Livingston, the veteran legal scholar; Charles Butler, the eminent lawyer and railroad projector; Daniel Huntington, the artist; William Orton, president of the Western Union Telegraph; and Ezra Cornell.

The great political excitement of the decade centered about the election of William Henry Harrison to the Presidency in 1840. Although Martin Van Buren came into office with a large majority, the people denied him a second term with almost as strong an expression of their new preference. President Harrison had scarcely entered upon the duties of his office, and selected his cabinet, when he died, just one month from the day of his inauguration. John Tyler, the Vice-President, succeeded to the Presidential Chair. But his administration was not satisfactory to the party in power. He was married during his term of office, the only event of the kind in the history of America. His bride was a New York lady, descended from the lords of the manor of Gardiner's Island, and the marriage ceremony was performed in New York City. He assumed a style of living too aristocratic to please the public taste, drove four horses, and was accused of a desire to please his wife. The memory of the six horses attached to Washington's equipage had long since grown dim.

In New York, as in almost every other State, the Whigs achieved a signal triumph in 1840. William H. Seward, afterwards Secretary of State, was re-elected Governor. During his former administration the public peace and tranquillity were severely disturbed by Anti-Rent difficulties in the manor of Rensselaerwick. Stephen Van Rensselaer, the late patroon, had suffered the arrearages of rent—merely nominal, as a handful of wheat or a fat chicken per acre—to remain uncollected. His heirs now demanded payment. The tenants complained that these semi-feudal land tenures were totally inconsistent with the spirit and genius of our institutions, and refused to pay them. Armed, and disguised as Indians, they offered such resistance to the civil officers that military power was found necessary. The disturbance was subdued for the time, but broke out afresh in 1844 attracting wide attention, and the subject was carried into politics, and then into the courts. Finally the State Constitution of 1846 abolished all feudal tenures.

The city of New York was visited in 1845 by another great conflagration, second only in its ravages to the fire of 1835. It broke out in midsummer, on the 19th of July, destroying three hundred and ^{1845.} forty-five buildings in the business part of the city below Wall Street—property estimated at several millions.



CHAPTER XX.

1845-1880.

CONCLUDING CHAPTER.

CONTRASTS. — AREA OF THE CITY. — THE HARBOR IN 1880. — POPULATION. — UNION SQUARE. MADISON SQUARE. — WAR WITH MEXICO. — DISCOVERY OF GOLD IN CALIFORNIA. — THE ASTOR PLACE RIOT. — THE SEVENTH REGIMENT. — THE ASTOR LIBRARY. — JOHN JACOB ASTOR. — THE CRYSTAL PALACE. — THE WADDELL MANSION. — MURRAY HILL. — GLIMPSE OF SOCIAL LIFE. — FIFTH AVENUE RESIDENCES. — THE CHURCHES OF NEW YORK. — CHURCH ARCHITECTURE. — REV. DR. WILLIAM ADAMS. — SABBATH SCHOOLS OF THE CITY IN 1880. — PHILANTHROPY. — TENEMENT HOUSES. — ASSOCIATION FOR IMPROVING THE CONDITION OF THE POOR. — ASYLUMS. — HOSPITALS. — FIVE POINTS. — ARCHIBALD RUSSELL. — CENTRAL PARK. — FINANCIAL CRISIS OF 1857. — POLICE RIOTS. — THE ATLANTIC CABLE. — THE CIVIL WAR. — ACTION OF NEW YORK. — THE DRAFT RIOT. — ACADEMY OF DESIGN. — WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT. — ASSASSINATION OF LINCOLN. — UNION LEAGUE CLUB. — LENOX LIBRARY. — METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART. — MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY. — COOPER INSTITUTE. — MERCHANTS AND PUBLIC-SPIRITED CITIZENS. — THE ELEVATED RAILROADS. — THE BROOKLYN BRIDGE. — CONCLUSION.

THE boundary line where history ceases and contemporaneous record begins has never been drawn with absolute precision. The ancient historians rarely ventured within half a century of their own time. Materials for history require curing with age. The affairs of New York during the thirty-five years embraced in this chapter have widened into a thousand channels of interest and influence, affecting the whole continent. They are rich in detail, instructive in character, and voluminous in substance. When faithfully digested they will form an unusually entertaining volume in themselves. But the limits of our present work are prescribed. Brief touches upon leading events, together with a few illustrative facts and statistics, will bring our narrative to a close.

In tracing the varied fortunes of the rising city from its birth, the reader who has noted the continuity and duration of mental influences will have no difficulty in accounting for the sympathetic activity which has been so prolific in material progress. A better combined array of moral forces than that which shaped the destiny of New York we might search



The harbor of London, as it appeared in 1844, and one of the finest harbors in the world, presents a striking contrast, as viewed from the distant island shown in 1844, to the present harbor portrayed in our opening picture. Page 749

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the centuries to discover. Society, by the individual action of its private members in the ordinary pursuits of life, supplies the vital current which creates and sustains prosperity. Turning backward to the beginning, we see a picturesque island, patched with forest and rock, three thousand miles from civilization. The intervening years disappear, as if by miraculous magic—and our eyes rest upon a great metropolis with its miles

and miles of roofs and broken outline of spires, towers, and domes, telling of religion, art, and trade; while on either side, as far as the eye can reach, the water-line is fringed with a forest of masts, from which float the varicolored flags that represent the commerce of the globe. The extreme length of the city is now sixteen miles, and its area forty-one and one half square miles. As a port of entry it com-



View from Union Square, North.

prises Brooklyn, Jersey City, and all the other municipalities situated on New York Bay and the Hudson and East Rivers opposite the metropolis. It is estimated that sixty per cent of the entire foreign commerce of the United States is carried on through this port alone, the arrivals and departures of vessels numbering twenty thousand annually, of which over five thousand are steamers. The harbor, eloquent with busy life, and one of the safest, largest, and most beautiful in the world, presents a striking contrast, as viewed from the Staten Island shore in 1880, to the placid solitude portrayed in our opening picture. Stately ships and steamers in one endless procession are plowing waters then rippled only by a few bark canoes; while scores of ferry-boats moving to and from the neighboring cities fairly illustrate the idea of perpetual motion. The population of New York, if given on the same principle as that of London, would hardly fall short of two and one half millions, since nearly as many New Yorkers dwell outside as within the city limits; a

radius of from twenty to thirty miles from the City Hall has become almost a continuous city, and is virtually New York.

At the time the magnetic telegraph was first opened between New York and Philadelphia, in 1845, Union Square was becoming the fashionable place of residence for New York's oldest and wealthiest citizens. Samuel B. Ruggles had been one of the most active and efficient in securing the improvements which converted the open space into an elegant park; and he also presented the choice little spot of land — now Gramercy Park — to the owners of sixty adjoining lots, to induce the erection of first-class dwellings in that locality. Fourteenth Street was soon filled with costly mansions; the equestrian statue of Washington was in 1856 erected in the open thoroughfare. But business followed, making little raids here and there, and fashion became uneasy and moved on. The habitations once graced by brilliant assemblages of fair women and brave men were converted into furniture salesrooms or milliners' shops, many of which have recently been torn down to make room for elegant business structures. In 1845 but a few scattering buildings were seen from Union Square, looking north. The accompanying sketch reveals the present view from the same point.

Efforts were made to improve the ten unsightly acres at the junction of Broadway and Fifth Avenue soon after the burning of the House of Refuge in 1839. But a little stream of running water, forming a skating-pond for boys in winter, was very much in the way. James Harper, one of the famous Harper publishers, was mayor of the city from 1844 to 1847, and through his influence measures were taken to complete and beautify Madison Square, now the center of the world of amusement and fashion. When the costly white marble Fifth Avenue Hotel was begun in 1856, and finished in 1859, facing the square, the world wondered, as it seemed quite too far from the heart of the city for popular patronage.

Washington Irving returned from Spain in 1846, where he had been four years United States minister, and was once more welcomed to his native city with enthusiasm. Charles Dickens, in America at the time Irving departed on his mission, paid a noteworthy tribute to the good sense of Americans in showing respect to their own "intellectual celebrities." In an account of one of President Tyler's receptions, he wrote: "My dear friend Washington Irving was present the last time before going abroad. I sincerely believe that, in all the madness of American politics, few public men would have been so earnestly, devotedly, and affectionately caressed as this most charming writer; and I have seldom respected a public assembly more than I did this eager throng, when I saw them turning with one mind from noisy orators and officers of State,

and flocking with a generous and honest impulse round the man of quiet pursuits; proud in his promotion, as reflecting back upon their country, and grateful to him with their whole hearts for the store of graceful fancies he had poured out among them."

Meanwhile New York was sharing largely in the burdens of the nation. War with Mexico was calling many of her gallant sons into the battlefield. William Jenkins Worth, in the military service of the Union for a period covering thirty-six years, was a conspicuous figure in the Mexican struggle, and a handsome monument was subsequently erected in his honor, fronting Madison Square.¹ Philip Kearny, a marvel of dash and bravery, whose mother was the daughter of John Watts the philanthropist, was the first man who entered, sword in hand, the San Antonio Gate of the city of Mexico, losing his left arm in the fierce strife. In the mean time Stephen Watts Kearny, uncle of the former, had fought and conquered the Mexicans in California and established a provincial government, assuming command as governor March 1, 1847. The difficulty with Mexico grew out of the annexation of Texas to the United States in 1845, as did the election of James K. Polk to the Presidency. The triumphant conclusion of the Mexican War resulted in the cession of New Mexico and California to the United States in February, 1848. During the same month gold was discovered in California, and people flocked there from Mexico, South America, Europe, and Asia, as well as the United States. In three years the new State had a mixed population of a quarter of a million of energetic, adventurous, reckless beings, capable of almost any crime in their mad pursuit of the shining dust. New York quivered with excitement. Visions of sudden wealth dazzled the imagination. Men left their business of all kinds and started on long, perilous overland journeys to the land of promise; others went by sea around Cape Horn in the famous swift-sailing clippers. Hundreds of families were left without fathers, husbands, and brothers for an indefinite period. Many fortunes were made. In subsequent efforts to develop the resources of California other than gold, to construct society, and christianize the heterogeneous community, New York contributed many leading minds. Since 1853 Rev. Dr. William Ingraham Kip, a descendant of one of the earliest New York settlers, and the distinguished representative of a family noted in every generation since 1635 for mental vigor and strong character, has been Episcopal Bishop of California. Leland Stan-

¹ General William Jenkins Worth, born at Hudson, New York, 1794, died at San Antonio, Texas, 1849, served with distinction in the Florida War, from 1840 to 1842, and in the Mexican War from 1846 to 1848. He was engaged in the capture of Monterey and Vera Cruz, in the battles of Cerro Gordo, Churubusco, Molino del Rey, Chapultepec, and the assault and capture of the city of Mexico, 13th and 14th of September, 1847.

ford, foremost in pushing the great Pacific Railway across the continent, the grandest enterprise of the age, and governor of California from 1862 to 1864, was also a New Yorker.

The gold-seekers, in their hurried flight from New York, divided public attention with the notable Astor Place Riot in the spring of 1849. Wil-

1849. liam Charles Macready, the English actor, was on a farewell visit to the United States. Edwin Forrest, the American tragedian, had not been well received in England, some years before, owing to the alleged influence of Macready, and being extremely popular with a certain order of people in New York, it was comparatively easy to incite the spirit of retaliation. A mob collected in Astor Place to drive Macready from the

stage during the performance of *Macbeth*. The house was filled May 10. with one of New York's best audiences; but disaffected persons were scattered through the building, and no sooner did Macready appear upon the stage than he was greeted with hisses, and a shower of chairs, eggs, and other missiles. The utmost confusion and terror prevailed, many ladies crept under the seats for safety, the police made a few arrests, order was temporarily restored, and the play proceeded. Meanwhile the mob outside numbered twenty thousand, composed of the very dregs of the city, with piles of paving-stones, where the street sewers were being repaired, for deadly weapons of warfare. Three hundred police were driven back, after a gallant struggle to disperse the rioters. Violent attempts of the angry multitude to force the entrances of the Opera House were unsuccessful; doors and windows, hurriedly barricaded, were assailed with terrible fury, some of the paving-stones passing through the glass and lighting in the midst of the audience. At nine o'clock the gallant Seventh Regiment, in response to a summons from the civil authorities, appeared in Astor Place, preceded by mounted men, ten abreast.¹ The stones of the mob rendered the horses unmanageable, and the infantry

¹ *History of the Seventh Regiment, National Guard*, by William Swinton, pp. 14, 15, 16. The origin of the name, National Guard, by which for many years the gallant Seventh Regiment was exclusively known, is associated with a historic event of singular interest. During the military parade at the reception of Lafayette in 1824, some of the officers of this regiment were discussing a contemplated independent battalion, and paused for a suitable name. Lafayette's connection with the Paris National Guard furnished the suggestion, and John D. Wilson asked why "National Guard" would not be appropriate. It would be a pleasure, if space permitted, to record the successive steps by which this famous organization laid the broad basis of its historic fame. It first paraded as a regiment May 31, 1826, to receive an elegant stand of colors from Mayor Philip Hone, "in presence of a brilliant assemblage." It was first called into the service of quelling riots in 1834. But its national prestige dates from the eventful night of the Astor Place riot; no honors of city or citizen were thought too high to be paid to these trustworthy guardians of law and order, and "its courage, promptness, discipline, and steadiness were long the theme of conversation."

marching in column of platoons, was obliged to face the terrible volley of stones, but preserved its magnificent discipline under the trying ordeal; it passed through Astor Place to Third Avenue, turned and cleared Eighth Street, throwing a guard of police across at each end, and moved a second time through Broadway into Astor Place, forming a line in front of the theater. At this juncture howls and cries rendered the night-air hideous; many persons had been injured by the stones, some killed, and all efforts to appease the infuriated mob had proved fruitless; thus authority was given to fire. The first volley was purposely aimed high, but not the second. It told with fatal certainty; and, pressing hard upon the flying mob, the troops soon cleared Astor Place of rioters—who rallied and returned to the attack, but a third volley scattered them completely, and ended the Astor Place Riot. The next day the city was very disorderly, but the military remained on duty—even for three days. Twenty of the rioters were believed to have been killed, and fifty or sixty wounded. Of the Seventh Regiment one hundred and fifty officers and men were seriously injured by the stones, of whom seventy were carried to their homes—but subsequently recovered. Judge Robert Emmet, son of the great lawyer, Thomas Addis Emmet, assisted Macready to escape from the Opera House, and secreted him in his own dwelling in Clinton Place for two days and nights, then drove him disguised, in his own carriage, to New Rochelle, and thence to Boston, whence he sailed for England.

At the opening of the Legislature of 1849 Governor Hamilton Fish called attention to the liberal bequest by John Jacob Astor of four hundred thousand dollars for the foundation and perpetual support ^{1849.} of a free public library in the city of New York, and recommended the necessary legislation for giving validity to the munificent donation. John Jacob Astor, whose business career in New York City extended over upwards of half a century, died March 29, 1848.¹ He was twenty years of

¹ John Jacob Astor (born 1763, died 1848) married Sarah, daughter of Adam Todd, first cousin of the wife of Henry Brevoort. Children: 1. Magdalen, married Governor Bentzen of Santa Cruz, (2) Rev. John Bristed, whose sons were Charles Astor Bristed—married Laura W., daughter of Henry Brevoort—and John J. A. Bristed; 2. William B., married Margaret, daughter of General John and Alida Livingston Armstrong, and granddaughter of Judge Robert R. Livingston, of Clermont; 3. Henry; 4. Dorothea, married Walter Langdon; 5. Eliza, married Count Vincent Rumpff, of Switzerland; 6. John Jacob.

Children of William B. and Margaret Armstrong Astor: 1. Emily, married Samuel Ward, of Washington, whose daughter, Margaret A., married Hon. John Winthrop Chauler; 2. John Jacob, married Augusta, daughter of Thomas S. Gibbs, whose son William W., member of Assembly and State senator, married Mary Paul, of Philadelphia; 3. Alida, married John Carey; 4. Laura E., married Franklin Delano; 5. William Astor, married Caroline, daughter of Abraham Schermerhorn, and has four daughters and one son—three of the former marrying respectively, James Van Allen, James R. Roosevelt, and J. Coleman Drayton.

Children of Walter and Dorothea Astor Langdon: 1. Sarah A., married Francis R. Boreel,

age when he first entered the metropolis in 1783, the same year that peace was established between England and America. A few years spent in London had opened his eyes to a mine of wealth in the American fur traffic. He began on a small scale, independent of capital, connections, or influence, and through his own masterly perceptions and force of character became the richest man of his time in the United States. He journeyed through the woods to the distant frontiers of the country, establishing fur stations along the borders of Canada and the region of the Great Lakes, soon employing his own vessels in shipping furs to Europe, with large profits on both the outward and return cargoes; as early as 1800 he possessed a large fortune. He subsequently extended a line of trading-posts across the continent to the shores of the Pacific, sending ships around Cape Horn to take possession of the region at the mouth of the Columbia River, and thus open a direct exchange with China. At the same time he sent a confidential agent to St. Petersburg to negotiate a system of trade with the Russian posts on the Pacific. This gigantic scheme had a broader basis than mere individual profit. He counted upon extending the bounds of empire — expecting his colony in Astoria would develop into a great emporium of commerce, that, carrying the American population across the Rocky Mountains, would animate the shores of the Pacific with civilization. But for the War of 1812 his dream would doubtless have been realized. Meanwhile his investments in city real estate doubled and trebled on his hands. His wealth increased in

Chamberlain to the King of Holland, of whose children, William W. A. married Mary Emilie, daughter of Sir John Milbanke, Bart.; Eliza D. married Adolph James Charles, Baron de Pallaudt; and Sophy R. married Otto Frederic, Baron Groeninee; 2. John Langdon; 3. Eliza Langdon, married Matthew Wilks of Cruickston Park, Canada; 4. Louisa D., married De Lancey Kane, whose children are Walter L. Kane, married Miss Hunter of Newport, De Lancey A. Kane, married Eleanora F., daughter of Adrian Iselin, S. Nicholson Kane, John I. Kane, married Annie Schermerhorn, Louisa L. Kane, Emily A. Kane, married Augustus Jay, Sibyl Kane, and Woodbury Kane; 5. Walter Langdon, married Catharine, daughter of Charles Ludlow Livingston; 6. Woodbury Langdon, married Helen, daughter of Isaac Colford Jones; 7. Cecilia Langdon, married M. de Nottbeck, Russian Consul; 8. Eugene Langdon, married Harriet, daughter of Rawlins Lowndes, who after his death married Philip Schuyler.

Abraham Schermerhorn, the father of Mrs. William Astor, was the third son of Peter and Elizabeth Bussing Schermerhorn, descended from Jacob Janse Schermerhorn, who settled in New York in 1636. The grandmother of Peter was Maria Beekman, granddaughter of the famous William Beekman, founder of the Beekman family in New York. Abraham married Helen, daughter of Henry and Ann Van Cortlandt White. Their children: 1. Henry White Schermerhorn; 2. Augustus Van Cortlandt Schermerhorn, married Ellen, daughter of Hon. James A. Bayard; 3. Elizabeth Schermerhorn, married James I. Jones; 4. Ann W. Schermerhorn, married Charles Suydam; Helen Schermerhorn, married John Treat Irving; 5. Catharine, married Benjamin Welles; 6. Caroline, married William Astor. John P. Schermerhorn, brother of Abraham, married Rebecca, daughter of General Ebenezer Stevens; Jane Schermerhorn, sister of John and Abraham, married Rev. William Creighton, S. T. D.

similar ratio to the growth of New York ; and his liberality was princely. He was a man of fine personal appearance, his features bearing the stamp of intelligent sagacity, and of commanding and pleasing address. He drew about him such eminent and scholarly men as Washington Irving, James G. King, Fitz-Greene Halleck, Henry Brevoort, Samuel Ward, Samuel B. Ruggles, Daniel Lord, and Joseph G. Cogswell, the learned editor of the *New York Review*. Thus he was ably assisted in planning the great free library with which his name is identified. These gentlemen were appointed trustees to carry out his intentions, together with his son, William B. Astor, his grandson, Charles Astor Bristed, and the mayor of the city and chancellor of the State *ex-officio*.

The site of the Astor Library, in Lafayette Place, cost twenty-five thousand dollars. The edifice, fashioned after the royal palaces in Florence, was completed in 1853. Washington Irving was president of the trustees, and Dr. Cogswell the superintendent of the new institution. The latter visited all the book-marts of Europe, spending several years in the labor of selecting the works which make the various departments of the library so well suited to the wants of scholars, investigators, and scientists, and to the pursuit of exact knowledge in all the arts—and few educated men of any age or country could have executed the responsible trust with more taste, skill, and wisdom. William B. Astor subsequently made munificent donations, enlarging the edifice and increasing the books ; and his son, John Jacob Astor, has recently contributed further additions. The value of the building and contents, and the funds of the library, in 1880, amount to over one million dollars. The books upon the shelves number about two hundred thousand. The library is accessible to the whole community, and to visitors from every part of America or the world, without fee or ceremony, except the requisite age. Its treasures benefit from fifty to sixty thousand readers annually, and not less than seven thousand are permitted to study in its alcoves. The class of books in demand reveals the wide range the New York mind is taking in thought and research. The educational influence of the library is better appreciated by remembering that it contains no light or ephemeral books ; all are for reference and consultation, to be read within its walls, and as far as practicable are of permanent value.

In the summer of 1853 New York was stirred as never before by the opening of the World's Fair in the beautiful Crystal Palace erected on Murray Hill, in the square adjoining the reservoir. Far back into the country the thrill of this splendid novelty was felt, and everybody visited the city and the exhibition who could rally the means for a

1853.

July 14.

journey. The hotels were flooded with silk and broadcloth from all parts of the Union, and the streets and avenues were thronged with eager multitudes from sober villages, farm-houses, and log-huts. The collection of sculpture, the largest and best America had ever seen, was the chief center of attraction for all classes. "We grow sculptors as naturally as we grow Indian corn, and it is no wonder that a taste for their works should be indigenous," wrote one of the editors of the day. "What refining influences have already gone out from the creations of the chisel here exhibited can only be guessed. The picture-gallery, so full of wonder and delight, has also revealed a sixth sense to many a fascinated eye and heart. Indeed, we could hardly be persuaded that every day in the



The Waddell Mansion, Murray Hill.
[With view of wheatfield in the grounds, about 1847.]

Crystal Palace does not see the dawn of thought that will yet shine out over the land in modes of beauty and benefit."

In the vicinity of the "House of Glass," with its bewildering dome, and broad galleries filled with the choice productions of all nations, stood for some years a handsome specimen of domestic architecture built about 1845 by Coventry Waddell, who held for a long time a confidential position in the State Department at Washington. The mansion was a famous social center, although at the period of its erection Fifth Avenue above Madison Square was little more than a common road, and the old farm fences were visible on all sides. Mrs. Waddell accompanied her

husband when he went to conclude the purchase of the site of his dwelling, and sat under an apple-tree looking down upon the city in the distance while he was in conference with the owner of the lots. The place when improved was called a suburban villa; its grounds, beautified with taste, covered the whole square between Thirty-seventh and Thirty-eighth streets. A field of wheat was cultivated in the inclosure after the house was built, from which a barrel of flour was made. When Fifth Avenue was graded the edifice was rendered still more imposing and picturesque by its elevated position. A writer in *Putnam's Monthly*, March, 1854, says: "It is remarkable for being inclosed in its own garden ground, as high as the original level of the island, and descends by sloping grass-banks to the street." It was furnished in a style of costly elegance, and a large conservatory and picture-gallery were among its attractions. From its broad marble hall a winding staircase led to the tower, from which a charming view was obtained of both the East and Hudson rivers, the intervening semi-rural landscape, and the approaching city. It was the scene of many notable entertainments, Mrs. Waddell being a leader in society. "It was said that at her parties one might always be sure of meeting any really worthy celebrity, American or foreign."¹ Fancy dress balls were in vogue at the period; one given by Mrs. Schermerhorn, at her residence in Great Jones Street, required all the guests to appear in the style of dress worn at the French court during the reign of Louis XV. Some idea of the brilliancy of the affair may be formed from the fact that the costumes alone cost between forty and fifty thousand dollars, and the jewelry worn on the occasion was worth half a million. The newspapers of the day describe a similar fête given at the Waddell mansion: "We noticed present a greater array of city fashionables than we have seen gathered before this season; the hostess and the flowers (the beautiful conservatory was thrown open), the bay windows, the winding stairways through the towers, the oriels, the corbels, the tapestries, the supper, the music, and the ball, the gathering of beauty, and the concourse of gallant knights could not be surpassed."

The march of brown stone speedily obliterated all traces of the beautiful villa, and upon its site was erected the massive sanctuary of the old

¹ Coventry Waddell, son of Henry and Eliza Daubeny Waddell (see p. 157) married Charlotte Augusta, daughter of Jonathan Southwick, of New York City, and granddaughter of Worthington Ely, whose father, Dr. John Ely, married Sarah Worthington, a great beauty, sister to the mother of Governor John Cotton Smith. The Worthingtons were descended from Hugh Worthington, who held the lordship of Worthington under Edward IV. in 1474. The Elys settled in Lyme, Connecticut, about 1660, and the family has ever since been one of influence, many of its branches being among the substantial citizens of New York, not least of whom is our recent mayor, Smith Ely. From Sarah Worthington also descended Samuel Goodrich, the famous "Peter Parley" of history.

Brick Church organization. The rapid improvements in Fifth Avenue above Madison Square date from the completion of the Madison Square Presbyterian Church in 1854—an offshoot from the Broome Street Church. Fifth Avenue is now an almost unbroken line of architectural beauty for full four miles; and there is probably no street in the world wherein are more elegant and imposing private residences, furnished with princely magnificence, or more exquisite collections of those trifles of art and taste which bespeak a high order of cultivation. Madison Avenue, beginning at the Square, started off about the same time on a race with its rival, and for some two miles is by no means outdone by Fifth Avenue in the costliness of its fashionable dwellings, churches, and club-houses.

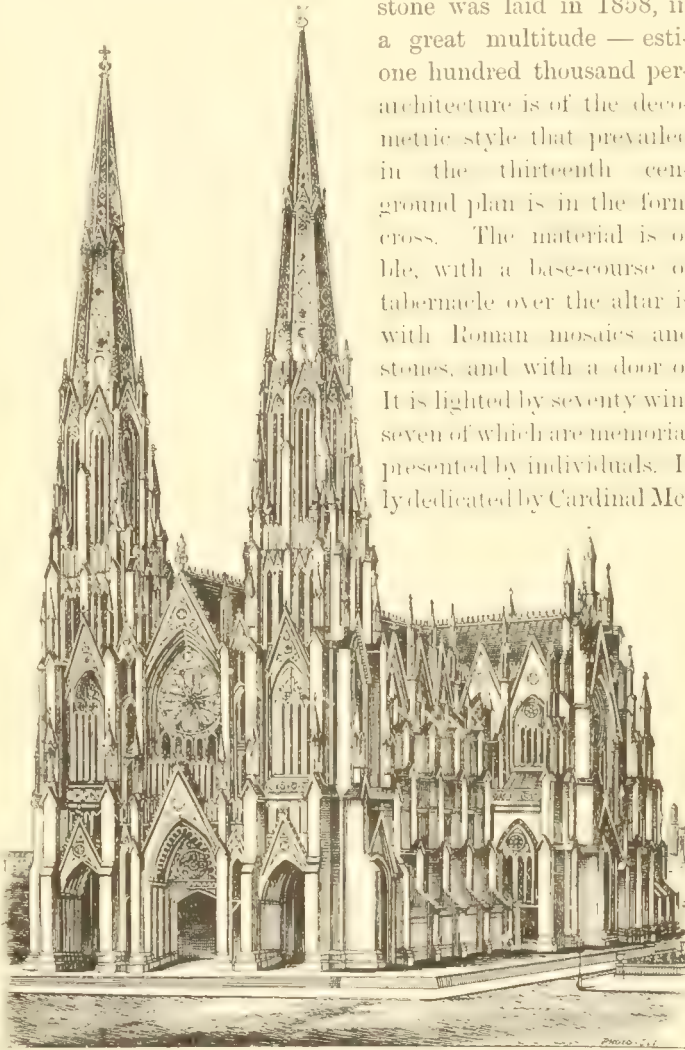
The multiplication of churches in New York is a theme for the student. The number, in 1880, is four hundred and ninety-two, including chapels and missions. Eighty-three of these are of the Episcopal denomination, seventy-six are Presbyterian, twenty-eight are Dutch Reformed, forty-six are Baptist, sixty-six are Methodist, twenty-two are Lutheran, eight are Congregational, two are Moravian, five are Friends, six are Universalist, three are Unitarian, fifty-six are Roman Catholic, twenty-five are Jews, one is Greek, sixteen are undenominational, twelve are independent missions, and thirty-seven are classed as miscellaneous. There are also societies of Spiritualists, Free-Thinkers, and Infidels, who hold meetings from week to week in various halls throughout the city.

One or two examples of church architecture will illustrate the contrast of the present with that of the Colonial period, which is as marked as the wonderful increase of church edifices. Nearly every style and combination of style appears in New York. Yet rarely do we find a model borrowed bodily from a foreign land. Independence of thought has led to the rejection of many architectural features and the substitution of others, freshly drawn from the inspiration of the surroundings or suggested by a sense of local fitness. The handsomest specimen of Gothic architecture is Trinity Church, the third edifice upon the same site—overlooking Wall Street. It was finished in 1846. The altar, eleven feet long, is divided into panels, the one in the center bearing a Maltese cross in mosaic set with cameos, and the symbols of the Evangelists; the reredos occupies nearly the whole width of the chancel, and is about twenty-four feet high; both were erected as a memorial to the late William B. Astor, by his sons. The churchyard which surrounds the structure is to the New York heart an endearing memorial of the varied and interesting elements of character which have contributed to the present greatness of the city. St. Patrick's Cathedral in Fifth Avenue, occupying the entire front of the

block between Fiftieth and Fifty-first streets, is the most magnificent ecclesiastical building in the New World. It was projected by Archbishop Hughes about 1850, and the plans were drawn by James Renwick.

The corner-presence of mated at sons. The rated or geo- in Europe tury. The of a Latin white mar- granite. The decorated precious gilt bronze. dows, thirty- windows, was solemn- Closkey in 1879, but it is not yet completed, although the work has been steadily going forward for twenty-two years. It is estimated that the cost will reach two millions five hundred thousand

stone was laid in 1858, in a great multitude — esti- one hundred thousand per- architecture is of the deco- metric style that prevailed in the thirteenth cen- ground plan is in the form cross. The material is of ble, with a base-course of tabernacle over the altar is with Roman mosaics and stones, and with a door of It is lighted by seventy win- seven of which are memorial presented by individuals. It ly dedicated by Cardinal Me-



St. Patrick's Cathedral.
[Little, Verano.]

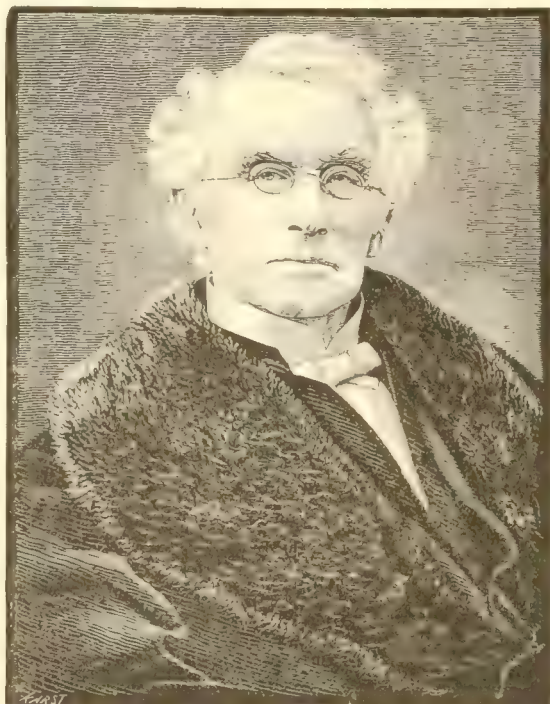
dollars. To the casual observer, the church architecture of New York, in hundreds of instances, is impressive in its costliness and massive-ness. To the artist, it has become a unique and interesting study. Suggestions of Italian Renaissance, of Romanesque, Norman, and Byzan-

tine, are by no means rare. Grace Church in Broadway, at Tenth Street, completed in 1845, is an elegant Gothic structure of white granite; it has two fine organs connected by electric machinery, the gift of Miss Catharine L. Wolfe — as was also the recently erected reredos — who is said to be the richest single woman in America. The interior decorations of St. Thomas Church, in Fifth Avenue, corner of Fifty-third Street, suggest early Italian art, and are full of pleasing effects and colors. The chimes in the steeple of this church rival those of Trinity and Grace churches. In the second block above St. Thomas, in Fifth Avenue, stands the new Presbyterian Church, known as Dr. Hall's, a simple but singularly graceful adaptation of the French Gothic. The Dutch Reformed Church in Fifth Avenue, corner of Forty-eighth Street, in the steeple of which hangs the "silver-toned bell" cast in Holland for the old Middle Dutch Church, in Nassau Street, is an exceptionally fine specimen of Gothic architecture in brown stone. Representing one of the earliest churches in the city, it is peculiarly illustrative of the changes wrought by the march of time.

The final service in the Middle Dutch Church occurred in 1844, on the Sunday evening prior to its occupation by the United States Government as a city post-office. The senior pastor, Rev. Dr. John Knox, assisted by Rev. Dr. Thomas De Witt, conducted the exercises. The old historical edifice was thronged to its utmost capacity, and many tears fell when the benediction was pronounced in the Dutch language. An elegant structure had been erected in Lafayette Place in 1839, based in its design upon ancient examples of Grecian architecture. Another church edifice was projected in 1851, in Fifth Avenue, corner of Twenty-ninth Street, and dedicated in October, 1854, two months prior to the dedication of the Madison Square Church. Rev. Dr. De Witt was settled in the ministry of the Collegiate Churches in 1827, Rev. Dr. Thomas E. Vermilye in 1839, and Rev. Dr. Talbot W. Chambers in 1849, each of whom were gifted and influential, and not only secured the love and confidence of their people, but of the whole community. The beautiful white marble edifice in Fifth Avenue, corner of Twenty-first Street, arose from the ashes of the old Garden Street Church, as did the noble structure in Washington Square.

The pulpits of the various denominations have been filled by a long catalogue of eminent divines, distinguished for learning, eloquence, varied accomplishments, and piety. In no city have able preachers of the gospel commanded more genuine appreciation, or remained longer in one pastorate. The late Rev. Dr. William Adams, the leading clergyman of the Presbyterian Church, became the pastor of the Broome Street Church

in 1834, and of the Madison Square Church, built by his people, nineteen years later. For nearly half a century, in the pulpit, on the platform, in popular assemblies, in refined and brilliant social circles, in private conferences on matters of critical moment, and in the high councils of the church, his magnetic voice commanded admiring attention. He was of fine personal appearance, tall, graceful, dignified, courtly, with a calm scholarly brow, clear penetrating eye, firmly set but delicately chiseled lips, a sweet smile, and a light elastic step. The whole make and bearing of the man rendered him always conspicuous and prominent. He was of the same common ancestry as the two Presidents, John Adams and John Quincy Adams. His father, John Adams, was one of the most distinguished educators of the country; and his mother, Elizabeth Ripley, was a lineal descendant of Governor Bradford, who came over in the *Mayflower*. He was graduated from Yale in the class of 1827, and pursued his theological studies at Andover. His influence in all the departments of human action increased with his years. No pastor was ever more easily or frequently approached by all classes and conditions of people in want of advice or aid; and no one was oftener designated to represent the clergy in positions of honor and responsibility. He stood in the great meeting of the Evangelical Alliance in 1873, with all Protestant Christendom around him, by general consent, the foremost minister in America; and none of the thousands present on that memorable occasion will ever forget the majestic grace, the fervor, the imagery, and the eloquence of his address of welcome to the learning and genius of the church beyond the sea. He spoke extemporaneously, but his words were the key-note to



Rev. William Adams, D.D.

the deliberations of the whole series of meetings. In the autumn of 1873 he was elected president of the Union Theological Seminary, of which he had been one of the original projectors, and was assigned to the chair of Sacred Rhetoric. In accepting, he closed his pastoral career. Henceforward the intellectual vigor, amplitude of learning, and freshness in the use of words, phrases, and illustrations, which for twoscore years had been a perpetual surprise and delight to one of the largest and most scholarly congregations in the city, were turned to account in the training of ministers for all parts of the country. It was almost a liberal Christian education in itself for a student of divinity to sit three years at his feet. His method of instruction was unique. Every morning some one young gentleman was invited to his library, frequently to breakfast, from which the two passed into the church-building — adjoining his house — where the student was required to enter the pulpit and preach an original sermon, conducting the complete exercises of church service, even to the benediction, with only Dr. Adams for an audience. In the criticism which followed the student received the full benefit of ripe experience; and this instruction was valued as it deserved. The influence of such a long and beautiful life as that of Dr. Adams upon the general welfare of the city and its institutions is better and broader than can ever be recorded in words.¹

In connection with the churches of the various denominations in New York are four hundred and eighteen Sabbath schools. The same spirit which prevailed among the founders of the city, quickened and cherished by their descendants, has led to mission enterprises in every quarter where wretchedness and vice exist. While costly edifices have arisen in such abundance for the wealthier classes, the poor have not been neglected. Nearly every church has its mission territory, independent of a multitude of private charities, and the world outside little dreams of the labor performed by ladies and gentlemen who never tire of the civilizing and Christianizing process — that never ends. In no portion of the metropolis have the fruits of this feature of philanthropy been more apparent

¹ Rev. William Adams, D. D., was born in Colchester, Connecticut, January 25, 1807, died at his country-seat on Orange Mountain, August 31, 1880. In 1842 he received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from the University of the City of New York. It was chiefly through his instrumentality that the reunion of the two schools of the Presbyterian Church was successfully accomplished in 1869. Since he became president of Union Theological Seminary the endowments of the institution have been increased nearly \$500,000, of which James Brown, the senior member of the great banking firm of Brown Brothers, made the princely donation of \$300,000, and ex-Governor Edwin Dennison Morgan gave \$100,000. Dr. Adams left a widow, and two sons and two daughters: Thatcher M. Adams; William Adams; Mary Adams, who married John Crosby Brown, son of James Brown, of Brown Brothers; and Susan Adams, who married Eugene Delano.

than in the region known as Five Points. Dickens wandered into that focus of iniquity while visiting New York in 1841, and described its horrors; near The Tombs, Worth, Baxter, and Park streets came together, making five corners or points of varying sharpness, hence the name. It was an unwholesome district, supplied with a few rickety wooden buildings, and thickly peopled with human beings of every age, color, and condition. An old brewery, built long before the city hove in sight on its northern route, tottering with yawning seams in its walls and broken, gaping windows, sheltered daring outlaws and furnished a place of rendezvous for the vilest of the vile. The police were dismayed and discouraged. With the history of the old brewery are associated some of the most appalling crimes ever perpetrated. The arrival of every emigrant ship rendered this plague-spot more hideous. City missionaries finally ventured into its dangerous precincts and began their humanizing work with success.

The benevolent societies and institutions of New York at the present time number over three hundred — aside from the public charities — and receive and disburse annually about four million dollars. It would seem as if there could be no infirmity or calamity to which the human family is subject for which provision has not been made. The poor who receive aid and assistance are from forty different nationalities; and while two hundred thousand immigrants land yearly at Castle Garden the demand for benevolence is not likely to diminish. The tide sweeps on to all parts of the country, but it is estimated that one fourth of the immigrants remain to become part and parcel of the city population. The tenement-houses of New York shelter full five hundred thousand people, and in some localities they are crowded far beyond the most densely populated districts of London. In one block on Avenue B, near the East River, there are fifty-two tenement-houses occupied by two thousand three hundred and fifty-six persons. There is one house in the city where the number of tenants reaches fifteen hundred; and it is by no means unusual for one hundred to lodge in a house twenty-five feet front.

Brief mention of a few of the philanthropic organizations of modern New York will enlighten the reader somewhat as to the character of the many. In 1848 was incorporated the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, which was formed in 1843. The president was James Brown, of the banking-house of Brown Brothers, and the vice-presidents were James Lenox, John C. Green, Horatio Allen, Apollos R. Wetmore, and John David Wolfe; the treasurer was Robert B. Minturn, corresponding secretary Robert M. Hartley, recording secretary Joseph B. Collins; and the elected members of the board of managers were

Stewart Brown, Jonathan Sturges, George Griswold, and Erastus C. Benedict, the late Chancellor of the University of the State of New York. They were all men of responsibility and high position, commanding the entire confidence of the community. The particular object of the association, as stated in the act of incorporation, was to elevate the physical and moral condition of the poverty-stricken, and so far as practicable relieve their necessities. Visitors, numbering several hundred, were regularly appointed, many of whom were among the wealthy donors; sanitary reforms were projected, since a sickly population is always expensive as well as dangerous, and every effort was made to meet the claims of humanity without creating or encouraging a dependent class. This carefully adjusted, skillfully managed, unostentatious, and excellent scheme of benevolence conflicted in its operations with no other organized charity, but occupied a special field — relieving annually about forty thousand persons — and its bearings for almost half a century upon the economical, social, and moral concerns of the city admit of no numerical estimate. The magnitude and unity of the organization, sustained by voluntary contributions and gratuitous labors, have been the wonder and admiration of philanthropic foreigners. Its methods of dealing with poverty have been adopted in other cities throughout the land, and in Germany, Switzerland, and many of the European countries. Even in Athens and in other parts of classic Greece organizations founded upon the New York principles by Michiel Diogenes Kalopathakes, a young Greek of superior talents who familiarized himself with the practical workings of the association while on a visit to America, have been eminently successful.

Asylums and hospitals were the natural outgrowth of such an institution. Robert M. Hartley digested a plan for the benefit of neglected and vicious children in 1849, and in connection with Luther Bradish, Benjamin F. Butler, Horatio Allen, Thomas Denny, Apollos R. Wetmore, and Joseph B. Collins, acted as a committee to devise plans for the establishment of a permanent reformatory institution. Simultaneously with this movement, Dr. John Dennison Russ, secretary of the Prison Association, agitated the same subject; it was estimated that over three thousand children were floating on the current, educated only in crime, and growing into the worst of beggars. Dr. Russ called a meeting at the office of Mayor Woodhull on the 26th of January following the Astor Place Riot, which had shown the public the fearful character of the ignorant and degraded masses, and committees from both associations presented written plans; these were duly united and digested, and the New York Juvenile Asylum was incorporated by act of the Legislature in 1851. Dr. Russ was its superintendent for the first seven years. Two buildings were erected, a House of Reception

in West Thirteenth Street, and an asylum in One Hundred and Seventy-fifth Street, near Tenth Avenue. The former accommodates one hundred and fifty inmates, and the latter six hundred and seventy. The city contributes moderately for each child supported during the year, to which is added a share in the school fund, and from ten to twenty thousand dollars is raised every year by private subscriptions. Within the first fourteen years upwards of twelve thousand pilfering and vagrant children were supported, nearly three thousand of whom, after arriving at proper age, were placed in country homes in the State of Illinois; less than five per cent of the children brought under the influence, tuition, and discipline of the asylum prove to be incorrigibly bad.

Among the destitute about one in ten were found suffering from physical ills and maladies. A hospital was founded for the ruptured and crippled in 1864, although the real inception of the institution antedates by many years its incorporation; an elegant and spacious edifice was erected in Lexington Avenue, corner of Forty-second Street, through private contributions, at a cost of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars. The president for many years was John C. Green; the vice-presidents were James Lenox, Robert B. Minturn, John David Wolfe, Stewart Brown, and Apollos R. Wetmore; the treasurer was Jonathan Sturges, and the two secretaries were Robert M. Hartley and Joseph B. Collins. Among the original corporators were James W. Beekman, George Griswold, Dr. James Knight, Luther R. Marsh, Henry S. Terbell, Nathan Bishop, Thomas Denny, John W. Quincy, Enoch L. Fancher, and Charles N. Talbot.

The Presbyterian Hospital, founded by James Lenox in 1868, originated in the pressing need for enlarged hospital accommodations to meet the increasing wants of the sick and disabled of the rapidly increasing population. The beautiful site for the edifice, on Seventieth Street, with its ample grounds, valued at two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, was the gift of Lenox — who also gave two hundred and fifty thousand dollars in money towards the erection of a structure which should embrace all the modern improvements in hospital architecture at a cost of about one million. Other wealthy philanthropists contributed generously, and the property and concerns of the institution were vested in and managed by a board of thirty managers, prominent among whom were James Lenox president, John C. Green vice-president, Aaron B. Belknap, Robert M. Hartley, Henry M. Taber, Jonathan Sturges, James Brown, William M. Vermilye, brother of Rev. Dr. Vermilye, Alexander Van Rensselaer, Robert L. Stuart, Morris K. Jessop, John Taylor Johnson, Dr. Willard Parker, William E. Dodge, Edward S. Jaffray, Henry Parish, and Washington R. Vermilye.

In the mean time hospitals, both general and special, were multiplying under other auspices. There are at present in the city not less than sixty kindred institutions — inclusive of nearly a score of medical dispensaries for supplying the sick poor gratuitously with medicines and surgical aid. Many of the hospitals are denominational in origin and polity, and patronized according to the affinities of race, language, and religion. The Mount Sinai Hospital in Lexington Avenue, near Sixty-seventh Street, was founded by a wealthy Hebrew in 1852, and although sufferers of any creed are admitted, it is sustained by the Jews. The buildings are of the Elizabethan style of architecture, embodying all the improvements of modern art. The Roman Catholics have three incorporated hospitals, and one has been established by the Germans. St. Luke's, in Fifth Avenue, founded in 1846 by Rev. William A. Muhlenburg, the Episcopal divine, receives patients of all religious denominations. Roosevelt Hospital, incorporated in 1864, and opened for patients of every sect, nationality, and color, in 1871, is a magnificent charity for which New York is indebted to

the millionaire, James H. of brick, constructed on the modations for one hundred medical staff includes some cialists. Thus the Roosevelt identified in New York tion, with politics, states-ity for some two centuries, ing monument. Among the city, with their varied sources, the Five Points a field of wide-reaching



Roosevelt Arms.

dred children are constantly in its schools, who are also fed and clothed; while fifty or more women each month are passed through the house to situations, and from seventy to one hundred families supplied with daily bread. Out-of-door relief is given to applicants, often reaching three hundred thousand meals per year. A regular hospital is attached to the building, in which the children not only of the school, but of the whole neighborhood, are treated when sick. The institution was established in 1850, and incorporated in 1854. Its origin and success was due mainly to the efforts of Archibald Russell, who was its president for seventeen years. The incorporators included such men as Horace B. Claflin, Anson G. Phelps, Hugh N. Camp, Washington R. Vermilye, Henry Sheldon, Henry C. Bowen, Marshall Lefferts, George F. Betts, D. Lydig Suydam, Charles Tracy, and Morris Reynolds. Archibald Russell was a Scotch

Roosevelt. The edifice is pavilion plan, with accom- and eighty patients. The of the most eminent spe-velt name, which has been with commerce and inven- manship, science, and char- is engraved upon an endur- the other charities of spheres of action and re- House of Industry occupies usefulness. Several hun-

gentleman of wealth who came to reside in New York in 1836, and devoted his life to the cause of education and philanthropy. He was one of the organizers of the American Geographical Society in 1852, of which Hon. George Bancroft was the first president; and he was an active member and officer of the New York Historical Society.¹

¹ Archibald Russell (born in Edinburgh, Scotland, in 1811, died in New York City, 1871) was graduated from Edinburgh University, studied law with Sir Fraser Tytler, and completed his education at Bonn, Germany. He was the son of James Russell, president of the Royal Society, Edinburgh, and cousin of the metaphysician, Sir William Hamilton. He was of the Kingsseat and Slipperfield family of Russell (see *Burke's Peerage*), and cousin to Lord Sinclair and Sir Archibald Little. Through his mother he was descended from the Rutherfords of Edgerston, and his maternal great-grandmother was Eleanor Elliot, of the family of the Earl of Minto, who trace in unbroken succession from James II. of Scotland, and is connected with the Dukes of Buccleugh and the Earls of Angus. Coming to reside in New York in 1836, he married Helen Rutherford Watts, daughter of Dr. John and Anna Rutherford Watts, and granddaughter of Robert Watts and Lady Mary, daughter of Lord Stirling. (See pp. 156, 206.) He thus became connected with families who had played an important part in the history of the city. Naturally a philanthropist, he resolved to devote his energies to the welfare of the home of his adoption. The inscription upon the tablet erected to his memory by the trustees of the Five Points' House of Industry is, "This Institution is his Monument." He was one of the active members of the Christian Commission which did such noble work during the late war, and at its close was chairman of the "Famine Relief Committee." He was for many years a vestryman of the Church of the Ascension, and was instrumental in erecting a church near "Glen Albyn" his country-seat in Ulster County. He also founded and was president of the Ulster County Savings Institution. Children: 1. Anna Rutherford Russell, married Henry¹ Lewis Morris, of the Morris family of Morrisania; 2. Eleanor Elliot, married Arthur J. Peabody, nephew of the great philanthropist, George Peabody; 3. John Watts Russell, A. M., LL. B.; 4. Archibald Douglass Russell; 5. William Hamilton Russell, A. B. — *Family Archives*.

The children of Robert and Mary Alexander Watts were: 1. Sarah M., married (1) Nicholas Romain, M. D., (2) Bertram P. Cruger; 2. Anne, married John W. Kearny; 3. Catharine, married Henry Barclay; 4. Robert, married Matilda Ridley, related to the martyr bishop whose seal is in the possession of the family, and had four sons, Robert Watts, M. D., married Charlotte Deas of South Carolina; Ridley Watts, married Sarah, daughter of Henry Grinnell; Alexander Watts, married Miss Sedgwick of Stockbridge, Massachusetts; Essex Watts, married his cousin, Mary Kearny; 5. Dr. John Watts, married Anna, daughter of Hon. John Rutherford (see p. 300), and their only daughter, Helen, married Archibald Russell.

The Rutherfords of New York and New Jersey descended from Sir John Rutherford, of Edgerston, Scotland, whose grandfather, John Rutherford, married Barbara Abernethy, daughter of the Bishop of Caithness — the ancestor also of Sir Walter Scott, Bart. Sir John was the sixteenth in descent from Hugo de Rutherford, a Scottish baron, A. D. 1225; Walter, the sixth son of Sir John, came to New York, and married Catharine, daughter of James Alexander, grandson of the Earl of Stirling, and sister of Lord Stirling. (See Vol. I. 503, 599; Vol. II. 207, 304, 418.) Their son, John (born 1760, died 1840), graduated from Princeton College in 1775, married Helen, daughter of Lewis Morris, signer of the Declaration of Independence, was United States Senator from 1791 to 1798, and filled important posts in New York City. (See pp. 284, 566.) Children: 1. Mary; 2. Catharine; 3. Robert Walter, married Sabina, daughter of Colonel Lewis Morris, and had five children — John, who married Charlotte, daughter of James K. Livingston, Walter, who married Isabella, daughter of Cap-

The year 1856 was marked by the purchase of the site of Central Park, now the pride of the city, at a cost of nearly five and one half millions of dollars — the largest sum ever expended in the purchase of ground for a similar purpose. In 1857 the control of the improvements was placed in the hands of eleven commissioners, who in their work of landscape-gardening seem to have followed the wise counsel of the Laird of Dumbiedikes — “When ye hae naething else to do ye may aye be sticking in a tree; it’ll be growing when ye are sleeping.” The park covers eight hundred and sixty-two acres, and has forty miles of roads, bridle-paths, and walks, and forty-three bridges and archways. It was not accomplished without great opposition. But time and experience have changed public sentiment, and it is now admitted that fifteen millions of dollars were never invested more judiciously. This park, occupying a central position on Manhattan Island, has already proved a great civilizer, and its mission has but just begun. When it was first established no other park existed in the country, and without it we probably should not have had in this generation Prospect Park in Brooklyn, Fairmount Park in Philadelphia, and a dozen kindred undertakings of noble proportions. It is two and one half miles in length and one half mile wide, but long ere its completion it was found too small for the immediate demand; continuous park accommodations are now being extended in park-ways of extraordinary width and beauty to the Harlem River and beyond.

In the summer of 1857 financial disaster swept over both hemispheres. New York, as the great commercial centre of the nation,
 1857. was the first to feel the effects of the storm, which rapidly spread with devastating fury over the entire country. Prior to the end of December there were nine hundred and eighty-five failures among the merchants of the metropolis, involving liabilities exceeding one hundred and twenty millions. Many more subsequently suspended for large amounts. Enterprises of every description came to a stand-still, industries were paralyzed, and the working classes were thrown into a state of

tain David Brooks, U. S. A., Anna E., Lewis M., the eminent astronomer, who married Margaret Stuyvesant — daughter of Rev. John W. Chanler, Robert W., who married Anna L., daughter of Phineas H. Buckley; 4. Helena Sarah (born 1789, died 1873), the second wife of Peter Gerard Stuyvesant, whose first wife was Susan Barclay; 5. Louisa; 6. Anna, married John Watts, M. D. — the parents of Mrs. Archibald Russell. John Rutherford, M. P., brother of Walter Rutherford, who settled in New York, married Eleanor, daughter of Sir Gilbert Elliot of Minto, and sister of Andrew Elliot, Lieutenant-Governor of New York; he was ancestor of Archibald Russell, and of the female line of the present William Oliver Rutherford of Edgerston. Mary, daughter of Walter and Catharine Alexander Rutherford, married General Matthew Clarkson, and their daughter, Mary, married the distinguished Peter Augustus Jay, son of the chief justice. — *Haldane; Clarkson; Family Archives; Douglass; Burke.*

extreme destitution, to which a severe winter added fresh terrors. It was estimated that twenty-five thousand industrious men and women, representing in their helpless families probably four times that number, were deprived of the means of earning their subsistence. The common council distributed food, and furnished labor for large numbers of the unemployed on the Central Park and other public works, while private associations were formed, in addition to the regularly established charities, to relieve the suffering. In one district alone ten thousand persons were fed, one December day, by public and private charity — few of whom were American born. But aid could not reach all, and many perished. Serious danger was apprehended for a time. Crowds assembled and warned the common council that “they must find bread for the people.” Bakers’ wagons were seized by the mob in the streets. The hungry laborers threatened to break open provision-stores and help themselves. The Arsenal was protected by a strong police force, and United States troops were placed in charge of the Custom House and Assay Office.

It had been a year of riots and disturbances. The Legislature in April passed a bill to transfer the control of the police department from the city to the State, which interfered with the municipal reforms of Mayor Fernando Wood, who had been training the police into military obedience while inaugurating a war against the liquor traffic, and who resolved at once to test the constitutionality of the law to the utmost and resist its execution. The State created a police district, and appointed police commissioners to manage the police force and secure the peace and protection of the city. Mayor Wood refused to surrender the police property or disband the old police. For a time the novel spectacle of two departments of police striving for mastery diverted attention. The question was referred to the courts; but before it was settled a street commissioner, appointed by Governor John Alsop King to fill a vacancy caused by death, was forcibly ejected from the City Hall by Mayor Wood, who claimed the appointing power. Matters quickly assumed an ominous aspect. Two warrants for the arrest of the mayor were obtained, one on the charge of inciting a riot and the other for the personal violence inflicted upon the State appointee, with which a large force of the new police attempted to gain an entrance to the City Hall. A fierce affray ensued, the old police being well armed and stationed in every part of the building. The Seventh Regiment was at the moment marching down Broadway in full feather to take a steamer for Boston, it having accepted an invitation to participate in the Bunker Hill Monument celebration June 16. of that year, and being summoned, turned promptly into the Park and stood in imposing array facing City Hall. Its presence instantly quelled

the disturbance. The mayor supposed it had been ordered to enforce the State enactments, and submitted with the best grace possible. Quiet was temporarily restored, and the gallant Seventh resumed its journey.

One word about the police force of 1880. It numbers three thousand men, and is governed by a board of four commissioners, who appoint all members of the force from the superintendent down. For patrol service the city is divided into thirty-five precincts, each having its own building containing quarters for the men, cells for prisoners, and lodgings for homeless persons. The police stations are all connected with the central office by special telegraphic wires; thus the latter is at once notified of any occurrence of any importance in the precinct. A detachment is assigned to harbor duty, occupying a steam-tug. Other detachments guard the City Hall and the Grand Central Depot, and perform various services. With the exception of London and Paris, the police system of New York is the most perfect of any city in the world.

With the coming of spring business slowly revived. The New York banks had taken the initiative in resumption during the early part of winter. Meanwhile the political atmosphere was severely troubled. The elections turned on the question of slavery — which had agitated the country for twenty or more years. The famous Dred Scott decision in 1857 intensified the already heated controversy. James Buchanan was made President about the same time. The opponents of slavery were united henceforward under the name of Republicans. In May, 1858, Minnesota, the thirty-second State, was admitted into the Union; and Oregon in February, 1857.

In August, 1858, the successful laying of the Atlantic cable was announced, and Queen Victoria transmitted a message to President Aug. 16. Buchanan, receiving a response. New York City, where the idea had been conceived of uniting Europe and America by telegraph, was in a whirlpool of excitement. One hundred guns were fired in the morning and at noon, in honor of the event, bells rang in one significant chorus, and flags were everywhere unfurled. In the evening the city was illuminated, and during the display of fireworks the City Hall was badly injured by a conflagration. The 1st of September was set apart for one of the grandest celebrations on record. Cyrus W. Field was the lion of the hour. To him "more than to any other individual belongs the honor of carrying to completion this great undertaking," said Professor Morse, on the platform in the Academy of Music, June 11, 1871; "he made the ocean but an insignificant ferry by his repeated crossings." In 1853 Field spent six months in South American travel, and on his return projected the herculean enterprise. He interested Peter Cooper, the philanthropist, and

Moses Taylor, both wealthy New York capitalists, in his scheme, and one evening in May, 1854, met them, together with Marshall O. Roberts and Chandler White, at the house of his brother, David Dudley Field, and in half an hour organized a company and subscribed a million and a half of dollars. Two years later aid in money and ships was procured from both the British and American governments, and several London capitalists became interested. But up to the time of the successful laying of the submarine cable across the Gulf of St. Lawrence it had been purely a New York undertaking. Suddenly the cable ceased to perform its part of the programme. It was pronounced a splendid hoax. Many refused to believe that any message had ever passed over it. Field was mercilessly ridiculed. His task was rendered all the more difficult through its momentary success. But with iron will he persisted in his endeavor. In 1866, after nearly thirteen years of unceasing toil, necessitating some fifty passages across the Atlantic, the great electric link between the two continents was triumphantly completed.

Among the local incidents of the decade were the visit of Jenny Lind, and her first appearance at Castle Garden, September 7, 1850; the visit of the Hungarian patriot, Louis Kossuth, in 1851, who received an enthusiastic public welcome; the arrival of Rachel, the great tragedienne, in 1855; the visit of Thackeray, in the autumn of the same year; the visit of the Japanese Embassy, which was entertained in the most lavish manner by the municipal authorities, in 1860; and the successive visits during the same year of the Prince de Joinville, Lady Franklin, and the Prince of Wales—who was officially received with a military display and welcome by an immense concourse of citizens. Lady Franklin came to thank the New Yorkers for their interest in the fate of her husband. The Grinnell expedition to the Arctic regions sailed from New York City in May, 1850. Dr. Elisha Kent Kane went as surgeon and naturalist, and in 1853 commanded the second Grinnell expedition. Henry Grinnell, whose connection with these grand enterprises helped to widen the mercantile renown of the city, was the brother of Moses H. Grinnell, both of whom were of the famous house of Grinnell, Minturn, & Co., which probably built more ships prior to 1860 than any other mercantile house in this country. They were the sons of Cornelius Grinnell, a well-known shipping merchant of New Bedford. Moses H. Grinnell was forty-eight years a member of the Chamber of Commerce, and for some time its president. He was a member of Congress, a Presidential elector, and collector of the port of New York—a model merchant and pre-eminently a public-spirited citizen. He took a prominent part in promoting and conducting the charities of the city, in which his partner, Robert

B. Minturn, was also deeply interested. His mansion in Fifth Avenue, corner of Fourteenth Street — subsequently rented to Delmonico — was the abode for many years of a generous hospitality.

With the election of Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency in the autumn of 1860, the controversies between the slaveholding and non-slaveholding States culminated. Before the end of December South Carolina passed an ordinance of secession. Other cotton States followed in rapid succession. Business was arrested, and the winter was one of apprehension and distress. President Buchanan, in common with many others, thought the government could not use coercive measures to prevent a State from going out of the Union. In January, 1861, Mayor

1861. Wood recommended to the common council that New York should secede, and become a free city. It is needless to add that the suggestion was scouted with honest indignation. Instead, men and money were freely and speedily offered the President to aid in enforcing the laws. At the same time New York was in no humor for war, as shown by a monster petition from the merchants and others with forty thousand signatures, forwarded to Congress, accompanied by a delegation from the Chamber of Commerce, urging for a peaceful settlement of the national difficulties.

But the chasm was too broad and menacing. Events followed each other too swiftly. Thursday morning, April 12, at half past four o'clock, the first gun was fired by the secessionists upon Fort Sumter. The news stirred the nation like an electric shock. The uprising that followed was without a parallel in history. Men everywhere took sides for or against the Union. The peace-makers were silenced. At the South the loyal citizens were overwhelmed by the war party, and at the North Democrats and Republicans combined for the support of the government. President Lincoln issued a call for seventy-five thousand troops to serve for three months, the quota for New York being thirteen thousand. On the evening of the same day several prominent gentlemen met by invitation at the residence of the eminent merchant, Robert H. McCurdy, in Fourteenth Street, and resolved to call a public meeting of all parties desirous of preserving the Union, which resulted in a meeting upon Union Square, and a demonstration surpassing in magnitude and enthusiasm any public assemblage in this country. Its effects were instantly felt in every part of the land. The four presidents of the

April 20. meeting were John A. Dix, Hamilton Fish, ex-Mayor Havemeyer, and Moses H. Grinnell. Four stands had been arranged for the speakers, but proving insufficient, the people were addressed from the balconies, and even from the roofs of the houses. Resolutions were adopted, and a

committee organized under the title of Union Defense Committee, embracing such well-known men as John A. Dix, Simeon Draper, Moses Taylor, A. T. Stewart, James Boorman, Robert McCurdy, Moses Grinnell, Royal Phelps, William E. Dodge, Hamilton Fish, William H. Havemeyer, William M. Evarts, John J. Cisco, Theodore Dehon, Samuel Sloane, James T. Brady, Prosper M. Wetmore, John Jacob Astor, Jr., Edwards Pierrepont, Isaac Bell, Richard M. Blatchford, James S. Wadsworth, Charles H. Marshall, Abiel A. Low, Green C. Bronson, Rudolph A. Witthaus, A. C. Richards, and Mayor Wood, with the comptroller and presidents of the two boards of the common council of the city. The work of organizing regiments was at once undertaken. The city authorized a loan of one million dollars for the defense of the Union. The New York bar met and contributed twenty-five thousand dollars, the banks pledged enormous sums, and the whole city set itself to the stern suppression of the Southern revolt. In the same breath, as it were, the Legislature responded to Lincoln's call by authorizing the enlistment of thirty thousand men for two years instead of three months, and appropriated three million dollars for the war.

Such was the beginning. Once more a race of soldiers seemed to have peopled New York. The alacrity with which men of all classes offered their personal services was unexampled. Scions of the oldest and wealthiest families esteemed it an honor to serve as private soldiers. Foremost in the field was the Seventh Regiment, composed of the best and most influential citizens of the metropolis. The tidings thrilled the city and State, and other cities and States, that this famous body, the flower of the citizen soldiery, would march to Washington without delay. Thirty-five merchants contributed one hundred dollars each on the morning of the 17th, for its camp equipage and other necessities for active service.¹ Its march down Broadway on the 19th was like a triumphal

¹ The names of these donors are an index to the sentiment of the foremost families of New York at this crisis: Moses H. Grinnell, George B. De Forest, L. G. Cannon, C. R. Robert, Royal Phelps, S. Wetmore, R. M. Blatchford, Thomas Addis Emmet, A. C. Gray, W. B. Duncan, Phelps, Dodge & Co., Charles H. Russell, Edwin Bartlett, Charles Christmas, Edward Minturn, S. B. Chittenden, Moses Taylor, Theodore Dehon, Ogden Haggerty, William M. Evarts, G. S. Robbins, George Griswold, John A. Stevens, James Gallatin, E. Walker & Son, H. R. Dunham, Hamilton Fish, Robert B. Minturn, D. F. Manice, George W. Blunt, James H. Titus, William Curtis Noyes, Shepherd Knapp, Charles H. Marshall, A. V. Stout, W. Whiteright, Jr., John L. Aspinwall, J. F. D. Lanier, Henry Chauncey, Jr., Stewart Brown, Andrew Foster, Joseph W. Alsop, Joseph Gaillard, Jr., Henry Chauncey, James S. Wadsworth, August Belmont, John Bridge, Clark & Mosely, Benjamin F. Breeden, Benjamin Nathan, P. S. Forbes, W. W. De Forest, Charles Davis, Isaac Bell, Frederick Bronson, Howell L. Williams, B. H. Hutton, Almon W. Griswold, New York Stock Exchange, Rufus Prime, Washington Coster, Aymar & Co., Bleecker Outhout, Levi E. Morton, C. B. Loomis, R. Alsop, G. C. Ward, Benjamin L. Swan. — *Swinton*.

procession. Many thousands joined the moving column, preceding the march in escort or following in its rear. Street, sidewalks, areas, fences, stoops, balconies, windows, roofs, trees, lamp-posts, awnings — every foot of available space held spectators, and for long distances on the side streets the compact throngs struggled for a glimpse. The cheering never for a moment ceased. "It was worth a life, that march," wrote Theodore Winthrop. "We knew that our great city was with us as one man, utterly united in the cause we were marching to sustain." Other regiments were quickly on the wing. Announcement being made one morning in the Chamber of Commerce that funds were needed for several regiments about to march, a collection was instantly taken up, and twenty-one thousand dollars raised in ten minutes. The banks, after having loaned one hundred and fifty millions in coin to the government, suspended specie payments. During the year a million and a half dollars were appropriated to the relief of the families of volunteers in the city. Mayor Opdyke, in his annual message in January, 1863, said that the people of the metropolis had contributed in taxes, gratuities, and loans to the government, since the beginning of the war, not less than three hundred millions of dollars, and had furnished over eighty thousand volunteers.

During each year of the war repeated large out-of-door manifestations were made in support of the government, of which those in Union Square, July 15, 1862, and April 11, 1863, were the most conspicuous. Meanwhile the ladies of the city were at work by thousands for the soldiers, and many of the most tenderly reared were in training for hospital nurses. David Dudley Field presided over a great meeting of ladies at Cooper Institute before the end of the first month of the war, which was addressed by Rev. Dr. Henry W. Bellows, Vice-President Hannibal Hamlin, and others, and which resulted in an organization with Dr. Valentine Mott as president and Howard Potter treasurer, that proved to be the germ of the United States Sanitary Commission. Numberless associations were soon formed for the relief of the soldiers. The Emancipation Proclamation, which virtually blotted slavery from the soil of the Republic took effect on the first day of January, 1863. This was an eventful year.

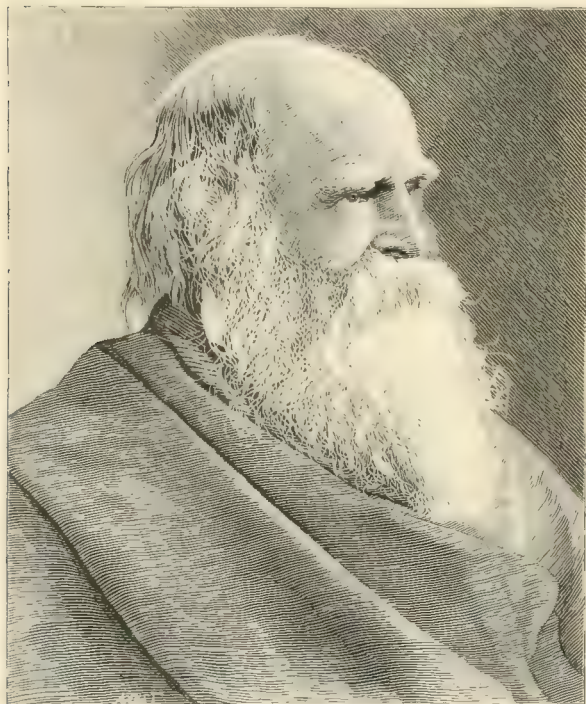
1863. The project of arming the slaves roused the bitterest opposition. Then followed the conscription law, passed March 3, which was denounced on every hand. In May President Lincoln ordered a draft of three hundred thousand men.

At this juncture the enemy invaded Pennsylvania, and the governor entreated assistance from the adjoining States; Governor Seymour of New York responded by directing General Sandford, commander of the city militia, to send every available regiment at his disposal to the seat

of war for thirty days' service. While the troops were absent, the United States authorities attempted to enforce the draft, which caused a terrible insurrection. The elements of disorder and crime united their forces, and were joined by thousands of frenzied workmen and idlers. For three days and three nights the rioters maintained a reign of terror. They sacked houses in great numbers, demolished the offices of the provost marshal, burned the colored orphan asylum, attacked the police, and chased negroes — women and children even — wherever they appeared on the streets, and when caught hanged them on the nearest lamp-post. They tore down and trampled under foot the national flags, and robbed stores in open day; all business was suspended, street-cars and stages did not dare to run, plate and property were concealed, and residences fortified. The Secretary of War ordered home the regiments doing duty in Pennsylvania, but ere they arrived the climax of atrocities had been reached, and through the combined action of the police and the citizens, together with the slender military force at the disposal of the authorities, the riot, one of the most formidable in the annals of riots, had been substantially quelled. The police displayed admirable address and undaunted bravery, against overwhelming numbers; they were under the command of Thomas C. Acton, president of the police board, who issued orders with the coolness and skill of a trained military veteran. The arrival of the Seventh Regiment on the 16th was hailed with delight by all law-abiding citizens, and with execrations by the mob, which still in some places prolonged the carnival of crime from sheer love of it. In the afternoon the Seventh marched through several of the districts where fighting was in progress, including that between Third Avenue and the East River — the hot-bed of the riot. It was a trying ordeal, the soldiers being assailed with missiles and scattering shots from windows, doors, and house-tops; but the rioters fled before them to the houses and fences. Saturday, the sixth day of the disturbance, found the city nearly as tranquil as usual, except that the military forces were in constant motion through the streets. Two million dollars of property had been destroyed, and it is believed one thousand of the rioters had fallen.

On the 19th of the following October the corner-stone of the New York Academy of Design was laid, in Twenty-third Street, corner of Fourth Avenue, which cost some two hundred thousand dollars, chiefly contributed by wealthy citizens who were lovers of art. The edifice was built of white Westchester County marble banded with gray stone, and presents a capricious but beautiful blending of the white and gray. William Cullen Bryant, for many years president of the New York Gal-

lery of Fine Arts (established in 1844), made a memorable speech on this occasion, in which he said: "For more than a third of a century the Academy has had a nomadic existence, pitching its tent now here and now there, as convenience might dictate, but never possessing a permanent seat. It is at last enabled, through the munificence of the citizens of New York — a munificence worthy of the greatness of our capital and



William Cullen Bryant.

most honorable to the character of those who inhabit it — to erect a building suitable for its purposes and in some degree commensurate with the greatness of its objects. When this institution came into existence I could count the eminent artists of the country on my fingers! Now what man among us is able to enumerate all the clever men in the United States who have devoted the efforts of their genius to the Fine Arts?"

No figure has been more familiar to New York of the present

generation than that of the poet and journalist, William Cullen Bryant. He was a short, slender man, yet such was the effect of his presence that few ever thought of calling him small. His life in the city, spanning fifty-three years, was identified with the rise of authorship, and American literature recognizes in him one of its greatest founders and most famous builders. His natural gifts were successfully trained and cultured. He was satisfied with nothing less than the widest and deepest study of poetry in all literatures, young and old, in all languages and schools; thus he kept his verse in perfect finish for sixty successive years. His active and practical pursuits kept him meanwhile in full sympathy with everyday affairs; and the dignity, beauty, and purity of his private character endeared him to society. He occupied the front rank among distin-

guished Americans, and his name is a household word wherever the English language is spoken. During the last decade prior to his death in 1878, no citizen of New York was oftener called to preside in public meetings, to pronounce welcomes to honored strangers, or speak at literary and charitable festivals; and his refined intellectual face, in its setting of white hair and full beard, was as well known, particularly in the higher social circles of the metropolis, as his name.¹

Details of the civil war occupy too wide a space for insertion in this volume. The high purpose and noble liberality of New York, foreshadowed by the early movements, continued even to the end. 1864. The great sanitary fair, opened on the 5th of April, which netted up-

¹ The following autobiographical letter from William Cullen Bryant, dated March 5, 1869, will be treasured with interest. The original, in his own well-known hand, is in possession of the author, and is printed verbatim: "I was born in Cummington, Massachusetts, November 3, 1794. I began to write verses early, and at the age of ten one of my poems was published in the county paper — the *Hampshire Gazette*. At the age of thirteen a poem of mine, entitled 'The Embargo, a Satire' was published at Boston, which the next year appeared in a second edition with other poems. After leaving college I studied the classics and mathematics awhile, but about that time wrote my poem entitled 'Thanatopsis.' I am not quite certain whether this was in my eighteenth or in my nineteenth year, probably the latter. I then began the study of law with Judge Howe in the neighboring town of Worthington, and completed it at Bridgewater in the office of the Hon. William Baylies. I was admitted to the bar in 1815. I practiced law in Plainfield one year and at Great Barrington nine years. 'Thanatopsis' and one or two other poems were sent by my father in 1816 to the *North American Review*, and published. In 1821 I delivered at Cambridge, before the Phi Beta Kappa Society, a poem entitled 'The Ages,' which was published the same year, along with several smaller poems. In 1820 I wrote several poems which appeared in the *Boston Literary Gazette*. In 1825 I removed to New York and became one of the editors of a monthly entitled the *New York Review*. The same year I was temporarily employed in the *Evening Post*, a situation which became permanent the next year. The *New York Review* was merged that year in the *United States Review*, published both at New York and Boston, in which I was associated with Mr. Charles Folsom of Cambridge. It lived but a year. In 1827 and the two following years I was associated with Mr. Gulian C. Verplanck and Mr. Robert C. Sands in an annual publication called the *Talisman*, consisting of miscellanies written almost exclusively by us three. In 1832 I published a collection of my poems in New York, which has since been re-published in many enlarged editions. I went abroad in 1834, returning in 1836. I went abroad again in 1845, and a third time in 1849, and on returning published a volume entitled 'Letters of a Traveler.' In 1852 I went to Cuba, and the same year again to Europe, extending my journey to Egypt and the Holy Land. I made a fifth voyage to Europe with my family in 1857, when I visited Spain and Algiers, and on my return published a volume entitled 'Letters from Spain.' In 1864 I published a separate volume of verse entitled 'Thirty Poems.' In 1867 I again visited Europe, when I traveled in Spain for the second time.

"I was married in Great Barrington in the year 1821 to Miss Fanny Fairchild of that place. She was taken from me in July, 1866. I have held no public office except some small local offices in Great Barrington, except that I was one of the electors at large of the State of New York at Mr. Lincoln's first election as President. I have now been forty-four years a journalist."

wards of a million of dollars for the relief of the soldiers, and the re-election of Lincoln to the Presidency were the chief events of 1864. The assassination of Lincoln in April following, just as his work was finished,

and the enemies of the Republic suing for peace, and the attack
 1865. upon the Secretary of State, William H. Seward of New York, and his son, both of whom were wellnigh murdered, struck the New York heart with keenest anguish. The news came at half past seven

in the morning, and before ten business was entirely suspended,
 April 15. stores were closed, except where a half-door was left ajar to accommodate persons seeking mourning, and the whole city was draped, from the most sumptuous edifices to the humblest tenements. A few days later, and the citizens tenderly received the sacred remains of the martyred

President, with bowed heads and streaming eyes. On the after-
 April 25. noon of the 25th the funeral party was escorted to the depot on its way to Illinois by a procession five miles long, and an immense assemblage in Union Square listened to funeral orations from George Bancroft the historian, and William Cullen Bryant. Presently the heroes of the war were on their homeward route. They had accomplished vast results. But they came not as they went, with gay colors and full ranks; they had poured out their blood in rivers, and left their dead in multitudes. No braver men had gone out to battle for the Union than the soldiers of New York.

One of the special outgrowths of the war was the Union League Club, now seventeen years of age. It originated in 1863 with a few prominent gentlemen, chief among whom was the distinguished scientist, Dr. Wolcott Gibbs, grandson of Oliver Wolcott. At a meeting held at his residence in East Twenty-ninth Street, January 30, a committee was appointed to report a scheme of organization whereby a body of influential citizens should discountenance and rebuke by moral and social influences all disloyalty to the Federal government — and impress upon the public mind that this was a Nation, not a confederacy. On the 21st of February a constitution was adopted, with seventy-six signatures. Five hundred names were quickly enrolled, and this membership represented the merchants, scholars, clergymen, lawyers, scientists, artists, and citizens — in short, the substantial worth of New York. Among those conspicuous in the formation of the club were Hon. Murray Hoffman, Dr. Cornelius R. Agnew, George T. Strong, Rev. Dr. Henry Bellows, George C. Anthon, Professor Theodore W. Dwight, Horatio Allen, Dr. John C. Dalton, Rev. Dr. S. H. Weston, William J. Hoppin, William Cullen Bryant, Robert H. McCurdy, and Moses H. Grinnell. The first president was Robert B. Minturn, and the second, Jonathan Sturges. Among the early vice-presi-

dents were William H. Aspinwall, Charles King, Francis B. Cutting, George Bancroft, Alexander T. Stewart, Moses Taylor, Dr. Willard Parker, John C. Green, and James W. Beekman. And upon its pioneer executive committees were George Griswold, George Cabot Ward, Robert Lenox Kennedy, John Jay, grandson of the chief justice, William E. Dodge, Jr., Theodore Roosevelt, and James Boorman Johnston. The club has now over one thousand resident members and nearly five hundred non-resident members. An elegant new edifice is in process of erection in Fifth Avenue, corner of Thirty-ninth Street. Its president in 1880 is our recent Secretary of State, Hamilton Fish.

The Century Club, an association of authors, artists, and men of letters, was founded in 1847, and in 1857 entered upon its existence as a corporate body. Its chief founder was William Cullen Bryant, who died its honored president. Its roll of membership, numbering six hundred, includes some of the most distinguished names in the metropolis — not only in poesy, art, and literature, but in statesmanship and jurisprudence. It has a fine club-house in Fifteenth Street, near Union Square, a collection of paintings, and a library containing principally works on art. Among the many other flourishing and noteworthy clubs are the Knickerbocker, exclusive and aristocratic, of which Alexander Hamilton, grandson of the statesman, is president; the Manhattan, which originated during the Presidential canvass of 1864, and to which none but Democrats are eligible; the Travelers, which had for its principal object, at its inception in 1865, the reception of noted travelers, as its name indicates, and their introduction to the public; the Lotus, organized in 1870, to promote social intercourse among journalists, literary men, artists, and members of the theatrical profession; and the St. Nicholas club, founded in 1875, of which the members must all be descendants of families who dwelt in New York prior to the Revolution. Its president at the present time is Frederick De Peyster, who is also president of the New York Historical Society, and among its trustees are George G. De Witt, Edward F. De Lancey, E. Livingston Ludlow, Augustus Schell, Eugene Schieffelin, Benjamin L. Swan, Herbert C. Pell, Robert G. Remsen, John Treat Irving, John Schuyler, Benjamin H. Field, James W. Beekman, Bayard Clarke, and Abraham K. Lawrence.

The common schools of New York have multiplied from the one Free School described upon a former page into three hundred and five. The children now taught in them exceed two hundred and sixty-three thousand, at a yearly cost to the city of three and one fourth million dollars. The College of the City of New York, established in 1848, gives completeness to the grand system by which the children of parents in all grades of

society may acquire a finished education, second to none in general excellence. The Normal College for young women registers about sixteen hundred pupils, and the curriculum includes Latin, physics, chemistry, German, natural science, French, drawing, and music. It is a model school. The edifice, one of the most complete structures of the kind in this country, is situated in Sixty-ninth Street, near Lexington Avenue. It is built in the secular Gothic style, and has a lofty and massive Victoria tower. It cost three hundred and fifty thousand dollars, and the expense of the institution is one hundred thousand dollars per annum. An eminent statesman said, in 1839: "History furnishes no parallel to the financial achievements of New York. It has sustained the expenses of its own administration, and founded and endowed a broad system of education, charitable institutions for every class of the unfortunate, and a penitentiary establishment which is adopted as a model by all civilized nations." With the manifold improvements since that time in our public school system, it is no matter of wonder that Austria, Prussia, France, and England have borrowed and adopted many of its vital features.

In addition to the public schools, the city abounds with excellent private seminaries and schools; there is hardly a block without one or two. All the leading institutions of this character are in charge of accomplished educators — and are admirably supported. The Charlier Institute, for boys, is an example. It is a romantic story, the career of Elie Charlier, who built up a flourishing school and erected an elegant structure overlooking Central Park, at a cost of over four hundred thousand dollars, without calling upon the public for the slightest money aid. He was drilled in the famous college at Neuchatel, in Switzerland, and arrived in the city nearly thirty years ago, with letters of introduction and a cash capital of thirty-six dollars. One of his letters was to the mayor, James Harper, who said to him, "Young man, in this country we are all busy, and we all help ourselves. Use my name for reference if you wish, and go ahead." The advice was followed. Young Charlier opened a school with seven scholars; and, without trustees or corporation, or funds from charity or State, his untiring industry and vigilant attention to details resulted in a success without parallel in the history of private educational institutions.

In Fifth Avenue, overlooking Central Park from the east, and occupying nearly the whole space between Seventieth and Seventy-first streets, stands the Lenox Library, a massive and unique stone structure which contains one of the most extraordinary collections of printed books and manuscripts on the globe, the peer, in some important particulars, of the British Museum and the National Library at Paris. It is the noblest of

a long series of benefactions for which New York is indebted to James Lenox. He was a son of the rich New York merchant, Robert Lenox, and highly educated and cultured, with discriminating judgment, he spent a long life in collecting the rarest books, paintings, sculptures, and ceramics which money could buy. The building and its site, the interior fittings and furniture, and the precious treasures within its walls are all his gift — representing not less than a million dollars. In 1870 the institution was placed upon a footing with others of a similar nature by an act of incorporation, nine trustees being authorized to receive all such property from Mr. Lenox as he might please to consign to their keeping. Among the riches of this library are a large number of specimens of the first products of the typographic art, illustrated manuscript copies of Bibles of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Shakespeariana, Americana — and the most famous and precious of all books, the Mazarin Bible, the first book ever printed with movable types.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art occupies a structure some half a mile above Lenox Library, in Central Park, near Fifth Avenue, which is but a small portion of a projected gigantic series of buildings for the use of the museum. The movement which resulted in this institution for the art culture of the community was initiated at a public meeting for consultation on the subject, November 23, 1869, when a special committee of fifty gentlemen was appointed; this committee was afterwards increased to over twice its original size, including the principal patrons of art among the wealthy citizens, together with some of the leading artists. The act of incorporation bears date April 13, 1870. Contributions from a variety of sources have laid the solid foundation for an art museum which in course of time will take rank with the older and more famous institutions of the same character in the leading European capitals. In ancient antiquities it is already superior to any of them. The remarkable archæological collection, gathered by General Di Cesnola during several years of exploration among the ruins of the island of Cyprus, consists of over ten thousand objects. Under his directorship these, together with the other and varied collections, were admirably arranged in the new building; the museum was formally opened by the President of the United States, March 30, 1880. The Egyptian obelisk, dating backward to the time of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, is now being erected in Central Park, opposite the Museum of Art, the expenses of the remarkable undertaking being defrayed from the private purse of one of New York's public-spirited citizens.

The Museum of Natural History, which dates from 1869, occupies a new fire-proof edifice in Manhattan Square, upon the western side of Central Park, nearly opposite the Museum of Art; the corner-stone was

laid by President Ulysses Grant, June 2, 1874, and the museum formally opened by President Hayes, December 12, 1877. The building, however, like that of the Museum of Art, is only a single wing of an immense mass of buildings to be erected in the future. The first purchase for the museum was the Veneauz collection of natural history specimens, the next the Elliot collection of the birds of North America, and the entire museum of Prince Maximilian of Neuwied. The intention is to establish a post-graduate university of Natural Science, at which students from all parts of the world may find as full collections of specimens as are to be found at London or Berlin. The first president of the museum was John David Wolfe, a gentleman of æsthetic tastes and liberal culture, who made many valuable gifts to various institutions.¹ His daughter, Miss Catharine L. Wolfe, has presented the Jay collection of shells which occupy the desk cases in the center of the hall in the lower story, besides other handsome donations.

The public-spirited citizens who have contributed individually and collectively to the development of New York are legion. The practical philanthropy of Peter Cooper, who has given the labor of a long life to the advancement and diffusion of scientific knowledge, is seen in the six-story brown stone edifice at the junction of Third and Fourth Avenues, at Seventh Street. It was built by him in 1857, at a cost of six hundred and thirty thousand dollars, and endowed with one hundred and fifty thousand dollars for the support of a free reading-room and library — which now contains about fifteen thousand miscellaneous works. The scheme of the Cooper Union includes free schools of science and art, both day and evening. The expenses of the institution are some forty-five thou--

¹ John David Wolfe married Dorothea, daughter of Peter and Catharine Griswold Lorillard, and had one daughter, Catharine Lorillard Wolfe. Elenora Lorillard, sister of Mrs. John David Wolfe, married Captain Spencer, U. S. A., and their son, Lorillard Spencer, married Sarah I. Griswold, daughter of Charles C. Griswold, and niece of the Sarah Griswold who married John Lyon Gardiner, of the manor of Gardiner's Island; Elenora, daughter of Lorillard and Sarah Griswold Spencer, married Virginio Cenci, Prince of Vicovaro, the Grand Chamberlain to the King of Italy. (See pp. 612, 639.)

The Lorillards have for a century occupied a high place in the business and social world of New York. There were three brothers, Peter, Jacob, and George, in partnership, and the firm is still continued by their descendants. Peter, son of Peter and Catharine Griswold Lorillard, married Catharine Griswold, daughter of Nathaniel L. Griswold, of the great "China" house of W. L. & George Griswold. Their children: 1. Catharine, married James P. Kernochan (son of Joseph Kernochan, president of Fulton Bank), and has Catharine, Perigond, and James; 2. Mary, married Henry Barbey, of Geneva, Switzerland; 3. Eve, married Colonel J. Lawrence Kip, son of Right Rev. Bishop William Ingraham Kip, of California; 4. Pierre, married Emily, daughter of Dr. Isaac E. Taylor; 5. Jacob; 6. George L.; 7. Louis L., married Katharine Livingston Beekman, daughter of Gilbert L. Beekman.

sand dollars per annum, derived chiefly from the rental of stores and offices in the building, together with the income of the endowment fund. In the Woman's Art School two hundred and fifty receive gratuitous instruction yearly, and are fitted for teaching, engraving, designing, illustrating books, coloring photographs, and other congenial and remunerative employments.

The Young Men's Christian Association, established in 1852, occupies a handsome architectural structure erected in the style of the French Renaissance in Twenty-third Street, corner of Fourth Avenue, in 1869, at a cost of five hundred thousand dollars. The reading-room has some four hundred papers and magazines, and the library twelve thousand well-chosen volumes. It has also a gymnasium, bowling-alley, baths, classrooms, parlors, musical privileges, and a concert-hall. Four branch organizations each sustain religious meetings and lectures. A well-known philanthropist has recently purchased a farm in New Jersey and placed at the disposal of the officers, to provide a home for unemployed men in needy circumstances. The Young Women's Christian Association, incorporated in 1873, to promote the temporal, social, mental, moral, and religious welfare of young women, is in successful operation upon a similar basis, with a well-appointed reading-room, a circulating library of five thousand volumes, and an employment bureau. The Mott Memorial Library, the Libraries of the Geographical and Genealogical Societies, and the Library at the City Hall are among the public collections of books with which the city abounds.

Among the many private picture-galleries of value are those collected by Marshall O. Roberts, August Belmont, agent of the Rothschilds, and Alexander T. Stewart, the great merchant whose colossal fortune was acquired by making trade a study and a science. He came to New York from Belfast, Ireland, in 1823, at the age of twenty, and having just been graduated with honors from Trinity College, readily obtained a situation to teach the modern languages and mathematics in a school in Roosevelt Street — where Fletcher Harper, of Harper Brothers, was a pupil. He soon opened a small store, and at the end of half a century died the richest merchant in the world. His fifty millions balanced the fifty millions of William B. Astor, who inherited a fortune and had only to invest wisely, like all great land-holders, to double and treble it. Stewart ranked next to Astor as a city real-estate owner. During the Irish famine, in 1847, he sent a ship filled with provisions as a gift to his native country. After the Franco-German war he sent a steamer to Havre with flour for the sufferers in manufacturing districts; and when Chicago was desolated by fire in 1871, he gave fifty thousand dollars.

Cornelius Vanderbilt, whose long and dazzling career terminated in 1877, is supposed to have left at least one hundred millions. His achievements are among the most romantic and extraordinary in history, and are connected with the interests of millions of human beings. He was born on Staten Island, in 1794, and while transit from one point to another was slow and vexatious, and the air full of the new theories about the use of steam, his brain was alive with unformed notions and scientific

uncertainties. He was thirteen when Robert Fulton made his first successful experiment. The significance of the invention took deep root in his mind and grew with his growth. He went into business for himself as a steam-boat-builder in 1829. In 1857 he began to invest funds in railroad stock. Twelve years later and one thousand miles of track were under his control. Among his great public works was the freight depot in Hudson Street, on million dollars. He steam vessels, and be-masters of the railroad tinent — his millions



Elevated Railways.

a site which cost a built a hundred came one of the system of the con-affecting every industry. He had thirteen children, and his numerous descendants reside chiefly in New York.

The latest herculean undertaking of New York has been the erection of elevated railways through the streets. The project had been in agitation a full dozen years before its successful issue in 1878, and neither the Erie Canal nor the Croton Aqueduct encountered more fierce and determined opposition. Horse-railroad companies and property owners brought suits and laid injunctions at every step. Charters were declared unconstitutional, and cases were carried from tribunal to tribunal. When the

battle was at last won, the helpless and hopeless community cried out in agony that the noise would kill business, the unsightly objects destroy the beauty of the city, and the moving of trains in the air frighten horses and endanger human life. The long and narrow conformation of the island renders only few lines necessary, and obviates in a great measure the perils arising from frequent junctions and road-crossings. The success of the enterprise was much greater than the most sanguine ever thought of predicting. The noise quickly blended in the general din, the new sense of convenience displaced that of deformity, and the brute creation mildly observed and passed on, as if beyond surprise at any modern improvement in the city of New York. The disadvantages of dwelling in Harlem were at once removed, and the increase of handsome buildings in that portion of the metropolis within the last twelve months indicates the influence of the elevated roads upon the prosperity of the city.

The great bridge across the East River between New York and Brooklyn commenced in 1870, is still in process of construction. The whole length will be six thousand feet, and the width includes space for a comfortable promenade, two railroad tracks, and four wagon tracks. It is so high that navigation will not be impeded. The cost has already greatly exceeded the original estimate for the entire work.

The drainage and sewerage of the metropolis have from first to last occupied distinguished attention. The swiftness with which a dense population has spread over the island has prevented the execution of many projects which would have added greatly to the comfort and health of the city. But the fruits of experience are being turned to advantage in innumerable particulars. The leading sanitarian of the country, and the only civil engineer who has ever given us a complete topographical map of Manhattan Island, showing all its original water-courses, and the necessity for proper drainage, is General Egbert L. Viele, a descendant of the Knickerbocker family — not that of romance, but the genuine family founded by Herman Jansen Knickerbocker, who settled in New York when the metropolis was a little fur-station, and married the daughter of Von De Bogert, surgeon of the Dutch ship *Eendragt*. In one of the generations of this family, Herman Knickerbocker, a judge and member of Congress in the time of Madison, was a man of wit as well as fortune, and extremely fond of practical jokes. He was an intimate friend of Washington Irving, whose genius immortalized his name — and it has since become a generic term by which the descendants of the original Dutch settlers are designated. Viele was the author of the State public health measures, resulting in the organization of a Board of Health in 1866, which consists of the health officer of the port, the president of the

police, and two commissioners, one of whom must have been for five years a practicing physician ; it is invested with extensive powers.

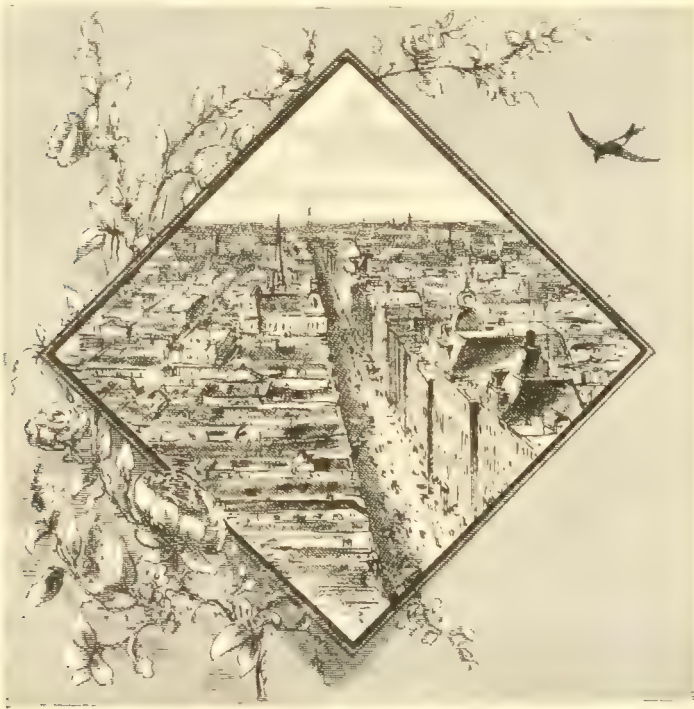
The Fire Department force numbers, in 1880, about eight hundred and fifty. The old volunteer department ceased to exist in 1865 ; at that same time steam fire-engines were universally adopted. Three commissioners control the department and enforce all laws in relation to the sale and storage of combustibles. About six hundred fire-alarm boxes are distributed through the city, and the keys are carried by policemen and firemen, while a key is also deposited near every alarm-box — its location designated upon the box itself. Some forty-two steam-engines, four chemical engines, and other paraphernalia for extinguishing fires afford a curious contrast to the leathern fire-buckets used prior to 1730 — when the first fire department was organized, and two small fire-engines ordered from London “ by the first expediency.”

The public and private markets of the city have kept pace with the demand. Washington Market occupies an almost square block, bounded by Washington, West, Fulton, and Vesey streets — and the sidewalks are roofed. The spectacle within is one of interest, particularly in the holiday season. The great produce depot and distributing center of the country — the termini of scores of inland transportation lines, and where hundreds of vessels are constantly discharging cargoes, are alongside. Fulton Market is famous for its fish ; and about a dozen other public markets are under the direction of the superintendent. With the establishment of the district telegraph system, and the introduction of the telephone into general use, New York seems prepared to overcome every inconvenience in the way of magnitude. Messenger boys are ready at a moment's notice to execute any commission ; and business men converse with ease in different localities. Various landmarks have passed away ; and property has changed hands and risen in value, in a ratio, which, if fully described, would seem like the vagaries of imagination.

One of the dark passages through which New York has recently passed was in 1872, when the citizens of both political parties combined against the public plunderers who had for years controlled the city government. A committee of seventy was chosen, and the leaders of one of the most remarkable conspiracies ever aimed at municipal integrity brought to justice. The following year was marked by a severe financial panic.

The part played by New York in the history of the country needs no eulogy. Facts speak eloquently for themselves. When our future shall be the past, it will be remembered that eight premiers of the nation have been of New York birth and ancestry, each performing his duty nobly and well in times of peculiar moment. Neither will it be forgotten that New

York has furnished eight Vice-Presidents — more than one third of the number since the birth of the nation — and two Presidents. Of eminent statesmen whose services have been of national importance and whose names and fame are known of all men, no State presents a better record. The city and State are virtually one; and the world has seen few social structures with a foundation of more breadth and solidity. In tracing the origin, rise, and progress of New York we have aimed at something more than a mere recital of events. Political quarrels have their uses, and wars and tumults furnish entertainment and instruction. But when we would learn the true spirit of a community we must become intelligent as to the material of which it is composed. We have studied the successive steps by which a wilderness island has been transformed into a brilliant and powerful metropolis, its boundless wealth, opinions, and people flooding the whole continent; and now with a glimpse of the noisiest and busiest thoroughfare in America — built upon the site of the savage pathway — we turn the final page of this work.



Bird's-eye Glimpse of Broadway.

APPENDIX.

A.

THE TREATY WITH BURGOTNE.

ARTICLE I. The troops under Lieutenant-general Burgoyne to march out of their camp with the honors of war; and the artillery of the intrenchments to the verge of the river, where the old fort stood, where the arms and artillery are to be left. The arms to be piled by word of command from their own officers.

II. A free passage to be granted to the army under Lieutenant-general Burgoyne to Great Britain, upon condition of not serving again in North America during the present contest; and the port of Boston to be assigned for the entry of transports to receive the troops whenever General Howe shall so order.

III. Should any cartel take place, by which the army under General Burgoyne, or any part of it, may be exchanged, the foregoing article to be void so far as such exchange shall be made.

IV. The army under Lieutenant-general Burgoyne is to march to Massachusetts Bay, by the easiest and most expeditious and convenient route, and to be quartered in, near, or as convenient as possible to Boston, that the march of the troops may not be delayed, when transports arrive to receive them.

V. The troops to be supplied on the march, and during their being in quarters, with provisions by Major-general Gates's orders, at the same rate of rations as the troops of his own army; and, if possible, the officers, horses, and cattle are to be supplied with forage at the usual rates.

VI. All officers to retain their carriages, bat horses, and other cattle, and no baggage to be molested or searched; Lieutenant-general Burgoyne giving his honor that there are no public stores contained therein. Major-general Gates will, of course, take the necessary measures for the due performance of this Article. Should any carriages be wanted, during the march, for the transportation of officers' baggage, they are, if possible, to be supplied by the country, at the usual rates.

VII. Upon the march, and during the time the army shall remain in quarters in the Massachusetts Bay, the officers are not, as far as circumstances will admit, to be separated from their men. The officers are to be quartered according to their rank, and are not to be hindered from assembling their men for roll callings, and other necessary purposes of regularity.

VIII. All corps whatever of Lieutenant-general Burgoyne's army, whether composed of sailors, bateau-men, artificers, drivers, independent companies, and followers of the army, of whatever country, shall be included in the fullest sense and utmost extent of the above Articles, and comprehended in every respect as British subjects.

IX. All Canadians, and persons belonging to the Canadian establishment, consisting of sailors, bateau-men, artificers, drivers, independent companies, and many other followers of the army, who come under no particular description, are to be permitted to return there: they are to be conducted immediately, by the shortest route, to the first British post on Lake George; are to be supplied with provisions in the same manner as the other troops, and to be bound by the same condition of not serving during the present contest in North America.

X. Passports to be immediately granted for three officers, not exceeding the rank of captains, who shall be appointed by Lieutenant-general Burgoyne to carry dispatches to Sir William Howe, Sir Guy Carleton, and to Great Britain, by the way of New York; and Major-general Gates engages the public faith that these dispatches shall not be opened. These officers are to be set out immediately after receiving their dispatches, and are to travel by the shortest route, and in the most expeditious manner.

XI. During the stay of the troops in Massachusetts Bay, the officers are to be admitted on parole, and are to be permitted to wear their side-arms.

XII. Should the army under Lieutenant-general Burgoyne find it necessary to send for their clothing and other baggage from Canada, they are to be permitted to do it in the most convenient manner; and necessary passports to be granted for that purpose.

XIII. These Articles are to be mutually signed and exchanged to-morrow morning, at nine o'clock; and the troops under Lieutenant-general Burgoyne are to march out of their intrenchments at three o'clock in the afternoon.

HORATIO GATES, *Major-General*.

CAMP AT SARATOGA, October 16th, 1777.

To prevent any doubts that might arise from Lieutenant-general Burgoyne's name not being mentioned in the above treaty, Major-general Gates hereby declares, that he is understood to be comprehended in it as fully as if his name had been specifically mentioned.

HORATIO GATES.

B.

MAYORS OF NEW YORK CITY SINCE 1776.

David Matthews (Tory), 1776-1784.	Isaac L. Varlan, 1839-1841.
James Duane, 1784-1789.	Robert H. Morris, 1841-1844.
Richard Varick, 1789-1801.	James Harper, 1844-1847.
Edward Livingston, 1801-1803.	William V. Brady, 1847-1848.
De Witt Clinton, 1803-1807.	William F. Havemeyer, 1848-1849.
Marinus Willett, 1807-1808.	Caleb S. Woodhull, 1849-1851.
De Witt Clinton, 1808-1810.	Ambrose C. Kingsland, 1851-1853.
Jacob Radcliff, 1810-1811.	Jacob A. Westervelt, 1853-1855.
De Witt Clinton, 1811-1815.	Fernando Wood, 1855-1858.
John Ferguson, 1815.	Daniel N. Tiemann, 1858-1860.
Jacob Radcliff, 1815-1818.	Fernando Wood, 1860-1862.
Cadwallader D. Colden, 1818-1821.	George Opdyke, 1862-1864.
Stephen Allen, 1821-1824.	C. Godfrey Gunther, 1864-1866.
William Paulding, 1824-1826.	John T. Hoffman, 1866-1868.
Philip Hone, 1826-1827.	Thomas Coman (acting Mayor), 1868.
William Paulding, 1827-1829.	A. Oakey Hall, 1869-1871.
Walter Bowne, 1829-1833.	William F. Havemeyer, 1871-1875.
Gideon Lee, 1833-1834.	William H. Wickham, 1875-1877.
Cornelius W. Lawrence, 1834-1837.	Smith Ely, 1877-1879.
Aaron Clark, 1837-1839.	Edward Cooper, 1879-1880.

C.

RECORDERS OF NEW YORK CITY SINCE THE REVOLUTION.

Richard Varick, 1783-1789.	Richard Riker, 1821-1823.
Samuel Jones, 1789-1796.	Samuel Jones, 1823-1824.
James Kent, 1796-1798.	Richard Riker, 1824-1833.
Richard Harrison, 1798-1800.	Robert H. Morris, 1833-1841.
John P. Provost, 1800-1804.	Frederick A. Tallmadge, 1841-1846.
Maturin Livingston, 1804-1806.	John B. Scott, 1846-1849.
Pierre C. Van Wyck, 1806-1807.	Frederick A. Tallmadge, 1849-1852.
Maturin Livingston, 1807-1808.	Francis R. Tillon, 1852-1855.
Pierre C. Van Wyck, 1808-1810.	James M. Smith, Jr., 1855-1858.
Josiah Ogden Hoffman, 1810-1811.	George G. Barnard, 1858-1861.
Pierre C. Van Wyck, 1811-1813.	John F. Hoffman, 1861-1866.
Josiah Ogden Hoffman, 1813-1815.	John K. Hackett, 1866-1879.
Richard Riker, 1815-1819.	Frederick Smyth, 1879-1880.
Peter A. Jay, 1819-1821.	

D.

GOVERNORS OF NEW YORK AS A STATE.

George Clinton, 1777 - 1795.	Silas Wright, 1844 - 1846.
John Jay, 1795 - 1801.	John Young, 1846 - 1849.
George Clinton, 1801 - 1804.	Hamilton Fish, 1849 - 1851.
Morgan Lewis, 1804 - 1807.	Washington Hunt, 1851 - 1853.
Daniel D. Tompkins, 1807 - 1817.	Horatio Seymour, 1853 - 1855.
John Tayler, February - July, 1817.	Myron H. Clark, 1855 - 1857.
De Witt Clinton, 1817 - 1822.	John A. King, 1857 - 1859.
Joseph C. Yates, 1822 - 1824.	Edwin D. Morgan, 1859 - 1863.
De Witt Clinton, 1824 - 1828.	Horatio Seymour, 1863 - 1865.
Nathaniel Pitcher, February - July, 1828.	Reuben E. Fenton, 1865 - 1869.
Martin Van Buren, 1828 - 1829.	John T. Hoffman, 1869 - 1873.
Enos T. Throop, March, 1829 - 1832.	John Adams Dix, 1873 - 1875.
William L. Marcy, 1832 - 1838.	Samuel J. Tilden, 1875 - 1877.
William H. Seward, 1838 - 1842.	Lucius Robinson, 1877 - 1879.
William C. Bouck, 1842 - 1844.	Alonzo B. Cornell, 1879 - 1880.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNORS OF NEW YORK AS A STATE.

Pierre Van Cortlandt, 1777 - 1795.	Daniel S. Dickinson, 1842 - 1844.
Stephen Van Rensselaer, 1795 - 1801.	Addison Gardiner, 1844 - 1847.
Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, 1801 - 1804.	Hamilton Fish, 1847 - 1849.
John Broome, 1804 - 1811.	George W. Patterson, 1849 - 1851.
John Taylor (acting Lieut.-Gov.), 1811.	Sanford E. Church, 1851 - 1855.
De Witt Clinton, 1811 - 1813.	Henry J. Raymond, 1855 - 1857.
John Taylor, 1813 - 1822.	Henry R. Selden, 1857 - 1859.
Erastus Root, 1822 - 1824.	Robert Campbell, 1859 - 1863.
James Tallmadge, 1824 - 1826.	David R. Floyd Jones, 1863 - 1865.
Nathaniel Pitcher, 1826 - 1828.	Thomas G. Alvord, 1865 - 1867.
Enos T. Throop, 1828 - 1830.	Stewart L. Woodford, 1867 - 1869.
William M. Oliver (acting Lieut.-Gov.), 1830.	Allen C. Beach, 1869 - 1873.
Edward P. Livingston, 1830 - 1832.	John C. Robinson, 1873 - 1875.
John Tracy, 1832 - 1838.	William Dorsheimer, 1875 - 1879.
Luther Bradish, 1838 - 1842.	George G. Hoskins, 1879 - 1880.

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